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THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD, IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST,
Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the
Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE SECOND,
Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction
of the Temple of SALOMON.

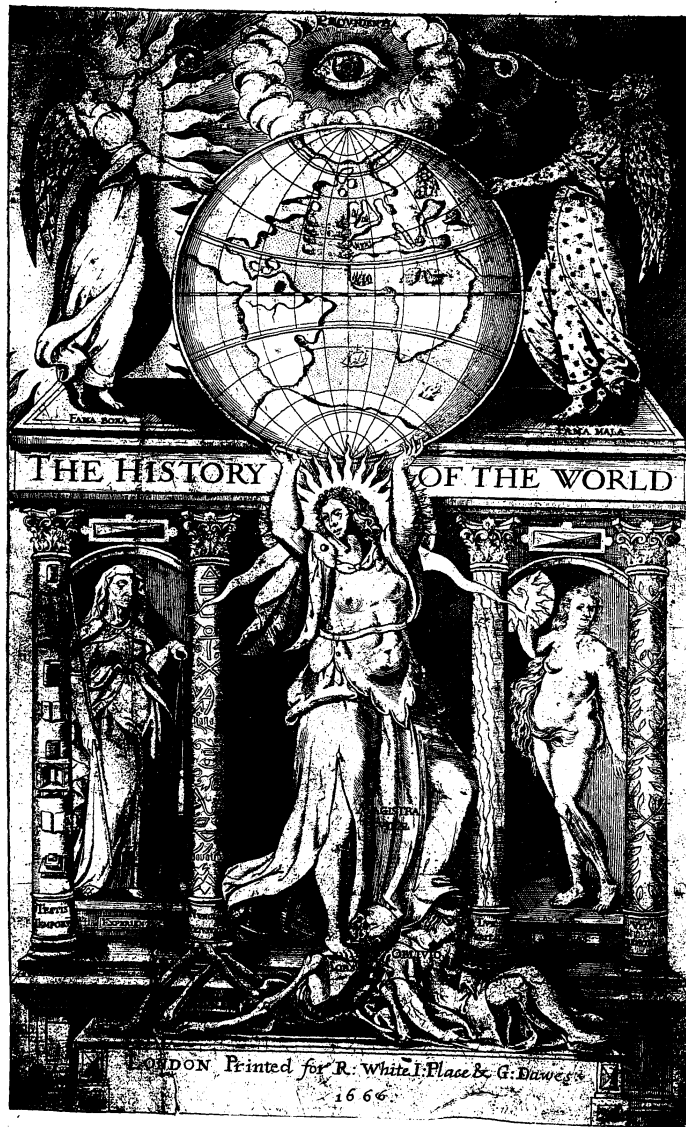
THE THIRD,
From the destruction of JERUSALEM to the time of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

THE FOURTH,
From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing
of that Kingdom in the Race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FIFTH,
From the settled Rule of ALEXANDERS Successors in the
East, until the ROMANS (prevailing over all) made Con-
quest of ASIA and MACEDON.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

L O N D O N,
Printed for GEORGE DAWES, and are to be sold at his Shop over against
Lincolns-Inne Gate in Chancery-Lane, MDC LXXI.



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§. VIII. Of L. Æmilius Paulus, the Consul. His journey. He forceth Perseus to discamp. He will not bazzard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. Æmilius his superstition. The battel of Pydna. Perseus his flight. He forsakes his Kingdom; which hastily yields to Æmilius. Perseus at Samothrace. He yields himself to the Roman Admiral: and is sent prisoner to Æmilius.

§. IX. *Gentius King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

§. X. *How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their victory over Perseus.*

§. XI. *The war of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embassadors.*

S. XII. *How the Romans were dreadful unto all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Mithridates, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius: With the conclusion of the Work.*



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How unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it self to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of Age and Death would have covered over both it and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly, purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Island of Great Britain. I confess that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travels, to have set together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our English affairs, than of the Universal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost and souk-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adversity; the former enforcing, the later persuading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my self the subject of every Opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) sped much better in any Age. For Prosperity and Adversity have evermore tyed and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especial gift of G O D, which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without bearing, and wound without offence given: led thereto by uncertain Report only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter: understand first, and then reform righteously. Rumor, res sine Teste, sine Judice, maligna, fallax; Rumour is without Witness, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S. Augustine Argument to affirm, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, than this of Seneca; *Conscientiæ satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur*

D. Amos, l. 3 c. 1.

Ecclef. 11. 7.

Ubi dicitur: Non timere hominem, & omnia multi desunt.

Sen. de ira, l. 3. c. 22.

vel mala, dum bene merearis; Let us satisfy our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves with fame; be it never so ill, it is to be despised, so we deserve well.

For my self, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-shine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the World, hath taken the account: so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parata, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been gotten for them; I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mis-hap in that kind; but content my self to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then some possibility to persuade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying, and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breathing life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear; and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form a-part, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations: so many natural and unnatural; wise, foolish, manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himself; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualifie and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongues end.

In this great discord, and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude; Omnes honeste rei malus Judex est vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honest things, and whose Wisdom (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised: if

to the better sort; every understanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both censures other men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats; seeing the slothfull Censurers of all Ages have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing Solomon complained long since; and that the very Age of the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Professors to their easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custom of those, who have left the memories of Time-past to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet, seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is, that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge. That it hath given us life in our understanding, since the World it self had life and beginning, even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus. The wile work (saith Hermes) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it self. By it (I say) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt we ow unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wise men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupid mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wisdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences; which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that beateen Wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God: If any (saith Euripides) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS Judgments in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part: for the Sea of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the Earth; and their fortunes written only in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeeded, and have not seen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgments upon

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the greater and greatest have been left to Posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their virtue, who have gathered the acts and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point far off, and to speak of the conversion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawn the grass of the earth with Beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wise working of Pharaoh, when he slew the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of Jezebel, in covering the murder of Naboth by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it aber, than to make an hopeles proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the same far-off Respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practise, peril, blood-shed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their Issues Masters of the World? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, no flower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their Opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diffention, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which Livie hath a touch: eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the divine Providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set down the date and period of every Estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give myself a day over to resolve.

For seeing the first Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwise best suited with his apprehension. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one Age, to that which he hath blessed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in Ages removed far from the present, as in those of later times. And that it may no less appear by evident proof, than by asseveration, That ill doing hath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of Preface,

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face, run over some examples, which the Work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of Henry the First. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossessed, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder Brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out, and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine Race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious; yet, in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle, the Earl of Kent, to die, for no other offence, than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty, the secret and unsearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third; and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent, they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the Second, who saw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he always took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those days, as others have done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murder of Gloucester; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cousin-Germaine and Vassal, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown traitorous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himself, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Parliament, to whom he swore, that the deposed King should live. After he had enjoyed this Realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions: he saw (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies Death) his Grand-child Henry

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the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crown (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his Race, and by the Issues of his enemies worn and enjoyed; enemies, whom, by his own practice, he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the Kingdom questionable, by entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his Son Henry the Fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all re-conquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so have judged, were not this passage of Caulfabon also true; Dies, horz, momentum, evertendis dominationibus sufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that seem to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry the Sixth, upon whom the greatest storm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard, the Grand-child of Edward; although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he refused the Daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Anjou (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of Gloucester, the main and strong Pillar of the House of Lancaster; He drew on himself and his Kingdom the greatest joint-loss and dishonour, that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the Third of France, *Qu'il estoit une fort gentile Prince; mais son regne est advenu en une fort mauvois temps*: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Season.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queen had been absolute; the Queen, in respect of her personal wound, spræque injuria formæ, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the counsel. For after the cutting down of Gloucester, York grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, Suffolk and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke; yet his Son the Earl of March, following the plain path which his Father had trodden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick Lady the Queen, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that she lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her only Son the Prince, were hewn in sunder; while the Crown was set on his head that did it? She lived to see her self despoiled of her estate, and of her movables; and lastly, her Father, by rendering up the Crown of France, the Earldom of Provence, and other places, for the payment of 50000. crowns for her Ransome, to become a stark Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine, but unright-

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unrighteous: for other fruit hath it never yielded since the World was.

And now it came to Edward the Fourth's turn: (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one only Earl of Richmond excepted; whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Britain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it self Rabbity. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld to allowed the slaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his own presence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the Judgment of GOD in the same kind. And he, which (beside the execution of his Brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the Sixth, his Predecessor; taught him also, by the same art, to kill his own Sons and Successors, Edward and Richard. For, those Kings which have sold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth, succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kinned, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: Secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned: And lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads severed from their Bodies. And having now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common Precept which the Devil hath written upon every Post, namely, To depress those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had depressed; He urged that Argument so far, and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himself, and of his Brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's head, That, whenever the King or his Brother, should have able years to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that careless wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sons was without suspect; and yet the Devil, who never dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But, when he found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not fordable, he first resolved to kill him sitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon Hastings, I have never observed in any Story. For, the self-same day that the Earl Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by Hastings advice, executed at Pomfret; I say, Hastings himself, in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner, had his Head struck off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration persuaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their King. And having received the Earl-

Siue. 19.

Sicula scilicet
bus tuenda.
Sen. de Clem.

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dom of Hereford for reward, besides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings only Son, after many grievous excursions of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; he had his Head severed from his Body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers: And what success had Richard himself after all these mischiefs and murders, policies, and counter-policies, to Christian Religion; And after such time as with a mercileſs hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords; other than the propriety of so short a life, as it took end; ere himself could well look over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent blood obtained as GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, Henry the Seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. A politick Prince he was; if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did; I say, by his wisdom, because, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to bazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal; or royal-like; but he was far more just, and begun not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding well; for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his Subjects, he wisely put it off on those that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever, the taking off of Stanlies Head, who set the Crown on his; and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, Son to George Duke of Clarence, shews, as the success also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now, for King Henry the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a mercileſs Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King. For, how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what virtue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more desert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Fire? How many Wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the account) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his account to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; and executed the Earl of Surry the Son; the one, whose deserving he knew not how to value, having never omitted anything that concerned his own honour, and the Kings service; the other never having committed anything worthy of his least displeasure; the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes. But besides the sorrows, which he heaped upon the

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Fatherless and Widows, at home; and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their several Conquests; what causeless and cruel wars did he make upon his own Nephew King James the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he devise to establish this Kingdom in his own Issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut down those Branches, which sprang from the same root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their several kinds, all Princes of eminent virtue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, have been verified upon many others: As thy Sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women. And that blood which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold air of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the Sun-shine of his grace; from whence his Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infused into one eye; yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots, by which the consciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the Sword of his Justice, with which the most that fore-went him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of England, it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath staid the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he never took revenge of any man; that sought to put him beside it; That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princes did: That His Majesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right set open; and into which, by a general love and obedience, He was received. And howsoever His Majesty's preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the year 1559.) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which, though they were severed, but by small brooks and banks, yet, by reason of the long continued War, and the cruelties exercised upon each other in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This, I say, is not the least of Gods blessings which His Majesty hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose and the White, for the greatest happiness (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our British Blood, heretofore, and during the difference, so often and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible: than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of Parma, in the year 1588. joined the Army which he commanded, with that of Spain, and landed it on the South-

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coast;

coast; and had His Majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the Liberty of England; certainly, we would then, without murmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Infinite, to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis; Which, if other men do not understand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any King that ever England had; who, as well in divine, as in humane understanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

Fin. comment in
Vol. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these Papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskillfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in describing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well formed faces, a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely minds, a most defective Representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpose I have inserted this brief Discourse) with His Majesties temperat, revengeless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even hand; and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just a cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now, as we have told the success of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages; so we find, that GOD is every where the same God. And, as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of Henry the First, and of our Third Edward, in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of Loys Debonaire, the Son of Charls the Great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France had torn out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the Son of Pepin, the eldest Son of Charlemaine, and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did our Henry to Robert his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition; yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own Sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom (to satisfy their ambition) he had shared his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest Son Lothaire (for he had four, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made

made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence toward his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain. Eo quod, faith the Text, fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit; Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered.

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Tet did he that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which be performed in the General Assembly of the States, it follows: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, penitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat: After this, he did openly confess himself to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor Theodosius, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his own Nephew.

This he did, and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have said, had four Sons. To Lothaire his eldest, he gave the Kingdom of Italy, as Charlemaine his Father had done to Pepin, the Father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin, the second Son, he gave the Kingdom of Aquitaine; to Loys, the Kingdom of Bavier; and to Charls, whom he had by a second Wife, called Judith, the remainder of the Kingdom of France. But his second Wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, persuaded Debonaire, to cast his Son Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby to greater Charls, which, after the death of his Son Pepin, he prosecuted to effect against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son Loys of Bavier, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bavier, and Charles afterward, called the Bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, join in league against the Emperor Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight near to Auxerre, the most bloody battel that ever was stricken in France; in which, the marvellous loss of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy; to the Hunns to fall upon Almaine; and the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald by Treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster; Carloman rebels against his Father, Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eyes of his Son Carloman; Bavier invades the Emperor Lothaire, his Brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, he is assailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his Rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charles the bald the Uncle, oppresseth his Nephews, the Sons of Lothaire, he usurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of Loys of Bavier, his elder Brother; Baviers Armies, and his Son Carloman, are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Usurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Jew, his Physician, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drink, Beque had Charles the simple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebel against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his neck, the younger is slain by a wild Boar; the Son of Bavier had the same ill destiny and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions.

Charles the gross becomes Lord of all that the Sons of Debonaire held in Germany; where-with not contented, he invades Charles the simple; but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Understanding; he dies a distracted Beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes, Major of the Palace, then by Robert, the Brother of Eudes; and lastly, being taken by the Earl of Vermandois, he is forced to die in the prison of Peron. Loys the Son of Charles the simple breaks his neck in chasing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this Loys, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the Prison of Orleans; after whom, Hugh Capet, of another Race, and a stranger to the French, makes himself King.

These miserable ends had the Issues of Debonaire; who after he had once apparelled Injustice with authority, his Sons and Successors took up the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every man desisted as miserable and naked Beggars. The wretched success they had (saith a Learned French-man) shews, Que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of Bernard the Son of Pépin, the true Heir of Charlemain, men had more meddling than God or Justice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis the First, one of the Worthiest Kings (except for that Fault) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himself, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol, and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King Francis repented himself of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his Son, to do Justice upon the murderers; threatening his Son with GOD'S Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry was slain in sport by Montgomery, we all may remember what became of his four Sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautiful and vertuous Ladies; yet were they, one after another, cast out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crown was set on his Head, whom they all laboured to dissolve: the Protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong Cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spain as in England and France. Towards whom we will look no further back than to Don Pedro of Castile, in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicily, our Richard the Third, and the great Evan Vasilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all the Christian and Heathen Kings, having been the most merciless. For, besides those of his own Blood and Nobility, which he had caused to be slain in his own Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis; the great Master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonfáles, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom he cut in pieces, and cast into the Streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; he made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cousin-Germans; his Brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquerque, Nugnes de Guzman, Corniel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo; Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all his

his Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in close Prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Dean to be killed, of purpose to enjoy their Treasures; so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar, King of Barbary, with thirty seven of his Nobility, that came unto him for succor, with a great sum of Money, to levy (by his favour) some Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Tea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdom, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster; He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of Astramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John of Burgoign, who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of gran Pre, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the Officers of Justice of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasury, Requests (with sixteen others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered France; He was soon after stricken with an Ax in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slain. These were the lovers of other mens miseries; and miseries found them out.

Now, for the Kings of Spain, which lived both with Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon, was the first, and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himself to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Niece, the Daughter of the last Henry; but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own Niece out of the Kingdom of Navarre; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick, Kings of Naples, Princes of his own Blood, and by double alliance tied unto him; sold them to the French; and with the same Army, sent for their succour under Gonfálvo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politick King, who sold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, the greatest Monarch of the World; saw him die in the flower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugal, beheaded her first Husband, broke his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A just Judgment of God upon the Race of Alphonso, now wholly extinguished; who had not only left many

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many disconsolate Mothers in Portugal, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slain with his own hand, the Son and only comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutches of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King Henry the Eighth, he saw cast off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in England; and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent blood; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of Ferdinand have masters of a new name; and by a strange Family are governed and possess'd.

Charles the Fifth, Son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vain enterprises upon the French, upon the Germans and other Princes and States; so many multitudes of Christian Soldiers, and renowned Captains were consumed; who gave the while a most perillous entrance to the Turks, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort, out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Insprug; and scaled the Alps by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to swallow up all those Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, save his own disgraces. And having after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, not one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the year, to his Son Philip, from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His Son again, King Philip the Second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wrested by his Ancestors from Jaqueline, their lawfull Prince) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands; persuaded by that mischievous Cardinal of Granville, and other Romish Tyrants; not only forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of those Countreys, not only forgot the Present made him upon his entry of fourty Millions of Florens, called the Novaile aid; nor only forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of those Provinces; but beginning first to constrain them, and embroil them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intollerable Impositions, he lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Sovereigns of England and France; but Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundametal Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtain from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of the Warr and Bloodshed since then;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinal Granville; He employed that most merciles Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva; followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations; by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of Egmont, Prince of Gavare; and Philip Montmorency Earl of Horn; made away Montigue, and the Marquess of Bergues, and cut off in those six years (that Alva Governed) of Gentlemen

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and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders and massacres. By whose ministry, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He sent for Governour, his bastard Brother, Don John of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papal advantage that his Predecessors had done, make no scruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangelists, to observe the Treaty made with the General States; and to discharge the Low-Countreys of all Spaniards, and other strangers therein garrisoned; Towards whose Pry and Passport, the Netherlands strained themselves to make a payment of 600000. pounds. Which Money received, he suddenly surprised the Citadels of Antwerp and Nemures, not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possess'd himself of all the mastering places of those Provinces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary counsel with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish Tyranny formerly practised, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. First, for himself; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six years, and most cruelly slain Man, Woman, and Child in Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, and other places; and after he had consumed six and thirty Millions of treasure in six years, notwithstanding his Spanish vaunt, That he would suffocate the Holanders in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving His Majesties Affairs in a ten-fold worse estate than he found them at his first arrival. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himself overcame the greatest difficulties; though his judgement were over-weak to manage the least: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealousy and distrust, with the untimely death that seized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo his sharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Master, both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spain upon some new project, he was at the first arrivall, and before any access to the King, by certain Russians, appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spain's carriage, his counsel and success in this business, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies; for the loss of a Nation which most willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after forty years Warr, are, in despite of all his forces, become a free Estate, and far more rich and powerfull than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh! by what plots, by what for-swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politick subtilty, have these fore-named Kings, both strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of G-O-D upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end, have brought those things to pass for their enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels

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and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. G O D hath said it, and performed it ever: Perdam sapientiam sapientum; I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; seeing the world is the same that it hath been; and the children of the present time, will still obey their Parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the World are exercised. To bold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to bold them for ever; or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our selves; or persuade our selves, that G O D hath given us Letters Patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a Non obstante: so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unsearchable; we have sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also earthly; and it is less to be wondred at, that the words of wortbleß men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet Esay cried out long ago, Lord, who hath believed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himself and others: so are they less believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who, for the greatest number are but Idols of Vanity; what is it other than an universal dissimulation? We profess that we know G O D, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life; for the Devils know them better than men. Beatitude non est divinatorum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired; and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual warr, massacres, and murders, for Religion among Christians; the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it self were but used as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our Celestial habitation: when on the contrary, besides the Discourse and outward profession, the Soul hath nothing but hypocrisy. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in Religion; and while we act in gesture and voice, divine vertues, in all the course of our lives, we renounce our Persons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Justice, and Truth, have but their being in tearms, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Solomon desireth to be the School-Mistress of the Knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respects which

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which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability, that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the use: When goods increase (saith Solomon) they also increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair weather; they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind; leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of Master Danner, and use his own words: Whilest the Emperor Charles the Fifth, after the resignation of his estates, stayed at Vloshing for Wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinand's Embassador, till the deep of the night. And when Seldius should depart; the Emperor calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperor took up the Candle himself, and went before Seldius, to light him down the Stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he said thus unto him; Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperor, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea, even of his own servants, &c. I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of G O D, which I will by no means go about to withstand.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which, what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, who, without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For, seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Virtue and Fortune; the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self, rides the Man. Who, when he is descended, and on foot; the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second is, the greating of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certain Heathen Philosophers; Quod sapientes sunt in re stulti. For, when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by G O D; there remaineth in them no other joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of

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shame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interfunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of those departed, are not conversant with their affairs that remain. And if we doubt of Saint Augustine, we cannot of Job; who tells us, That we know not if our Sons shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth; Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (saith he) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can shew unto man, what shall be after him under the Sun? He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof; which made me (saith he) endeavour even to abhorre mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death, God hath reserved? Mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esay confesseth the Elect, That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark night of death of whose following day we shall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the seats of Angelical affections; in so great admiration shall the Souls of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure us; and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of those faculties, which the Soul exercised in a mortal body; we shall not at that time so divide the joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleased the Infinite Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees; which hath given greater and less light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between Beasts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the fairest vinture to the Ruby, and quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Posterity, for a mark and ensign of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors; so (seeing Siraucides preferreth Death before Beggary; and, that Tules, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pity) I account it foolishness to condemn such a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own buildings

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out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first prefer the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quasitas: so Jeremy cries, Wo unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without equity; And Esay the same, Wo to those that spoil, and were not spoiled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Solomon, that he commandeth us, not to drink the Wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we covet; for such are the ways (saith he) of every one that is greedy of gain.

And, if we could afford our selves but so much leisure, as to consider, That he which hath most in this world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever; I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending; coveting those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves, after the World, were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger esteem all negligent, that have not troden down their opposites; the Politician all gross, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Yet, when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is only then, that we are stricken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. For if, according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that God spared not his Angels; where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reverend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! I confess, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, That we ended well; for we all desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But, what shall we call a dis-esteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, dis-esteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? We beseech thee, O God, that all the falsehoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; the

Plat. de leg. 1. 2.
6. Co. in George

Jer. 12. 13.

Eccl. 3.
Prov. 1. 18. 19.
Prov. 13. 12. 13.3. 2.
3. 2.

Gal. 6. 7.

Pet. 4.

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that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess my self to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood, such a Leaden One, as Lewis the Eleventh wore in his Cap; which, when he had caused any that he feared or hated to be killed, he would take it from his head, and kiss it; beseeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinal, and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earl of Armagnac to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving G O D. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon shadows; they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-stone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour against the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they shew themselves Gods against God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the rest; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppressed, whom we account wretched; we shall find the happiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to interchange (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest Princes, and the speediest uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For, there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid vesper vchut, incertum est; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (saith S. James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found; for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the air which compasseth adversity, be very obscure; yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearness thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Solomon) in them all we have rejoiced; or be it that we have measured the same length of days, and therein have evermore sorrowed; yet, looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, sailed out of sight; and death, which doth pursue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet; Whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it. So, as whosoever be he, to whom Fortune hath been a servant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the account of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what he hath reserved, either of Beauty and Youth,

or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad sighs. He shall find nothing remaining, but those sorrows, which grow up after our fast-springing youth, over-take it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in so much as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains, as he, that is most blessed in common Opinion, hath of his fore-past pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ eventura sunt, in incerto jacent. Oney those few black Swans I must except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as necessary guides to endless glory.

For my self, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life are but of two sorts; whereof the one hath respect to G O D; the other to the World. In the first, we complain to G O D against our selves, for our offences against him; and confess, Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos; And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second, we complain to our selves against G O D; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that humble and just acknowledgment of Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which, S. Paul hath promised blessedness; to the second, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to G O D, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet far less, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the adversities of the World but tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: a wise Christian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolutely, and not as those whining Souldiers do, Qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius the part of the greatest Emperor, and the part of the most miserable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, and in the same day, the Footstool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also played, being taken by Saporess) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captain, and lastly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the less. For, when on the one and the other, every man

wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakness prize the passages of this world otherwise (for, saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgets in the brains of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they work. For, seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madness in the shipwreck of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other, the most miserable destiny.

But it is now time to sound a retreat, and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father forsaketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation; Yet many of those that have seemed to excel in worldly wisdom, have gone about to dis-join this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, by Faith, we understand that the World was made by the Word of God) be too weighty a work for Aristotle's rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his Verbal Doctrine; yet that the necessity of his suite power, and the World's beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than tears in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those Philosophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned, either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, because so called? Or, that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against itself, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of humane knowledge. For, saith Charron, in his Book of Wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a autant d' autorité qu' autre, si la raison n' on fait la différence; Every humane proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not a difference: the rest, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how shall the upright and impartial judg-

ment of man give a Sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpose, it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adiungunt, qui sine ullo iudicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur; They neglect their own wisdom, who without any judgment approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contra negantem principia; over the second, Virtus specifica; and over the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my self, I shall never be persuaded, that God hath shut up all the light of Learning within the Lamborn of Aristotle's brains; or, that it was ever said unto him, as unto Elsdraas, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they only invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof; the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these, and these, be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reason; and so hath Experience without Art. The Chief-wisdom knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sower Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reason of this cause, why the sower doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfy this, and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grass under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Nature's working, in those which are far less noble Creatures than himself; who is far more noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (saith Solomon) that can hardly discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; that hath so short a time in the World, as he no sooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else doth know, but GOD that created it (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, saith Job.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Job) is so excellent as we know him not; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Moes of the Air for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of Form; and lastly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion Aristotle, to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and his Seglators have maintained it; Parati ac conjurati, quos sequantur Philosophorum animis invictis opinionem estuari. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or soon after Moses,

Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose Opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of irrevocable reason, One Eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the Universal. Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut providentiam unam esse consentiant: five enim Natura, five Æther, five Ratio, five Mens, five Fatalis Necessitas, five divina Lex, idem est quod a nobis dicitur Deus; All these mens Opinions (saith Laërtius) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or Understanding, or Destiny, or divine Ordinance, that it is the same which we call G O D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at last find, and fall into, the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philosophical contemplation and curiosity, in the necessity of this Infinite power, all the reason of Man ends and dissolves in self.

As for others: and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have been eternal, and, that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente; the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere; They seem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; in so much as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had never been Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universal. For, were the Matter or Chaos eternal; it then follows, That either this supposed Matter did fit it self to God, or God accommodate himself to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans Will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of matter which be lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise; I would gladly learn how it came to pass, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no less, than served to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this matter than sufficed, then God did dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same work of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternal matter, be again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatestst Idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not; at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it self, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible.

impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it self, neither do bodies compound themselves.

For the rest, Those that feign this matter to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite form; but that the first matter was finite, the form which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, whosoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be his reward. For, it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow; quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for matter or form; yea, for as many worlds (if such had been Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the work-mans will. Yea, Reason it self finds it more easie for Infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words; Deus in una existentia omnia præhabet; and again, Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod videt, & quod non videt; to wit, causalliter, or in better terms, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither hath the World Universal closed up all of G O D: For the most part of his works (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his Wisdom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we seldom entitle G O D The All-thewing; or The All-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, infer the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [Nothing] be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor, Aristotle himself confesseth, Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum: That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite; and a little after, more largely, and plainly, Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium certijur esse principium, ac omni completi ac regere; it is strange, that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falsehood, to conclude falsely; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For, if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Starrs, with ipsum Infinitum, it may truly be said of them, all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither, quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionem) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore, Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the World Universal, but particulam Universalitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Universality, and the Infinity it self: And Plato, but a shadow

Stene Eng 18.
c. 9. ex Ar. de
Phys. 3. 20.

of God. But the other, to prove the World's eternity, urgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient and effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect thereof is also granted. Inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in his Conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work, matter being present: As Fire, to burn things combustible. Again, he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it self, or by somewhat else; and so it passeth from power to act: But God (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by himself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work. Whence he concludeth, If the World were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and therefore eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the World for ever, did also withhold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be said to be eternal; which the Platonicks call Spiritualem mundum; and do in this sort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. Spiritualis est mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decessit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper; refinet alteram, quia fit semper futurus: That representative, or the intentional word (say they) the samplar of this visible world, the first work of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall be. This material world, the second work or creature of GOD, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come; The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confess: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consummation of this world, there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter: But of these things we need not here stand to argue; though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point, Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded Essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissoluble) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of God sheweth; that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the tempo-

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ral Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not altogether; but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never seen, no, not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive answer by conjectures; it then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Aquinas, and others, were grossly mistaken; or else those parts of the World, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Sun's heat, neither were the Seas under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges; and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Sun's violent heat.

But in a word, this Observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two or three thousand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of substance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all creatures are generate, doth not in these later Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest World had, nor Mighty Men, such as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of less vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Discourse, we might easily fetch store of proof; as that this World shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no first, no Cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible Wisdom, but that every Nature had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other Nature; Why had not the eternal reason of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why should Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it

Arif. Met. 2.
Plin. l. 1. c. 8.
Strab. l. 3.
Ptolemy. l. 1. c. 3.
Beda de ratione
Ann. l. 1. c. 3.
Chron. p. 1.
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should hang in the Air; that the Sun should travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor fail to perform that Progress once in every year; the Moon to live by borrowed light; the fixed Starrs (according to common opinion) to be fastned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or, if none of these had power on either; was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sun by his perpetual travel within those two Circles, hath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the Sun have of his own accord kept this course in all eternity; He may justly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Starrs, who being all of them most large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may also be called eternal Vertues; the Earth may be called eternal Patience; the Moon, an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the most miserable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dream'd of. But in stead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better; That the Sun, Moon, Starrs, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained; themselves they have not constrained, nor could. Cuncta determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now, for Nature ; As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of Aristotle hath both commended many errors unto us, and fought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World ; so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotle's Physicks, or primo de Ccelo, or out of the fifth of his Metaphyicks, I say, that the best is but nominal, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artificial : which yet the Academics open better ; when they call it, A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soul of the World ; who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they understand G O D) Dux & Caput ; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens ; Natura postremum. But be it what be will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all ; yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam ; He onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly express'd by Ficinus: Potest ubique Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, diversa facere: sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diversitate, vel unicum, vel simillimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diversity of means, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of means, and the diversity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being present. Now, if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to work all these variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsel to begin; reason to dispose

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dispose; virtue and knowledge to finish, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the same; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsel, this reason, and power; Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to divine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesque summum locum divino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say, in short, that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which flow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety, monstrous, to confound God and Nature; be it but in terms. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, vessels of honour and dishonour: It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself; Nature nothing in it self. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it self it existeth not. For, shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in Fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these; by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, seeing all things work as they do (call it by Form, or Nature, or by what you please) yet, because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supreme power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it self, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the virtue and power which it work; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith) and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

Thus much, I say, it is, that Reason it self hath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur; quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere; Sapience goes before, Religion follows; because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience, Plaro calleth absolute boni scientiam, The Science of the

Aspect de défin

the absolute good: And another, Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum. For Faith (saith Ifidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded: Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confess it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean be created the World; Or of his secret judgment, and the causes, is not an affect of Reason; Sed cum ratione insaniunt; but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on n'asceu surpasser; For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to pass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum meriti) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

Quod est infinitum, & non secundum naturam terminum, non constituitur a scientia. Arist. poster.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsuitable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, ipsi nobis furto subducimur; We are stolen away from our selves, setting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks himself the wisest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best men of Warr, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and self-opinion.

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the down-fall of Babel take up the first Part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises greater in Fame than Faith, of Ninus and Semiramis, excepted.

It was the Story of the Hebrews, of all before Olympiads, that overcame the consuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with Virgil:

Apparent

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;
They appear here and there, floating in the great gulf of Time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws; they had their diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the most of needful Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, seeing we digress in the ways of our lives; yea, seeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preach'd unto us. But we still make large digressions; yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilst it so flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the Fortunes of Greece, when they again began to get ground upon the Persians; as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who resisted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing states opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers; who seldom give names to those small Brooks, whereof many joined together make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, and the Style not every where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matters. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili avena, used stronger pipes when he founded the wars of Aeneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers Hebrew words in my first Book, and elsewhere, in which language others may think, and my self acknowledge, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that some of them I find in Monarchs, others in Latine Characters in S. Senensis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say, I had been beholden to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, having had an eleven years leisure to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other Tongue;

How.

Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosoever in writing a modern History, shall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest Times; wherein also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the Vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with me, for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.

For, I protest before the Majesty of God, that I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is, to please all; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat; and to the same effect, Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi; (or as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an antient Philosopher, Satis est unus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inesimable Prince, Henry, the successfullest hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master; from which, till that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks: Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo his secundum plures datur. But these Discourses are idle; I know, that as the charitable will judge charitably; so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present adversary hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall; and for rising again, as in the Natural privation, there is no recession to habit; so it is seldom seen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers, Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promise a second and third Volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never to many courteous Phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure to have made my self a Fool in Print.



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same,
from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World,

§. I.

That the invisible God is seen in his Creatures.



OD, whom the wisest men acknowledg to be a Power unfebble, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding which it self can only comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the Work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he embraceth, filleth, and sustainerh) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withall, that one, and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universal, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdom, and Goodness, being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the disposition; order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more then wonderful works, God (saith * Hugo) speaketh unto man: and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, chose that live, witness in themselves;

* Hugo sic per Eccles. Homil. 9.

selves; the sensible in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, according to *S. Gregory, *Omnia homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illi qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith Job) which is, according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspiciere in creaturis*, To discern him in his providence by his creatures. That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, *Te habere non habet his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape*. And again, *Whom never man saw*, Job. 5. 3.
1 Tim. 6. 16 may see.

And this I am sure agrees with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. Augustine, *Ipsi enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandus est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Hieron, Augustine, Gregory the great, Evaristus, Alcuinus, Dionysius, Arcopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters are the unnumbered Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned Cusanus, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; The World universal is nothing else but God exprest. And the invisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are seen by the creation of the World, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding then his own Will, no other matter then his own Power, no other Workman then his own Word, no other consideration then his own infinite goodness. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchangeable Will moved, by his high Wisdom disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *ex fide, ex effectu* (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Cre-

ation: *Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine fieri, cognoscitur; potest, sed vel ex rerum, que facta sunt, quaeque sunt, & gubernantur, observatione & collatione; vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledge of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*); but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern; or else by the word of God himself.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

This work and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers terms, and in a different manner exprest; I mean all those who are intitled by S. Augustine, *Suavi Philoſophi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercerius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*, The original of the Universal; to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Aeternitas, Finitis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truly with S. Paul, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus, fabricatus est mundus*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire* to exprest God by (as in *Deuteronomy*), and in S. Paul it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*, All things (saith he) are caused or produced out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most high God; whose remarkable words are thus converted; *Cum abſcondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into grateful light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought*.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator finium*, Plato calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universal; *Totius rerum vid. cap. 1. natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions

of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain testimony,) yet as the Fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. Paul himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he citeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus* &c. For Truth (saith S. Ambrose) by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas est quocunque dicatur, a Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quae sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes. 1. 1.

This visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the Hebrews seek some hidden mystery, and which in the *Jews Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, then that of God. And by what name shall we then call such an One (saith *Laſantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we find a double creation, or allow of two Powers, and both infinite; the impossibility whereof is cometh defence. *Nam impossibile est plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum; There cannot be more Infinites then one: for one of them would limit the other.*

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, Genes. 2. 1.

The Universal matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven and Earth*) is by divers diversly understood; for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripateticks understand it; to which S. Augustine and *Jsidore* seem to adhere, *Factum mundum (saith S. Augustine) de materia informi; quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem*; that is, *Thou hast made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other then nothing*.

But this potential, and imaginary materia prima, cannot exist without form. *Peter Lombard*, the Schoolmen, *Beda*, *Lyrannus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirm that it pleased God first of all to create the Emphyrean Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with Angels. This Emphyrean Heaven *Stenobius Engubinus* calleth *Divine clarity and uncreated*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Pererinus*, & deus, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seat of Angels and just Souls; then in the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, *My soul, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himself with light*: and in the Revelation, *And the City hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it*. And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genes.* differeth not in opinion from *Engubinus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or super-celestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious seat of God himself, it was not necessary to be created; *Quem Mundum Super-celsitem meo iudicio creari (saith Mercer) non erat necesse*.

But as *Moses* forbade to speak of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the weakness of their capacities, when he then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of Egypt, according to his promise made to their forefathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this acceptable, and perceivable Universal: so on the other side I dare not think, that any super-celestial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himself) was increate and eternal; and as for

the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feat of infinite power, no more then infinite power itself can be limited: for his place is in Himself, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of God (saith Baruch) how large is the place of his possession; it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable.*

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbs supernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *Materia, Chaos, possibilitas, five posse fieri.* Which matter (saith Calvini) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the seed of the Universal:* an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

S. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heavens.

Moses first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Mals, and (as Basil saith) *Preparare naturam aquae ad secunditatem vitalem; To prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulness.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, and natures express: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt feeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish (saith David) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke,* saith *Ely.* Neither were the waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear:* which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. *Inio ita, Domine, terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth:* and again, *The Earth was covered with the Deep (meaning with waters) as with a garment, saith*

David. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, air, fire: and so on the contrary.

Dens ignis substantiam per aërem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire by air into water. For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Caelum veri & terra in statu creationis remanens quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specific water; but the same more properly significeth liquor. For (according to Montanus) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus; & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit; For Maim (saith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to express it, call it in the Plural, Aquas, Waters.*

This Mals, or indigested matter, or Chaos, created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the Waters. *And the Earth was void,* that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigested matter into that form, which it now retaineth; then did the earth bud forth the herb, which seedeth seed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good; which attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good,* that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecti sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of Demogorgon; Hesiodus; and Anaxagoras the knowledge of that Chaos: of which *Void; Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod regit omnia) Caelum,*

Unus erat tota naturae vultus in Orbe, Quem dixere Chaos rudis indigestaque moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one only face of Nature did abide:

Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heave,

S. VI.

S. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be searched curiously.

After the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The Seventy Interpreters use the word *superfluebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat or fovebat* (saith Hierome) out of *Basil;* and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non mecum tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam reconfero* (saith *Basil;*) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab ovibus pullosque incubantibus, quavis spiritali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.*

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God did flutter:* the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei fustabat;* or as other understand the Chaldean, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did* *Id. 147. blow upon;* according to the 147. Psalm, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increased: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Aris Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracibet, id est, efficitur geminis liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, Cause, which is the divine Goodness: Jebi, which is, flat, five erit, Let it be, or, It shall be. Que vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit: Which voice (saith he) was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.*

The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, Vis quaedam divina, agilis ac pater, per omnia pervigens, omnia complens; that is, A certain divine power, or strength every where alive and extending, and stretching through all, filling and stirring all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to become every thing.* For myself, I am resolved (Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet

the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo que Dei sint non percipit: For my thoughts (saith the Lord in Ely) are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the world hath not known God himself: so are his waies (according to *S. Paul*) *past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee, saith Christ.* And therefore, whether that motion, vitality, and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is solely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For how God (saith *S. Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius descenderet, cogitatio afflueretur humana: There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing, gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Road, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm our selves safely, while we stand near the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.*

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula, Vis causæ efficientis, The force of the efficient causes.* *S. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a breath or wind: Mercurius nameth it, Spiritum tenem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: Anaxagoras, Mentem; Toletus, Voluntatem & mentem Dei, The will and mind of God; which Mens, Plura in Timaeo maketh Animam mundi, The soul of the world*

world: and in his sixth Book de Republica, he calleth it the Law of Heaven; in his Epistles, The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past. But as Cyprian wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum; My mind saileth, my voice is silent, and not mine only, but even the voice of Angels:* so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (saith Nazianzenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est: Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, saith Solomon. *Istou fend forth thy Spirit (saith David) they are created: And Gregory, Deus suo presentia effe, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God moveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, Virgil hath exprest excellently:

Principio Cælum ac Terras, camposque liquentes, Lucentemq; globum Linæ, Titaniaq; astra, Spiritus intus alit: totamq; insula per artus, Mens agit atq; molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayn,

The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Titanian

A Spirit within maintains and their whole mass,

A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass,

Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpire

All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens, saith Job. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat, and

heat rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter then the waters; through whole vast, open, subtle, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards created, might easily transpire: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature, which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit, *Chrysofostom* calleth a vital Operation, *Aquis a Deo instans, ex qua aqua non solum motiorem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, A vital Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.

§. VII.

Of the Light created, as the material substance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

These Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night:* which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or material substance of the

Sun, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing sensible, is that light it self, *Que cause est lucidiorum, Which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it self and all things else visible) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greeks call *Æther*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our ayr. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *l'ebulum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & imperium omnium:* The conductor, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestial virtues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or means of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (say the Platonicks) *Absente lumine residet in subiecto, The light being departed, doth reside in the subject,* as warmth in the ayr, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporeal, and so doth *Montanus*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium;* Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*, *Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus*, give materiality to light it self, but improperly: for it passeth an instant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardness, because it passeth through the solid body of glass, or other Crystalline matter; and whereas it is withstood by unclean and unpure earthy substances, less hard, and more easie to invade then the former, the same is, *Quid obstaculum naturæ terrenæ atq; fordibus, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not receive the pure clearness of light:* alluding to that most divine Light, which onely shineth on those minds, which are purged from all worldly dross, and humane uncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or School-men, or other ancient or latter Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as he hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opini-

ons of *Beda, Hingo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: so is his own judgment herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtle in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, then discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly said, *Nihil sapientie odiosius acutissime nimio;* Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, then too acute sharpness. Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporeal: Corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the ayr, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, which it doth; and yet every day we see the ayr illightned: Incorporeal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and form, then either, or both must be one of these, lucid or bright, dark or opaque, Diaphanous or transparent; but darkness cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light nor darkness, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucid and shining. Lucid and shining obtain their so being of the light; and therefore if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progress go on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it self, and is therefore the Suns form, and the form of all lucid and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be Englished by the word *shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Englished by Lights; and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glass: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the intentional Species

Nazian.
lib. 2.
Theol.

Wis. 1.
v. 7.

Virg. E.
mid. lib. 8.
714.

Job c. 16.
v. 13.

Lux dici-
tur, que se
cunctis
visibilibus
facit. Ca-
sa. in
Compend.
cap. 7. c.
exercit. lib.
5.

Finis l. b.
luminis,
sup. 11.

Vit. de fin.

Dein.

Lucidus corp.
pore sunt
plures sua
lucis, d'ie-
nis tenebris
improvis.
Opaca sunt
plures suis
tenebris alio
quo lumine.
Transpa-
rentia seu
Diaphana
carent suis
opacitate
& tene-
bris: ali-
qui quoque
mine opaca
necesse per-
meantur.
Sic al. sub.
cap. 71.

cies of the colour in that glas. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Mose* repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation* (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visit every part of the inferior World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to ask of *Job*, *By*

what way is the Light parted, and where is the way where Light dwelleth? we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *Eldras*): And those which inhabit the Heavens, do only know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on Earth. Res were sunt in mundo invisibiles; in mundo visibiles umbræ rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World; in the World visible, but their shadows.* Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth nearest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most subtle and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things seen, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficial. For it ministrerth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it dissipaterth those fad thoughts and sorrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to fathom those perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it self in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light (saith Saint Ambrose) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all. Of which, Ovid out of Orpheus:*

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus, Mandi oculus.

The world discerns it self, while I the World behold, By me the longest years, and other times are told, I the worlds eye.

Lastly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the Light, by *Hermes*, named *Lux sancta*; and *Christ* our Saviour said to be that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect

respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, and purity, this is also true, that God is neither a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of other Spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectus non mens est, at verus ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa quæ spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa quæ lumen existit: God (saith *Hermes* in *Poemandro*) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.*

So then the *Mafs* and *Chaos* being first created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickened; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, resolved their thinner parts into *Ayr*, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguous, and mixt with waters (participating the same divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the herb that feedeth seed, &c. And for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those several species, which the Earth (being made fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarification and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters, separate above this Extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turn it) are not the Crystalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayr above us, where the same is more solid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raqia* (which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*), and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayr, and more properly for the

ayr and *Aether*, then for the heavens, as the best Hebricians understand them, *quæ supra ab ætæria ab inferioribus crassius diducit, inter seque different, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and gross matters;* and the waters above the firmament, exprest in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayr, or in the uppermost region of the same.

And that the word Heaven is used for the Ayr, the Scriptures every where witness; as in the blessings of *Joseph*, and in the 104. Psalm: * *By these Springs shall the fowl of the Heaven dwell; and upon Sodom and Gomorrah it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heaven; and in Isaac blessing to Jacob; God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven: and in Deuteronomy the 11. But the land whither you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh water of the raine of Heaven; and in Job, Who hath ingendered the frosts of Heaven? and in S. Matthew, Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they know not. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word Heaven very oft used for Ayr, and taken also hyperbolically for any great Height, as, *Let us build a Tower, whose top may reach to Heaven &c.* And in this very place *Basili* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be these; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum celum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, hinc autem nunc ad similitudinem; And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation (saith *Basili*) is properly applied to another (that is to the Starry Heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament dividing the waters) it is imposed by similitude. And if there were no other proof, that by the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not the Heaven, the words of *Mose* in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth verse, make it manifest: for in the eighth verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verse he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Ayr; in these words, *And let the Fowl fly upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what use there should be of this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heat, which the *Primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, instead of this help, it would add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable would exceed all possibility of belief. *Sed nemo teneat ad impossibilia; but no man ought***

Quemadmodum Res aliquæ, &c. Procopius in Gen. 1.

Job 18. 24. 9.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

Mont. Nul. lib. fol. 121.

Job. 1. 9. 14. 49.

ought to be held to impossibilities : — and faith it self (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conductor the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus* ; the light of all reason and understanding. Now that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it selfe to many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures reach it not) let those that can believe mens imagination, apprehend it ; for I cannot. [But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius* ; and of this watric Heavne, *Basilius Magni*, in his *Hexam. fol. 40. 41. &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, in his second Book and sixth chapter. For my selfe, I am perwaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendered in the uppermost ayre.

§. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the sum of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads : The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three days he distinguished, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which ascended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darkness, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he set in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have Life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species, and kinds; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their Seeds in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preferred,

6. X

That Nature, is no Principium per se; nor Form, the giver of being: and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.

And for this working-power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion

and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength and faculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other selfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wound up by a mans hand, hath. Those therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therefore no other understanding, then such a one hath who, looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, which also directeth and commandeth that hand : forgetting in this and in all else, that by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work whatsoever they work : *Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt* : for as the mind of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will : and therefore we attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs : so God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by several Organs, several effects ; all second causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-preference (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds ; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall : so all second and instrumental causes together with Nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether silent ; virtuelife

14:

§. XL

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

And, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destiny, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received; had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and universally powerful than it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid*; and *Juvenal*:

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.*

JAVEN. 1st.

'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevaile.
Kingdoms to Slaves by Destinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillians, the Bardianists, and others, as *Basilius*, *Augusine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apollonius* the Platonist. *Plorinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestial Bodies, unchangeably working in inferiori orbits, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. *Ptolemie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoque; nostrum fatum est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are instruments of far greater use, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunset: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertainly by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course; but that the Stars have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of emi-

has; cum vero tot temporibus, tot ingentibus in-
quisitiōibus contriti; non sit comprehensa
appare: nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this
study (saith he), were means to find out the
truth, it had ere this bin found out: but seeing
it is not yet comprehended, after that so much
time, and so many wits have been worn out in
the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no
wisdom there to be had. Nam si de una re p[re]ci-
sae scientia habereitur, omnium rerum scientia
necessarij habereetur: If be precise knowledge of
any one thing were to be had, it should necessa-
rily follow, that the knowledge of all things were
to be had. And as the Philosphers were ig-
norant in Nature, and the waiues of her work-
ings; so were they more curious, their know-
ing, in their first matter and Phisical form.
For if their first matter had any being, it were
not then the first matter: for, as it is the first
matter, it hath only a power of being, which
it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist.
And seeing it is neither a substance perfect,
nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of
perfection, how any other substance should
thence take conference, it hath not been
taught, neither are these forms (as I have
learnt of Author) any thing, *sex ea existimatur po-
tenciae quae nihil est.* Again, how this first matter
should be *subiectum formarum*, and passive,
which is understood to precede the form, it
is hard to conceive: for to make form, which
is the cause, to be subiequent to the thing
caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary
to all reason, divine and humane: only it
may be said, that originally there is no other
difference between matter and form, then
between heat and fire, of which the one can-
not subsist without the other, but in a kind
of rational consideration. Leaving therefore
these Riddles to their Lovers, who by cer-
tain Scholasticall distinctions wrest and per-
vert the truth of all things, and by which
Aristotle hath laboured to prove a false eter-
nity of the World, I think it far safer to af-
firm with Saint Augustine, *that all species and
kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever
a natural precedeth, of what kind or estimati-
onsoever; from whence are the seeds, of all
forms; and the forms of all seeds and their
motations; A quo est omnis species, a quo est quicun-
que naturaliter est, cuiusque generis est, cuius-
que rationis, estimatiōis est; a quo sunt semina atque
seminum, forme seminum, motus seminum atque
seminum.* And thus much Aetorius is forced
to confess. For all forms (saith he) are, in
vino mundi; which is also the opinion of
Plato in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of
Vertus upon Dionysius.

Gen. 1. 15.

Eccles. 43.
ch. 32.

Wisd. 9. 16.

Aristotle.

Aug. 10.
super Gen.
ad lit.

ment beauty and magnitude, we may not think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Star) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dusky face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, then to adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs of his divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased his just will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be lights in the Firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the Stars are not caules (meaning perhance binding causes;) but are as open Books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of *Syracides* with-
 out all: *That there are hid yet greater things then these be, and we have seen but a few of his works*. And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost virtues of herbs and plants, which our selves low and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For hardly (saith *Solomon*) can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour find we out those things that are before us: Who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? *Multum est, de rebus celestibus aliquid cognoscere. It is much to know a little of heavenly things*. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we do not bind God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes deposed God of his Prerogative, or had God himself constrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celestial enforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom *S. Augustine*, *Impia perversitate in malis suis rectissime reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius Autorem Syderum, quam commissorem scelorum*; Where we reprehend them of evil deeds; they again with wicked perverseness urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, then the doer of the evil, is to be accused.

But that the Stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be

doubted. *Corpora celestia* (saith *Damasce*) *constitunt in nobis habitus, complexionem, & dispositiones. The heavenly bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexion, & disposition*; for the body (though *Galen* enforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kind of drawing after it the affections of the mind, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in virtues; for those of cholerick complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the Mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortal, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestial bodies (as instruments and executors of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for as he that contendeth against those enforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whoever shall neglect the remedies by virtue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensual appetite: *Vincitur satum si resistas, vincit si contemperis, Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect it, it conquereth*.

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the minds of men immediately, it is absurd to think, other then as aforesaid, as the same by the body's temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sun* (saith *S. Augustine*) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them*: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est sol, in ministerio, non imperio. The Sun is good to serve, not to sway* (saith *S. Ambrose*.) And *S. Augustine*, *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth the bodies below by those above*; but he avoucheth not, that superior bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporeal.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himself confesseth, that the Heavens do not always work their effects in inferior bodies no more then the signs of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times seen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in juvenis Patrum virtus, in the young off-spring of the Fathers virtue is*, and so the contrary, *Fa-*

trum vitia: and herein also there is often found an interchange; the Sons of virtuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egredii est soboles scelerata nata parente:

A worthy son is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods relieved power) that so much letteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; not any so well disposed, whom (the reins being let loose) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Vessels will ever retain a favour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanse the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet favour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the seeds of virtue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsel produce better and more beautiful fruit, then the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded them; so the plants apt to grow wild, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soyl suitable, and like themselves, are made more unfavourable and filled with poison. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus Astrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terre naturam*; A wise man assisteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyl. And *Ptolemy* himself confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omnia sapientis Medici, dominabuntur Astris*; A wise man, and the omniscient art of a wise Physician shall prevail against the Stars. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the rest of the Universal; whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a se-

vere execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience: the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) do sometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation; pardon offences both against others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himself, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity itself. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his own creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Desires may not make frustrate and break asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himself should in a kind have shut up himself therein; *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith *S. Augustine*) *left altogether without hope*.

And if this strength of the Stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so believeth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deposed of all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do*;) and the same God, who hath threatened unto us the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our souls to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less then their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtueless: so I think that they derogate from His eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal souls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the Sun's clarity, and that

of the Stars, is by Plato called but a shadow.
Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen intimis;
Light is the shadow of Gods brightness, who is
the light of light: But to end this question,
 because this Destiny, together with Providence,
 Prefcience, and Predestination, are
 often confounded, I think it not impertinent
 to touch the difference in a word or two;
 for every man hath not observed it, though
 all learned men have.

§. XII.

Of Prefcience.

Prefcience, or fore-knowledge (which the
 Greeks call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *prescientia*) considered in order and
 nature (if we may speak of God after the
 manner of men) goeth before Providence:
 for God fore-knew all things, before he had
 created them, or before they had being to be
 cared for; and Prefcience is no other then
 an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever
 our selves fore-know, except the same be to
 succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that
 we fore-know it. But this Prefcience of God
 (as it is Prefcience only) is not the cause of
 any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth
 Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity,
 or bind. For in that we fore-know that the
 Sun will rise, and set; that all men born in
 the World shall die again; that after Winter,
 the Spring shall come; after the Spring, Summer,
 and Harvest; and that according to the
 several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several
 sorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledge
 the cause of this, or any of these: neither
 doth the knowledge in us bind or constrain
 the Sun to rise and set, or men to die; for
 the causes (as men perfwade themselves)
 are otherwise manifest and known to all. The
 eye of man (saith Boetius) beareth those things
 subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that
 such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees,
 and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are)
 is not the cause of their so being, for such they
 be in their own natures. And again out of the
 same Author; *Divina providentia rebus generantibus non imponit necessitatem, quia si somnia evenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & poena malorum periret;* Divine Providence
 (saith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that
 are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity,
 there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment
 of evil.

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

Now Providence (which the Greeks call
Pronoia) is an intellectual knowledge,
 both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all
 things, and doth not only behold all past,
 all present, and all to come, but is the cause
 of their so being, which Prefcience (simply
 taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the
 Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is divided
 into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory
 of the past; Knowledge of the present;
 and Care of the future: and we our
 selves account such a man for provident, as
 remembering things past, and observing things
 present, can by judgment, and comparing the
 one with the other, provide for the future,
 and times succeeding. That such a thing there
 is as Providence, the Scriptures every where
 reach us; Moses in many places, the Prophets
 in their Predications; Christ himself and his
 Apostles, assure us hereof; and besides the
 Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned
 men acknowledge the Providence of God; yea
 the Turks themselves are so confident therein,
 as they refuse not to accompany and visit
 each other in the most pestilent diseases,
 nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death
 therein do manifestly present it self.

The places of Scripture proving Providence,
 are so many, both in general and particular,
 as I shall need to repeat but a few of
 them in this place: *Sing unto God* (saith David)
which covereth the Heavens with clouds, and
prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the
grass to grow upon the Mountains, which
giveth the beasts their food, and feedeth the
young Raven that cries: All these wait upon
thee that thou mayest give them food in due
season: And thou shalt drink of the River Chebar
saith God to Eliab and I have commanded
the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the
Fowls of the Air, they sow not, nor reap, and
yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Again,
Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and
one of them shall not fall on the ground without
your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are
numbered: And S. Peter, Cast all your care one
hims for he careth for you: And his judgments
are written, saith David.

God therefore, who is every where present,
 Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth,
 whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance
 against them that do evil, was therefore
 by Orpheus called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite
 eye, beholding all things; and cannot
 therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on,

as if he had transferred his power to any other;
 for it is contrary to his own word, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my*
glory to another. No man commandeth in the
 Kings presence, but by the Kings direction;
 but God is every where present, and King of
 Kings. The example of Gods universal Providence
 is seen in his creatures. The Father provideth
 for his children: beasts and birds and all
 livings, for their young ones. If Providence
 be found in second Fathers, much more in the
 first and Universal: and if there be a natural
 loving care in men, and beasts, much more
 in God, who hath formed this nature, and
 whose Divine love was the beginning, and
 is the bond of the Universal: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, Vinculum universi* (saith Plato:) *Amor Dei est*
nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus
immobile sustentaculum, ac universa machine
fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual
 knot, and link or chain of the world, and the
 immovable pillar of every part thereof, and
 the Basis and foundation of the Universal.
 God therefore who could only be the cause
 of all, can only provide for all, and sustain
 all; so as to absolute power; to every where
 presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and
 divine love; this attribute transcendent
 ability of Providence is only proper and be-
 longing.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

Now for Predestination, we can differ-
 ence it no otherwise, from Providence
 and Prefcience, then in this; that Prefcience
 only fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth and
 careth for, and hath respect to all creatures,
 even from the brightest Angels of Heaven to
 the unworthiest Worms of the Earth: and
 Predestination (as it is used specially by Divines)
 is only of men, and yet not of all to men
 belonging, but of their salvation properly,
 in the common use of Divines; or perdition,
 as some have used it. Yet Peter Lombard,
 Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others,
 take the word Predestination more strictly,
 and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of
 the Fathers take it more largely sometimes;
 among whom Saint Augustine speaking of two
 Cities, and two Societies, useth these words,
Quarum est una, que predestinata est in eternum
regnare cum Deo, altera eternum supplicium
subire cum Diabolo; Whercof one is it, which
is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but
the other is to undergo everlasting torment with
the Devil; for according to Novinus Arcellus,

Definare, est preparare; and of the same opinion
 are many Protestant Writers, as Calvin, Beza,
 Bucanus, Danes, and such like: and as for
 the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave
 them to the Divines; and why it hath pleased
 God to create some vessels of honour, and
 some of dishonour, I will answer with Gregory,
 who saith, *Qui in falli Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam confidens,*
cur non videt, rationem videt; He that seeth
 no reason in the actions of God, by consideration
 of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason
 of his blindness. And again, with S. Augustine,
Oculca esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest;
 Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be,
 unjust it cannot be.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things
 that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reason
 and Providence.

Lastly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent
 to Gods Providence, and seeing that the Stars
 have no other dominion, then is before spoken,
 and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it,
Dei artem, vel artificium Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ
 of God: and Cusanus, *Divini precepti instrumentum;*
 The instrument of the divine precept: we may
 then with better reason reject that kind of
 Idolatry, or God of fools, called Fortune or
 Chance; a Goddess, the most revered, and
 the most reviled of all other, but not antient:
 for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus,
 as Paniasius witnesseth in his *Messenacks*.
 The Greeks call her *Tyche*, signifying a relative
 being, or betiding, so as before Homers time
 this great Lady was scarce heard of; and
 Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and
 beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath
 not a word of Fortune; yet afterward the grew
 so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and
 Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, the ordered
 all things; relishing the wisdom of the wisest,
 by making the Possessor thereof miserable;
 valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making
 the success prosperous: in sum, as the actions of
 men were laid to be by the sports of Fortune,
 and the variable accidents happening in mens
 lives, but her pastimes: of which Palladius, *Vita hominum*
ludus fortune est; The life of man is the play
 of Fortune: and because it often falleth out,
 that enterprises guided by ill counsels, have
 equal success to those by the best judgment
 conducted; therefore had Fortune the same
 external figure with Sapience; whereof
 Athenæus:

Longissima è sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa pericit tamen similitudo;

From Wisdom Fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of human actions and endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to Fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of Plato, *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non precesserit*; Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith

Te facimus
Fortuna
Diam, ca-
log; loca-
mus. Sci-
10. 366.
Exod. 31.
22, 13.

Appellatibon) Quod poetæ Fortunam, nos Deum mellancibus; upon the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murder, *He that smiteth a man, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee*. Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by

Verf. 5.

Chance; and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Ax from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself; we in our phrase attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: and in

Verf. 33.

Proverbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casual and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academics, to this effect; That the same power which they called *Animam mundi*; *The soul of the World*, was no other than that incomprehensible Wisdom, which we express by the name of God, governing every Being as well in heaven as in earth; to which Wisdom and Power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many

Cic. ac
quæq. l. 1.

effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh *S. Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoever (saith he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differentiated by divers terms, according as we use, and exercise his power diversly*.

Sente. l. 4.
c. 7.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how cometh it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools? that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: for whatsoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries: then, say, such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we always fallily charge Fortune withal. For whatsoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not valiant; and great Ladies that they are not fair; shall never be made a Counsellor, a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the success, for, if he be of contrary qualities; fail with the tyde of the time, and alter form and condition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusky actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, *Omnes infirmis, arrogantia & plausibus capitur*; Every fool is wonne

wonne

wonne with his own pride, and others flattery applause: so as whosoever will live altogether out of himselfe, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodness, fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Poet gave the Bishop of that age, out of Ovid, while the Arian Hercules raged:

Ovid. Met. Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

lib. 1.

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furie's gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) had followed the counsel of his Brother Quintus, Potiusset (saith Petrarch) in *Uisulo suo mori, potiusset integro cadavere sepeliri*; He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn, and undiscovered body buried; for, as Petrarch in the same place noteth *Quid fultius quam desperantem, (presertim de effectu) libris perpetuis implicari?*



CHAP. II.

Of Man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

The creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeness*.

Gen. 1. 26.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods works to us known: *Ingens miraculum homo*; Man is the greatest wonder (saith Plato out of *Mercurius*): *Nature ardentissime artificium*. The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as saith Zoroaster) though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortal, and spiritual; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Trif. Aft. 2. & de
volunt. Dei.
Pla. fig.
l. 1.

What more foolish then for him that despairs (especially of the effect) to be entangled with endless contentions? Whosoever therefore will let before him Machiavel's two marks to shoot at (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must let on and take off a back of yron to a weak wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble; for as he who first devised to add sayls to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all winds and storms, or else be sometime or other perished by his own invention: so that man which prizeth virtue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoyle and strike his sayls, as the divers natures of calmes and storms require, must cut his sayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of man hath found out: let us resolve with *S. Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1 Cor. c. 8.
v. 6.
v. 6. c. 12.

Sandius his animal, mentisq. capacius alie, Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera possit: *Natus homo est*.

Sandius;
quia pars
prior im-
mortalis,
cuius, quia
in mortal-
li. In locum
Ovid. Met.
l. 1. 74.

More holy then the rest, and understanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as *S. Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which *S. Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *Ut sicut Deus unus, ad eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno*

C

omnia,

omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terre: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus habere imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written *Dominum* in the plural number, and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive; that Man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul only: because as God is invisible, so the soul of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporeal, so is the soul of Man immortal and incorporeal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world, so but one soul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soul of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*: The soul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to *Aristotle*, though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise then potentially true, all the *Aristotelians* in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments do the Jews make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The School-men resemble the Mind or Soul of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Mind there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of real differences, are but one Mind: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diverse; and again, they distinguish between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*, and spin into small threads with subtle distinctions, many times the plainness and sincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that catcheth and dissolveth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to be substantial, but not the similitude: *Sed in substantia uenit qualitatibus declarativum*: A word declaring quality in the substance: Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image and Similitude do greatly differ, so the finite soul doth not therefore leave to be the Image

of God; but it hath not his Similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by fin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his *Retractions* maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howsoever the School-men and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; sure I am, that S. *Paul* maketh the same sense of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we have born the image of the earthy, so shall we bear the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* useth the word (Image) for both: so Saint *James* useth the word (Similitude) for both, in these words: *Therewith blese we God even the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God*. Howsoever therefore S. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegance in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Constatimur imaginem in eternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; we confess that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners, that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non esset, procul dubio nec imago esset*; As if (saith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is no image. The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness*: which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verse following, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him*. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used again by it self, as, *In the day that God created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him*. And this similitude S. *Paul*, *Colos.* the third, calleth the Image; *Put on* (saith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him*. And in *Synacides* it is written, *He made them according*

Rom. 1. 23.

Zach. de oper. Dei. l. 3. c. 1.

1 Cor. 15. 49.

Jan. 3. 5.

In Gen.

to his image. Now if we may believe S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolmen, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for S. *Paul* useth both the words directly in one sense. For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Zacharius laboureth to prove, that Man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine, quae non fuerit iuxta imaginis participem*; No part in a man (saith he) which was not participating God image; for God said, *Let us make man according to our own image*. But the soul alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole Man compounded of body and soul. The body of man (saith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore *Microcosmus*; but the idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he allegeth that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, As when a man is called a mortal man, yet is not the whole man mortal, but the body only: so when God said, *Let us make man after our image*, he meant the soul of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. *Augustine*): Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: *Deus enim non est humane forme particeps, neque corpus humanum divinae* (saith *Philo*); God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the form divine. The Hebrew word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; Man passeth away in a shadow: Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternal and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphite*, against the very essence and Majesty of God.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding then these gross Heretics: *Ad similitudinem Dei proprius accedebat humana virtus, quam figura*: The virtue which is in man (saith he) came nearer the similitude of God then the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it self, and (in a word) Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us know of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a sub-

stance, the image of such a nature, or where in can man be said to resemble his unexcogitable power and perfectness? Certainly, not in Dominion alone; for the Devil is said to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father: Neither because man hath an immortal soul, and therein the faculties of Memory, Understanding, and Will; for the Devils are also immortal; and participate those faculties, being called *Demonies*, because *scienter* of knowledge and subtilty: Neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: For who have rebelled against God? Who have made gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owls, yea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleasures, nor reasonable men? Yet do I not condemn the opinion of S. *Crisostom* and *Augustine*, as touching Dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Justice and Piety; for God did not only make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the air) and over the Beasts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reason, as it is the ability of Understanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenaeus* did therefore call Man, the image of God, because he was animal rationale only; but that he understood it better, with *Sybillas*: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*; Man that is ended with right reason is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creator, and the same God to serve, love, and obey: and therefore said S. *Augustine* (who herein came nearer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*; God made man in respect of the intellect after his own image and similitude; and *Reynolds*, *Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei*; Man was made after the image of God, in mind, or, in that he hath a mind.

S. II.

Of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

But *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is: *forma vel natura hominis*, The form or nature of man; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*,

Permod.
De mente
Idem. l. 3.

Sen. ep. 64.
f. 11. f. 1.
l. 1. c. 5.

is taken for *prima vis animi*, the principal strength of the mind, or soul, *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called *Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa, a divine understanding, and an intellect or mind contemplative. Est autem mens nostra (saith Cusanus) vis comprehendendi*; & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectual mind (saith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very essence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) then the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or understanding (saith *Mercurius*) *est Deus in hominibus*, f. 11. f. 1. Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the same essence or nature with the divine light, but a body ill-lightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or understanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our souls the purest; or, the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternal light ill-lightned. And this *Mens*, others call *Animam animæ*, The soul of the soul, or, with *S. Augustine*, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of sapience and divine Knowledge, *Quæ amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur*, Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (saith *Philos*) between which and reason; between which and the mind, called *animas*; between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference: Reason, is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *Animas*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Animas corpus animas, id est, vivificat*; or, The soul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life; for death is the separation of body and soul: and the same strength (saith *Philos*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Animas*, or mind, or soul in Man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine understanding, *Perspicacem animæ partem*, The perceiving part of the mind, or, The light by which the soul discerneth: *Dormientium mens, non animas, sopit*; & in *juriosis mens extinguitur*, *animas manet*: In men that sleep it is this (mens), or understanding, and not the mind or soul, which rests, during which time it is ha-

bitual in wife men, and in mad men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the soul; for mad men do live, though distracted. Therefore this word being often used for the Soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distracted mind, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's sake: and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be, A pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be diffused, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius*; *Animas est imago mentis, mens imago Dei*, *Deus menti præest, mens animæ anima corporis*, The Soul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or *Mens*; and this (*Mens*) or understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the body. This division and distinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Zanch. de op. Dei, l. 1. c. 1.* *Martinus Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanch.* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words; for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem excedendam non eget Mens organo, tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuetur, & ex quo intelligentiam concipiat*. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum similitudo ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the faculty of understanding, the mind of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasies, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasie. But in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie,

Pag. 187.
C. sequens.
Ad imaginem.
nem. Dicitur.
creavit deum.
id est, id est, sapientie, virtutis, aut bonitatis compotem, qui esse in creatura creantem agnoscere solumque imitari, pro ingenio, non progressu, aut virtute, fit conceptus ratione, sed sensu.

in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporal Organum; neither can it be understood to be an Organum of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and mind, as colours are to the sight; whence it followeth, that the imagination or phantasy is itself to the faculty of understanding, as the eyes to the faculty of seeing: and as this is an Organum, so that. Of this question, How the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. Biffon, late Bishop of Winchester, unto Henry Jacob. Howsoever the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God in *mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whose words are these, *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, sequere intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of *S. Augustines*) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere cum a quo facta est*, (that is) The Mind (or *Mens*) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth it self; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear *Basil*; *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est. Peccatum vero imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immergit*: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscentie.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joined, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soul,

we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Original righteousness, most perfectly infused by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seal of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which, joynted to the Soul, is a part of the Essential Constitution of our proper Species) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Dust and Clay, the inimitable liability of his own Piety and Righteousness.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) do those that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walk in the ways of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retain this Image, as they fear, love, and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sins. For the unjust mind cannot be after the Image of God, seeing God is Justice it self; The bloud-thirsty hath it not, for God is Charity and Mercy it self; Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soul, together with God: and to be short, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteousness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and embrace the false and dureless pleasures of this Stage-play World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods Wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our souls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-less Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creator, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousness, and Holiness, as saith *S. Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by *S. Augustine*,

Gen. 1: 26.

1 Cor. 4: 14.

Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum
quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque ex-
iguum totum, in terris statuit: God: therefore
placed in the Earth the man whom he had made,
as it were another World; the great and large
World in the small and little World: for out
of the Earth and Dust, was formed the flesh of
man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the
bones

bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which *Ovid*:

*Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,
Et documenta damus qua sumus origine nati:*

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is,
enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of
a stony nature are.

His blood, which disparteth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it self, stirred up by the heat of the Sun, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oyl, or Balsamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grass, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always present with God; and lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous (for, *In Angelis deprehensa est similitudo*, *Rebeld, sic found folly in his Angels*, faith *Job*); yet, with such a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Universal (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura*, *secundum quod omnia rerum*, faith *Aristotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the seven Ages of man the seven Planets; Whereof, our infant

is compared to the *Moon*, in which we seem only to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the days of Love, Desire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh, to *Saturn*, wherein our days are sad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made unscissable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours, and to all persons. For this Tide of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus etas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I give this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from shame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty lost,
Though Air, and care, and cost,
Do promise Nature's help in vain.

And

And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

*Soles occidere & redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The Sun may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Sleep after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any bating place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juice, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is always either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

THele be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himself, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or describe unto himself what he pleased, and make election of his own form. *God made man in the beginning* (faith *Sirachides*) *and left him in the hands of his own counsel*. Such was the liberality of God, and man's felicity: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (faith *Lucilius*), and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature; which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life: (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sensual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which soever he took pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should surely grow in him, and bring

forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Aclepius Atheniensis* (faith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagoreans, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those *Antients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were signified Deceivings; by Lions, Oppressors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also *S. Matthew* resembleth to false Prophets, *which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves*: by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men: of which *S. John Baptist*, *O ye generation of Vipers, &c.*

§. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse*, *With whom, to will is to make*, faith *Beda*. Neither did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for my Father *worketh to this day* (faith *Christ*) *I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new species or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their seeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose

D

simple

simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberal choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality; and for the cruelty of

mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man Noah and his Family, with those creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.



CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

[That the seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

Concerning the first Habitation of man, we read, that the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made, Gen. 2. 6. Of this seat and place of Paradise, all Ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of Genesis, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: Some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial Paradise, without all regard of the Worlds Geography, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where Moses wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Error is so fruitful, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. For (saith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum autoritate persequi, transmittimus; We pass over many gross errors, by the authority of great men led and persuaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I myself dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Piety, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for

they were men; Et humanum est errare. And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, GOD hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakness: Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one. Saint Paul confess'd that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Jude) who is only wise. Sapientia ubi invenitur (saith Job) But where is wisdom found? and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living. And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our salvation depended not.

§. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradise.

Now touching Paradise, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a Paradise, or no? or whether Moses description were altogether mystical, and allegorical? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others, have affirmed; and that under the names of those four Rivers Pison, Gehon, Hiddekel, and Perath, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge, there were delivered unto us other mysteries and significations; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence; or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milk, and

and Honey. This Allegorical understanding of Paradise by Origen divulged, was again by Franciscus Georgius received (saith Sixtus Senensis); whose frivolous imaginations Sixtus himself doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fifth Book, fol. 338. the last Edition.

S. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Allegorical construction, and set Paradise in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our souls: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of Paradise, was meant the Soul or Mind; by Adam, Mens, or Understanding; by Eve, the Sense; by the Serpent, Delicetation; by the Tree of good and evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the virtues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c. 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestial and terrestrial Paradise; the one into which S. Paul was wrapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chrysostomus was of opinion, that a Paradise had been; but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withal the places now not so much as existing. To which Luther seemeth to adhere.

The Manichees also understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two several places. First, upon this; Fill the earth, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. Hoc ipso etiam quod dicit, Replete terram, dominantur universis animantibus, subijcite terram, clarissime docet, totam terram exantem, & omnigenis (ut nunc erat) fructibus consistam, fidem & hortum illum Adæ, & posteritatis future fuisse; These words (saith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was,) was the garden and seat of Adam, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the Acts, Cap. 17. Apollolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum idem sacrum docet, ut habitent super universam faciem terre: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle (saith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (saith he) was that Paradise. Which conjectures I will answer in order. Goropius Becanus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledged that Adam was first planted

by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place Goropius findeth near the River of Acesines; in the Confinnes of India.

Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus make Paradise under the Equinoctial; and Poffellus, quite contrary, under the North-pole: the Chaldeans also, for the most part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this sensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Air. Strabus, and Rabanus, were both sick of this vanity, with Origen, and Philo: so was our venerable Bede, and Peter Comestor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins says of Philo Judeus, that he wondred, Quomodo malo genio afflatus, Bymbat evil Angel he was blown up into this error; so can I but greatly marvel at the learned men, who so grossly and blindly wandered; seeing Moses, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compass upon which it lay, in respect of Judea, or Canaan.

Noviomagus also upon Bede, De natura rerum, believeth that all the Earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain from whence the four Rivers, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning; for he could not think it possible, that these Rivers, of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ran through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true local Paradise Eastward, in the Country of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had made: and howsoever the vulgar translation, called Jerom's translation, hath converted this place thus, Plantaverit Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis a principio, The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, and

and (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For, What sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that he planted a Garden in Pleasure, or, that a River went out of pleasure to water the Garden? But the Seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, The *Paradise* of *Eden*; and so doth the *Chaldean* Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a Place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do always keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which signifieth in the *Hebrew*, Pleasantsness, or delicacy; as the *Spaniards* call the Country, opposite to the Isle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, That as *Florida* was a Country, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was *Eden* a Region, called Pleasure, or Delicacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as *Florida* signifieth Flourishing; so *Eden* signifieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradise* being the choice feat of all that Region, *Paradise* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of Pleasure.

Now, for *Eastward*, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Theodoret*, *Gregory*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Solomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damasenus*, &c. who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*; for *Damasenus*'s own words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confitus*; *Paradise* is a place marvellously planted by the hands of God in *Eden*, toward the East.

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of latter times, do both understand these words of *Eden* and of the East, contrary to the vulgar Translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words: *After this I will begin to speak of Paradise terrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hoc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantavit Deus ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senensis*, *Moses enim clarissime prodicit, Paradisum à Deo constum in regione*

terre Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus, Cham habuisse ad Orientalem plagam Heden; For *Moses* (saith he) doth shew most clearly, that *Paradise* was planted of God in a Region of the East Country, which is called *Heden*: but that *Heden* is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of *Verse 16*, *Genesis*, where we read, that *Cham dwelt on the East border of Heden*. *Percinus* endeavoureth to qualifie this Translation; for this particule (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very first day; alleging this place of *Christi*, that although the Devil was said to be a *Man-slayer* from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgment) the Devil was from the instant of his fall a *Man-slayer* in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans Creation. And for conclusion, *S. Hierom* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*ante*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis, Cherubin*; and *Percinus* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the *Hebrew*, *posuit à parte Orientali borti Heden, Cherubin*; He set on the East-side of the Garden *Gen. 3. 24*.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldeans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Damasenus*): affirming, that we always pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, always towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Judea*, yet it was West from *Perfia*) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great, which way we turn our faces, for our hearts stand right, other then this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on earth; so by *Christi* death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (*East*) to *Eden* by *Moses*, then to shew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures always called the people of those Nations, the Sons of the East which inhabited *Arabia*, *Megopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Perfia*: of which *Ovid*.

*Enrus ad Auroram, Nabatheasq; regna recessit,
Persidæque, & radiis juga subdita matutinis.*

The East wind with *Aurora* hath a bidding
Among the *Arabian* and the *Perfian* hills,
Whom *Phebus* first salutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, that *Jeremy* the Prophet, threatening the destruction of *Jerusalem*, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonosor*, and of whom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood North from *Jerusalem*, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (à principio) id est*, (saith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the same signification: *From the beginning and Eastward is all one; à principio idem est quod ad Orientem*.

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. and 9. Verse, in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* else-where as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why, is express'd: *that he might dress it and keep it*; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the

most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Country near unto *Charon* in *Megopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words; *si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons; si non est fons, non est flumen; si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Trigris, nec Euphrates; non est fons, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur; si Paradisus be non sensibilis, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no such four beads or branches, and then not any such river, as Pison, or Gehon, Trigris, or Euphrates; no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath *S. Hierome* upon *Daniel*: *Contiteant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegorie Legibus se debere subnere: Let the dotage of them be silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth it self, and think, that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Rivers, and the Trees, under the Rules of Allegory.**

Furthermore, by the continuation and Order of the Story, is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth Verse faith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third heaven, nor near the circle of the Moon, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmatical or mystical, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him; which proveth both Eden, and Paradise therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the Pro-*

Perf. 16.

Ezek. 17.

Ezek. 31. 9.

phets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple style, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose, to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been fo often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia*? For we find that the Valley, wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward *Zoar*: In like manner was *Israel* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and foil of far exceeding excellency.

Gen. 13-10

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* And whence are their praises of the *Elizian* fields, but out of the Story of *Paradise*? To which also appertain those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

Ovid. Met. l. 2.

*Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris,
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.*

The joyfull Spring did ever last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and, after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venter the stoln Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden*, or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into four Branches; together with the kingdoms of

Avila, and *Cush*; and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Delarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I do not exclude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Story being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententie: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt: (that is) There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporal: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those, which take it in both senses; which third Opinion, St. Augustine approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgment: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, et intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic et hujus sanctissimum nomen sensibile simul et intelligibile, et duplici specie est præditum; (that is) As man was created at one time, both sensible, and intelligible; so was this holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, and endued with a double form.**

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21. Suidas in verbo Paradisi.

§. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

BUT it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the known World; from whence, *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seem more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pisbon* should be *Ganger*, which watereth the East *India*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*: and these two Rivers so far distant, (except

(except all the World were *Paradise*) these streams can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have been in some such Country, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly known: I assure my self, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no Fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it self, and separated, as to hang in the Air under the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the four Rivers of *Ganger*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up again in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? Which left any man think that I enforce, or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestor*'s own words. *Est autem locus amoenissimus, longo terra et maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeo elevatus, ut nique ad lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place, covered from our habitable zone, by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

Here converted by *Majors*.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus. Paradisum multis sublimioris positionis esse regione, atque hac nostra aexta terra, eoque ferunt illic per precipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possit; eoque impetu impulsis, præfuge sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus profilitant ebullantque in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore (saith he) we give this for an answer, that *Paradise* is (set in a Region far raised above this part which we inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from thence these Rivers fall down with such a headlong violence, as words cannot express; and with that force so impelled and prest, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again rise and boil up in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephraim*, which is this: *Ephraim dicit, Paradisum ambire terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita positum esse, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdaret Regione, non aliter atque Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit; (which is) That *Paradise* doth compass or**

embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orb of the Earth on every side, as the Orb of the Moon doth embrace the Moon. To the end therefore that these ridiculous Explications and Opinions do not bring question unto Truth it self, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of *Paradise*, which God in his wisdom appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as *Aelamandron* saies) in parte *Terra meliore, in the best part thereof*; that from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did the Sons of *Noah* also disperse themselves after the Flood, into all other remote Regions and Countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their own forefathers have come, and out of what Regions and Nations; it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the streams and branches of Mankind have followed and been deduced. If then it do appear by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine several Opinions before remembered, by the Truth it self; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common Reason; and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightful Garden.

§. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the marks of *Paradise*, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chrysostomus*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can find any mark or memory thereof (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Flood the cause of those high Mountains, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects); for mine own opinion, I think: neither the one, nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Flood withered, and grown old, in respect of the first beauty (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed): yet if there had been no sign of any such place, or if the soil and seat had not remained, then would

would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850 years after the Flood, have described it to particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses*, would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it self were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remain the same Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to find in what longitude *Paradise* lay; and learning out one of these Rivers, which afterward doth divide it self into four branches, we are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it self. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided, and became into four heads; Now, whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) from thence, be referred to *Eden* it self, or to *Paradise*; yet the division, and branching of those Rivers, must be in the North, or South side of the very Garden (if the Rivers run as they do, North and South) and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, and *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the Flood, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered, as future ages knew it not, so is there no probability that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new Rivers created by the Flood which were not, or that the Flood (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills, or deep Valleys. For what descent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or Flood of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a wind to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased*. So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters sank, there was any wind at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the wind to blow, to drie up the abundant slime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick vapours, and unwholsome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore differ the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billows of the Sea: for any Ebbs and Floods there could

be none, when the waters were equal, and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or Gulfs to receive a Flood, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proof that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Josephus* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his days; which pillars were set up above 1265 years before the Flood; counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joseph* himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom, although there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruiner thereof might then be seen. Now, that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the City of *Enoch*, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea, the ruines thereof, *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his days, who lived in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta videntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt: The foundation of which huge mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report*. It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the City of *Joppa* was built before the Flood, over which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his brother *Phimeas*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain Altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other City, called *Enoch* by *Annius*, might be seen, though founded in the first age: but it could not be of the first City of the World, built by *Cain*; the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were

were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that the waters of the Flood overflowed by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains. And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the Flood, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus Mons in Armenia (qui Earis appellatur) in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, Diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is said, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon*. Now, although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterward, and ever since, known by the same names; and on which Mountains it is generally received, that the Ark rested: but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Flood; on which the *Thalmodists* report, that many Giants saved themselves also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turn up down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that when *Noah* sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth, which the had plucked, and which (until the Trees were discovered) the found not: for otherwise she might have found them floating on the waters; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written: *solum, olive raptum, or deceptum, a leaf plucked*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of *Paradise* might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

§. VI.

That *Paradise* was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers:

His conceit of *Aug. Chrysostomus* being answered, who only giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that

of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Coropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, the Univerſality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and Inhabit it*, Rule over every Creature, &c. with this of the *AGS*, And hath made of one blood all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now, although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam's* Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dress and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choice, but that *Adam* had been left to the Univerſal; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into *Paradise* after *Adam's* expulsion, if the Univerſal had been *Paradise*? For then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the World. For if all the Earth were *Paradise*, that place can receive no better contradiction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of *Paradise* into *Paradise*, except we should believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, That in so large a field, as the Univerſal, there should grow but one Thistle. *Noviomagus* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, *Ganges*, *Nilus*, and *Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountain, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that *Pison* was falsely taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsely for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havila* in *India*, and *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The Seventy write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Coropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet with their conjecture far more probable,

probable, than that of *Ephrem, Cyrillus, and Athanasius*. That *Paradise* was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount *Calvary* in *Hierusalem*. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Flood, yet *Adam's* ribs-bones must have contained a thousand fathoms, and much more, if he had forded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make *Paradise* as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the School-men affirm, *Paradise* to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe of the Moon (which opinion, though the School-men charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* lays it off from *Beda*, upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*;) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but finds it seated hex or nearest Heavens; it may seem, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it self, into which the Souls of the blessed were carried after death.

Ding. Just.
See.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for fear of the *Aeropagites* (in this, and many other divine apprehensions) set down what they believed in plain terms, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one only powerfull God; and therefore did the Devil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gave this judgment of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*; by that place aforesaid, meant the celestial *Paradise*, and not this of *Eden*. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightful, and healthfull, upon the top of Mount *Attho* (called *Acrothonos*) which be-

Just. Mart.
adm. Aug.

ing above all Clouds of Rain, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many years) are called *Maerobici* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is used, for proof of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Ildore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Souls were preserved till the last Judgment; which *Trevelius* and *Justine Martyr* also believed. But this opinion was of all *Catholicque Divines* re-proved, and in the *Florentine Council* damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est, Enoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt, an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live; so where they live, in Paradise, or elsewhere, it is uncertain*. But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the Earth, and have risen again in the far distant Regions of *India, Egypt, and Armenia*.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventer.)

It is first therefore alleged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so near the Moon, it had been too near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with such swiftnes, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the space between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolemy* and *Alfaganus*) is seventeen times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compass of the whole Earth for a Basis and foundation. But had it been so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men, seeing it would deprive us of the

Cicero
Summ. Scip.

the Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell near those fairs of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell near the *Catadupa*, or over-falls of Nilus. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the Indies, far greater water-falls, then those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling near them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hec apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, que nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; But I do not remember (saith he) that I ever read those things either in *Basil* or *Ambrose*.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *Saint Paul*) but all shall be changed: which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the earth, saving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Air, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Flood did not therefore reach it (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelm it;) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to *Mafius Damascenus*, and the *Thal mudists*, who affirm, that there were of the *Gyants* that saved themselves on the Mountain *Baris*, and on *Sion*. But to help this, *Scotus* being (as the rest of the School-men are) full of distinction, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at *Jordan*; and as the Flood was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifyeth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seem to affirm in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled.

1 Cor. 15.
36. 51.

1 Pet. 3.
10.

Gen. 7. 19.

Eccl. 14.
21.

But this I dare avow of all those School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, then to resolve, by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the Mountains of *Olympus*, *Atho*, and *Atlas*, over-reach and surmount all winds and clouds; and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on the same mountain-tops, do not find the alhes (receiving of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off by rains, when they return: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self-Hills the ayr is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom here in I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayr to mount her self by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat *Paradise* under the *Æquinoctial*: and of the pleasant habitations under: those Climates.

THose which come neerer unto Reason, find *Paradise* under the *Æquinoctial* line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that there-under might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soil: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sun. But this is (*non causa pro causa*), for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because *Eden* is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of *Euphrates*, *Tygris*, or *Ganges* under it (Ganges being one of the four rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Æquinoctial*, did so much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable; but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived bet-

ter, and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those days it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerer to the Line it self. For hercof Experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For God himself (saith *Esay*) that formed the earth and made it, be that prepared it, be created it not in vain, be formed it to be inhabited. Now we find that these hottest Regions of the world, seated under the *Equinoctial line*, or neer it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternly wind (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brisa*) that doth evermore blow (strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this ayr and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we find also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brooks, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade; so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing; and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise of Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* any time despise her withered Husband *Verminum*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terra vitulige*, *Vicious Countries*: for

Nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that, to conclude this part, *Terullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse; and (to say the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that *Eden* in *Celofyria*, there is a Country in *Babylon*, once of this name, as is proved, out of *Esa. 37.* and *Ezek. 27.*

These opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planned. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as modern.

Besides, we find that the *Afyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* only and a few other excepted) fought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Greeks* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romans* despised, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: And after them, the *Turks* hath fought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the antient memory of those people, which he hath subjected and intrahled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two Considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and, that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petrea*; but in this Region was *Moses* himself when he wrote; and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia the Desert*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are expressed to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and

and beyond both *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay*, I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by *Rabakeb*: Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as *Gofan*, and *Harar*, and *Refeph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaassar*; and in *Ezechiel*, where he prophesieth against the *Tyrians*: They of *Harar*, and *Canneh*, and *Eden*, the Merchants of *Sheba*, *Assur*, and *Chilmad*, were thy Merchants, &c.

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapoli*: the second part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwise *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Affyria* is joyned to *Arabia the Desert*, and where *Ptoleme* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is known by the name of *Domus Edeni*, or *Celo-Syria*, otherwise *Vallis cavæ*, or the hollow Valley, because the mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Cæle* in Greek is *Cava* in Latine. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradise*, the *Jews* believed this *Celo-Syria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*, though, to give *Beroaldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saying, That he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-understood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pijon* and *Gebon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now to find out *Eden*, (which as *Moses* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the *Desarts*, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red-Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Ishrah* and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (saith *Ishrah*) *Gofan*, *Harar*, and *Refeph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telaassar*. Also *Ezechiel* joyneth *Harar* with *Eden*, who together with those of *Sheba*, *Assur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that

traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith *Ezechiel*) *The Mart of the people for many Isles*. And it hath ever been the custom, that the *Persians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane Sea*: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the Bay of *Iffens*, now *Lajazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-town of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Country yielded; and having counted the several People and Countreys, he addeth the particular Trade, which each of them exercised: They were thy Merchants (saith the Prophet) in all sorts of things, in rayments of fine Silks, and of broyered works, fine Linnen, Coral, and Pearl: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: The Merchants of *Sheba*, and *Raamah* were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious Stones, and Gold. Now, these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Felix* yield: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulf*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gums, and Pearls, as their own Countries yielded: and (withall) having trade with their Neighbors of *India*, had from them also all sorts of Spices, & plenty of Gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of *Tyre*, the *Shebas*, or *Arabians* entred by the mouth of *Tygris*, and from the City of *Teredon*, (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent up all their rich Merchandizes by Boat to *Babylon*, from whence by the body of *Euphrates*, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of *Aleppo*, and then over Land they past to *Tyre*, as they did afterward to *Tripoly*, (formerly *Hieropolis*) and thence to *Alexandretta*, as aforesaid. Now, the Merchants of *Canneh*, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with *Eden*, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from *Arabia* and *India*, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of *Persia*, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* understandeth by *Canneh*, *Seleucia*, which is seated upon *Euphrates*,

Ijs. 45.

Ijs. 27. v. 12.

Ez. 27. v. 33.

Ez. 1. v. 1.

Snd. 10.

Verse 24.

Ez. 27. v. 33.

Plin. l. 8.
c. 26.

Strabo. l. 16.

Gen. 11.
31.

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieronymus* thinks it to be *Ctesiphon*: but *Ctesiphon* is seated down low upon *Tygris*, and *Canneb* cannot be on that side. I mean, on the East-side of *Tygris*; for then were it out of the Valley of *Shinar*. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenite* upon *Euphrates*, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of *Syria*, after it leaveth to be the bound of *Arabia* the Defart, and where the River of *Euphrates* reflecteth from the Defart of *Palmyrena* for these people of *Canneb* (afterward *Schenite*) inhabited both borders of *Euphrates*, stretching themselves, from their own City of *Canneb* in *Shinar*, Westward along the banks of *Euphrates*, as far as the City of *Thapsacus*, where *Ptolemy* appointed the Fords of *Euphrates*: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenite* by *Strabo*, whose words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam cunctibus, iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites*. Therefore those that take *Canneb* for *Charran*, do much mistake it. For *Charran*, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* in *Chaldea* (called by God) standeth also in *Mesopotamia*; not upon *Euphrates* it self, but upon the River of *Chaboras*, which falleth into *Euphrates*: and the Merchants of *Charran* are distinctly named with those of *Canneb* in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran and Canneb, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Asfer, and Chilmad, were they Merchants*. Wherefore *Charran*, which is sometimes called *Charre*, and *Haran*, and *Aran*, is but the same *Charran* of *Mesopotamia*; and when it is written *Aran*, then it is taken for the Region of *Mesopotamia*; or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word (*Mesopotamia*) importing, A country between Rivers: for *Mesor* in Greek, is *medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *fluvius*. And when it is written *Haran* or *Aran*, it is then taken for the City it self, to which *Abraham* came from *Ur* (as afore-said.) For *Strabo* in the description of *Arabia*, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of *Cadofyria*, to the edge of *Mesopotamia*, to the *Schenite*, who also inhabited on both sides of *Euphrates*, and were in ages accounted of these *Arabians* which inhabit *Bitanea*, and the North part of the Defarts, stretching themselves toward the inhabited solitude of *Palmyrena*, which lieth between *Syria*, and *Arabia* the Defart. So as these of *Canneb* lay in the very highway from *Babylon* to *Tyre*, and were neighbours (in different) to *Charran*, and to *Eden*:

and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneb, and Eden, &c.* But *S. Hierome* made a good interpretation of *Canneb*, or *Chalne*, by *Seleucia*: for *Seleucia* was antiently called *Chalenne* (witness *Aprian*) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from *Chalne*, or *Canneb*, to *Chalenne*: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with *Seleucia*, and almost the next unto it (as) *Thelbe-Canne*, and *Mann-Canne*, the one a little to the West of *Seleucia*, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of *Tygris* and *Euphrates* are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient *Canne* was (being all three within the bound of the Valley *Shinar*) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain feat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of *Thelbe* and *Man* to the word *Canne*, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less *Canne*, or between *Canne* the old and the new: which additions to distinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with *Eden*, as *Haran*, or *Charran*, *S. Hierome* on the *Judges* judg. 1. speaketh thereof in these words: *Cunigae reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quae est in medio itinere contra Niniveem, undecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the eleventh day.*

This City is by the Martyr *Stephen*, named *Charran* (speaking to the High-Priest:) *Ye Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran*. But the feat of this City is not doubted of: for it is not only remembered in many Scriptures, but withall exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craffus* the Romane, who for his insatiable greediness, was called *Gurgus avaritiae*; the Gulf of avarice. Whereof *Lucan*:

Affrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.

With Roman blood the Assyrian Carre he defiled.

But this City *Canne*, or *Chalne*, is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of *Nimrod*: *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the Land of Sinar, or Shinar*; where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what Cities and People were subject unto *Nimrod*; all which lay in the

Adi. 7. 1.

Lucan. l. 1.
105.

Gen. 10.
10.

the said Valley of *Shinar*, or near it; and this Valley of *Shinar* is that Tract afterwards called *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, into which also *Eden* stretcheth it self, *Chaldea, Babylonia, Sinar, idem sunt* (saith *Comefort*.) Three names of one Country: which Region of *Babylonia*, took name of the Tower *Babel*; and the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And that *Shinar* was *Babylonia*, it is proved in the eleventh Chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode: in which Plain Babylon was built* (as afore-said.)

verse 1.

Now *Shinar* being *Babylonia* and *Canneb* in the first beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatness, and before he had subdued any stranger, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in *Shinar*, it proveth that *Canneb* joyneth to *Babylonia*; which also *Ezechiel* completh with *Eden*, and (further) affirmeth that those of *Eden* were also the Merchants which traded with the *Tyrians*: and *Isaiab* in the threats of *Senacherib* against *Jerusalem* (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of *Eden* which were at *Telassar*. But before I conclude where *Eden* it self lieth, it is necessary to describe those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, those of *Sheba* and *Raamah*. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cush, &c. And the Sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And the Sons of Raamah were Sheba, &c. and anon after; Cush begat Nimrod: so as Sheba was the grand-child of Cush, and Nimrod the Son of Cush, whose elder brother was Seba*;

verse 7.

though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of *Shinar*, where *Babel* was built, afterwards *Babylonia*. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoining to *Shinar*, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons; which possessed it.) For (saith *Ezechiel*) the Merchants of *Raamah* and *Sheba* were they Merchants, they occupied in their fair with the chief of all spices, and all precious Stones, and Gold. So as *Sheba* was that Tract of Country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Felix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where *Tygris* and *Euphrates* fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Country, *Strabo* calleth *Catabria*, where the best *Myrrhe* and

Frankincense is gathered: which people have an interchange or trade with *Elam*, lying on the East-side of the Persian gulf. By this it appeareth who were the *Shebeans*, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to have been the Merchants of *Tyre*, for Gold, Spices, and precious Stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of *India* (called *Elma*, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatics and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of *Eratosthenes*, *In Persiae ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi unguines gignuntur: in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli*. *Eratosthenes* (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that, *In the beginning of the Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining Stones*. Now, the difference between *Sheba* the Son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the Son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew *(Samech)* and *Sheba* with *(Schein)*; but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are diverse. For *Sheba* is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, and *Saba* (whence the Queen of *Saba*) neighboured the Red-Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Plains* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabae*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebe & Sabae*.

The *Shebans*, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the *Edenites*, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the *Edenites* were seated: and so those of *Sheba*, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it, past up the Country, by *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, being joyned in one main stream, and so through the Region of *Eden*, which *Tygris* boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandize toward *Tyre*. And as the Cities of *Charran*, and *Channeh*, border *Eden* on the West and North-west: so doth *Sheba* on the South, and *Chilmad* on the North-east: *Chilmad* being a Region of the higher *Media*, as appeareth in the *Chaldea* Paraphraists; which Country, by the Geographers is called *Coromintena*, (L) placed by exchange for (R) which change the *Hebrews* also often use.

Thus much of those Countries which border *Eden*, and who altogether traded with the *Tyrians*: of which, the chief were the *Edenites*, inhabiting *Telassar*: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of *Telassar* lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from *Sheba* and *Arabia*, and also to convey it over into *Syria*, and to *Tyris*. Now, to make these things the more plain, we must remember, that

Strabo. l. 16.

that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the *Babylonian* Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dil-joyined.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabshake*, the while the Army of *Affyria* lay before *Jerusalem*, that the Cities of *Gofan*, *Harar*, *Refeph*, and the *Edenites* at *Telassar*, had resisted the *Affyrians*: though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed as *Gofan*, and *Harar*, *Refeph*, and the children of *Eden*, which were at *Telassar*? But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that those Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Efar-Haddon* held *Affyria*; and *Merodach Baladan*, *Babylonia*. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabshake* which lay before *Jerusalem* (*Hezekias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in *Egypt*, was by the Angel of God destroyed; the King of *Babel* lent to *Hezekias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the *Affyrians*. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, *Efar-Haddon* succeeding him in *Affyria*. To the *Babylonian* Ambassadors sent by *Merodach*, *Hezekias* shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of *Babylon* afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the fuspition of war encreasing between *Babylon* and *Affyria*, the *Edenites* which inhabited the borders of *Shinar* towards the North, and towards *Affyria*, were employed to bear off the incursions of the *Affyrians*; and their Garrison-place was at *Telassar*; and the very word (*Telassar*) faith *Jennus*, signifying as much as a Bulwork against the *Affyrians*. This place *Hierogolymitanus* takes for *Refen*, others for *Selucia*; but this *Telassar* is the fame, which *An. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of *Perfa*) calleth *Ilituba* in stead of *Telassar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Book: It is seated in an Island of *Eufrates* upon a steep and unassailable Rock, in so much as the Emperor *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the *Affyrians*, being also a passage out of *Mesopotamia* into *Babylonia*, and in which the *Edenites* of the Country adjoining were lodged to defend the fame. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Refeph* (which he calleth *Refepa*) on the left hand; and *Canneb*, (which he call-

eth *Thelbe-Canne*) on the right hand; nor far from whence is also found the City of *Mann-Canne*) upon *Tygris*; and all these leated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because *Affyria* (which the *Chaldeans* call *Atturia*) and *Mesopotamia*, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchanging of Dominion. *Affyria* & *Mesopotamia* in *Babylonia* nomen transferunt (saith *Niger*.) *Affyria* and *Mesopotamia* took the name of *Babylonia*. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World *Eden* is seated, as, by *Charran* or *Harar* in *Mesopotamia*: also by *Canneb* and *Refeph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*: The Lord God planted a Garden in *Eden* Eastward: that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabie & Mesopotamiae*; He commanded Trees to grow in *Eden*, an Eastern Region in the borders of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*.

§. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of *Eden*; and that this is the *Eden* of *Paradise*.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this *Eden*, it seems by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit *Mesopotamia*: which Epistles in the year 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and *Andreas Masius* hath published them, translated out of *Syriac* into *Latine*. By these Epistles (I say) it seems we may have some farther light for the proof of that, which we have laid about the Region of *Eden* in those parts. For in them both, there is mention of the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tygris*, or at least, *Tygris* in both these Epistles is called the River of *Eden*. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles faith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, The Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island *Eden* may (doubtless) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing Kingdoms of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*. This Island of *Eden* hath upon the River, and not far beyond it, the City of *Hafan-Cepba*, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, hath *Mofal* or *Mofel*, from which (as in that

in supra.

which followeth it shall appear out of *Masius*, it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, That *Mofal* or *Mofel*, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up *Tygris*, in these words, *Juxta autem Tygrin, Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quae nunc Mofel dicitur; magna sunt, &c.* (that is) By *Tygris* are these Cities, *Dorbeta* near unto mount *Taurus* (which is now called *Mofel*) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of *Niger*, displacing *Mofel*, and making it to be *Dorbeta* (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwell there (the Seat of whose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this *Mofal* (or *Mozal*) is in the Confines of *Mesopotamia* and *Affyria*, seated upon *Tygris*, and in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*, and that it is the famous *Selucia Parthorum*. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it *Attur* in these words: *Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis quae sunt circum Civitatem Mofel (hoc est) Attur, in vicina Nineve*; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the City of *Mofal* (that is) *Attur* in the neighbour-hood of *Nineve*. As also *Niger* acknowledgeth *Ctesphon* a City thereabout to be called *Assur*, (which is the same as *Attur*, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake *Ctesphon*, (which is not far off *Selucia*) for *Selucia*, to be *Assur*. By this then we may come somewhat near the end of our purpose. For the Isle of *Eden*, which lieth in the brest of *Tygris*; is but twelve miles from *Mofal*, and that ancient City, which *Ptolemy* and *Tacitus* call *Ninus*, and the Scriptures *Nineve*; *Philoftratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, *Mofula*, and *John Leary*, *Mofal*, others *Mofel*, (though it be not the same with *Mofal*) is set but a little higher upon the fame River of *Tygris*, near *Mofal*: so that we are like to find this Isle of *Eden* hereabout. For the fame *Andreas Masius*, which placeth it above *Mofal*, makes it to be below *Hafan-Cepba*, which is upon the fame River of *Tygris*.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may think, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speak not of any Isle in *Tygris*, called the Isle of *Eden*, but of an Isle in *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet, if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not only *Eufrates*, but also *Tygris* was a River of *Eden*, and that the name of *Eden* in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Regi-

on hath been subject to the same change; that all other Kingdoms of the world have been, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of *Eden*, which stretcheth over *Eufrates*, was after the Flood called *Shinar*, and then, of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tygris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Selucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Athicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Athicus*, Disciple of *Galinius*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenaeus* called *Asiri*, who lived in *Egypt* in the Reign of *Philadelphus*; but another of a far higher and remote time) the same being made *Latine* out of the Greek by Saint *Hierom*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written, in *Athicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phenicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Athicus*. For *Athicus* makes it a Country, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions (saith *Athicus*) falleth into the Gulf of *Perfa*: which River he called *Armodius* for *Tygris*; *Tygris* being but a name imposed for the witness thereof. And out of *Armenia*, both *Tygris* and *Eufrates* have their original: for out of *Eden* came a River; or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tygris* and *Eufrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all known by the name of *Eden*, for their beauty and fertility. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertility thereof in divers places is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, and therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also *Stephanus de Urbibus*, mentioneth the City of *Adana* upon *Eufrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos*'s time, though he spake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Celo-Syria*. But to the end I may not burthen the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Eufrates* and *Tygris* (once joyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those four heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being known, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknown. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath*, were *Tygris* and *Eufrates*,

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel*, *Tygris* omnes exponunt; And all men understand *Hiddekel* by *Tygris* (saith *Vatablus*.) And because that which I have said of the *Ille of Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of self-invention, I have here-under set down the words out of the two general Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Masius* (ad verbum) hath converted them into *Latine*. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, That the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Mary* time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called *Selencia Partiborum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be, done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election, as themselves had made: having three hundred year before that, upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made known to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for, upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himself, had forborn to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government, And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignity which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the general Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle: *Verum nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed iussu convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientabilibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quae sunt circum civitatem Mosel* (hoc est, *Attur*) *in vicini a Niveus, ex Babylonia, ex Charrâ, ex Arbela, ex Insula quae est in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden, &c.* i.e. But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him; but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring upon *Niveus*; and out of *Babylon*, *Carra*, *Arbela*; and out of the Island which lyeth in the

middle of *Tygris*, a River of *Eden*, or rather out of the Isle of *Eden*, which lyeth in the River *Tygris*. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they used these words: *Nosq; superius apud nos Metropolitae, quorum est ordinare Catholicum; sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adurbeigan; et vestigio convenimus in Insulam, quae est intra Tygrum flumen, Eden, scilicet, compagatum inter nos, &c.* (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of *Arbela*, the Bishop of *Salmasus*, and the Bishop of *Adurbeigan*: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island of *Eden*, which is in *Tygris*, and agreed between our selves, &c.

Now this Island of *Eden*, *Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the four forts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Coptis*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox, audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumulario in illam quam modo dixi Tygris Insulam, quae duodecim circiter passuum milibus supra Mosel posita, decem fere milia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; civita, & a paucis aliis quodam Christianis hominibus habitata*: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of *Tygris* or *Eden* before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above *Mosel*, containing very near ten miles in compass, and every where ironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men then Christians. And afterward, he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tygris*; five *Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the City of *Hosam-Cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it supra predictam *Tygris Insulam*, rupi essere impostam; Above the afore-said Island of *Tygris*, being seated on a steep Rock. Of this Island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est un milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie; Geserta ou Gesire est in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia*.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth; and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Carra* according to *Ezechiel*, and that

that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Canneh*, and *Charra*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Affyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garriſoned to resist the *Affyrians*, whose dilplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written); and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

S. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which seemeth to make the four Rivers to rise from one stream.

But it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of *Eden*, and not Rivers in the plural: which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The *Latine* Translation, saith he, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quae verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur: Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into four heads: Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of *Eden* (that is) *Rivers* went forth, and ran out of the Region of *Eden* to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The *Tygrine* differs from the *Vulgar* or *Latine*; for it converts it thus, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the *Latine* addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place of pleasure*: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to *Eden*, which was (of all other) a Region most delightful and fertile; and to also the word (inde) and thence, was divided, hath reference to the Country of *Eden*, and not to the Garden it self.*

And for the word (*River*) for *Rivers*, it is usual among the *Hebrews*: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that seedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree, &c.* Here the *Hebrew* useth the Singular for the Plural, *Herb* and *Tree*, for *Herbs* and *Trees*; and again, *We eat of the fruit of the Tree*, in

stead of (*Trees*): And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; in medio ligni Paradisi. In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees*). And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the *Hebrews* do often put the Singular for the Plural, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*; and he giveth an instance in this question it self, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) went out of *Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (*River*) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have been) divides it self, and ere long yieldeth four notable passages into several Countries, though not all the way down stream (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to *Affyria*) were up *Tygris*.

To this end the Text (speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say, it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Affyria* (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth towards *Affyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nabar-malcha* (by interpretation) *Bablinus*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tygris* under *Amamia*; whence riseth the name of *Paf-Tygris*, as it were *Piso-Tygris*. This leadeeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nabarsares* or *Narragas*; for *Nabar-ragas*: both which names signify *flumen derivatum* (a River derived), alio *Acraeanus*, quasi *Ranogius*, by reason of the Froggie Fens which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeeth to the first seat of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper stream of *Pison*, or *Bablinus*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tygris*) above *Selencia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tygris* into *Affyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tygris*, having before no known proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The

fourth Perath, or Euphrates, so called per excellentiam, being the body of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Oris. But be it a River or Rivers, that come out of Eden, seeing that Tygris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradise was not far from these Rivers: for that Perath in Moses is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeed) as plain it is that Hiddekel is Tygris. For Hiddekel goeth (saith Moses) Eastward towards Assur, as we find, that Tygris is the River of Assyria propriè dicta, whose chief City was Nineveh, as in Genesis the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) Babylonia, Nimrod went into Assur, and builded Nineveh, which was the chief City of Assyria.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first stream. Caput aquæ (saith Ulpianus) sicut est, unde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascitur, fons; si ex humine, vel ex lacu, prima intia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a main River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it self with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the main stream, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as Eden the seat of Paradise was: which, if it be denied, then must we also confesse, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any Plant thereon growing, that they had before the Flood; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Country, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I find written of it: First, in Herodotus, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self; for the Ile of Eden is but twelve miles, or thereabout, from Nineveh, and so

from Mosul. Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini sita erat. Hec Regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tygris, not far from the place where Ninus is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent: and he addeth afterward; Cereis autem fructu procreando addo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitful in bringing forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seem very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrey of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig-Trees. Thus far Herodotus.

To this Palm-Tree, so much admired in the East-India, Strabo and Niger add a fourth excellency, which is, that it yieldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vinegar. But Antonius the Eremita findeth a fifth commodity, not inferior to any of those four, which is, that from this self-flame Tree, there is drawn a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, Abanassius in the life of Antonius the Eremita, confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremita himself, which he brought with him out this Region. So therefore those Trees which the East Indies so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yielded no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. Sunt etiam (saith Strabo) passim per omnem Regionem palme sua sponte nascentes; There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord. Of this place, Quintus Curtius maketh this report: Euntibus a parte levia Arabie (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interit inter Tygrrim & Euphratem jacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut a passu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat; (that is) As you travel on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweet Odours) there lieth a Champain Country placed between Tygris and Euphrates, of so fruitful and fat a soil, that they are said to drive their

their Cattel from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii secant; The Babylonians cut their Corn twice a year (saith Niger.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitful to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which Strabo maketh of the South parts of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manifestè, itemque semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees always green: which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies onely, by reason of the Sun's neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their Corn-fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the spariards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first forty years, could not make our kind of Wheat bear seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds (saith Pliny) who addeth this singularity to that soil, That the second year, the very stubble (or rather falling down of the seeds again) yieldeth them a harvest of Corn without any further labour: his words are these, Obertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restitilis fiat seges.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 17.

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah.

AFTER the discovery of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that Pison and Gehon are branches of Tygris and Euphrates: For, that the knowledge and certainty of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me; seeing necessity it self (Tygris and Euphrates being known) findeth them out: for Euphrates, or Tygris, or both, be that River or Rivers of Eden, which water Paradise; which River or Rivers, Moses witnesseth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called Pison, the other Gehon, &c. Could there be a stranger fancy in the world, than when we find both these (namely) Tygris and Euphrates in Assyria and Mesopotamia; to seek the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two Rivers as far distant as any of fame known or discovered in the

world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into four branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witness. There is no error which hath not some slipper and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who study to be singular) find out (straining Reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting, but in the variable deformity of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their help to nurse and cherish such weak Babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of Pison) seemeth to have grown out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in India, called Havilah, from Havilah which adjoyneth to Babylonia, afterward known by the name of Susiana. For Havilah upon Tygris, took name from Havilah the Son of Cush; and Havilah in India, from Havilah the Son of Joëan; the one remembered by Moses in the description of Paradise, the other where Moses setteth down the generations of Noah, and his Sons after the Flood. For the Sons of Cush were Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, and Ramah; and the Sons of Joëan were Ophir, and Havilah, &c. of which latter (to wit) of Ophir and Havilah the Sons of Joëan, that Island of Ophir, (whence Solomon had Gold) and Havilah adjoyning, had their names.

Now, because Ganges is a great and a famous River of the East India, and Havilah a Country of the same, and is situated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pison, which River is said by Moses, to water the Land of Havilah. Or perhaps, it was supposed, that those four Rivers named by Moses, must of necessity be four of the greatest in the World; whence (supposing that Ganges was the next great and famous River after Tygris and Euphrates) they chose out this River to make one of the four. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than Ganges: for the River Indus on this side India, for beauty, for nearness, and for fertility, giveth no way place to Ganges, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be of the four heads, seeing Indus cometh between it and Tygris? and between Tygris and Indus is all that large Empire of Persia, consisting of many Kingdoms. And again, farther towards the East, and beyond Indus, are all those ample Dominions of India intra Gangem, which lie between those two proud Rivers

Gen. 10. 7.

Gen. 10. 19.

Gen. 2. 11.

Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdom of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the four, because it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Perfis*, then how much less *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little less than forty degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whosoever readeth the Story of *Alexander*, shall find that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceed *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great Gallies transported himself, and the greatest part of his Army, and in sailing down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deep, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Cons*, of *Susius*, *Acsefnes*, *Adris* (otherwise *Hiroth*), *Hispatis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are swallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15. But because *Pifon*, which compasseth *Havilah*, as also *Gebon*, which watereth *Cush*, must somewhere be joyned with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceed out of the same Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads do proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: For *Nilus* riseth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran Sea*; and the River *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountain *Imau*, or (as others will have it) *Caucasus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, near *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Georgian Mountains*; so as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never saw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themselves in one channel, either with themselves, or with either of the others; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen. 1. 6. Therefore the River *Pifon*, which inneth *Havilah*, is the same which by joyning it self with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Pif-Tygris* or *Pif-Tygris*, of *Pifon* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which

Havilah the son of *Cush* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, so called of *Havilah* the Son of *Joſſan*, who inhabited with his brother *Opſir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, *Bdellium*, and the Onyx stone. This *Bdellium* is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also *Bdellium*. The *Hebrews* take the Loadstone for *Bdellium*. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearl: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierom* callst *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, *Havilah* or *Sufana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Sufana* or *Havilah*, stretcheth it self towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence embraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebani* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of Gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

The *Greeks* had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Stroph*, *Damblus*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*, *Aben-Ezra* (saith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranlateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Damblus* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont*, and all *Asia* the less between it and *Tygris*. Now *Pifon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Sufana*, doth to this day retain some signe of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there do they agree of a joyned and compounded name, and are called *Pif-Tygris*. And it is strange unto me, that from so great antiquity there should be found remaining any resembling found of the first name: for *Babylon* it self, which dwelleth so near these Rivers, is by some writers known by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Postellus*: by *Cassiodorus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barinus*, of *Bagadad*; and of *Eugubius*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all those that have lately seen it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Pifon* *Ptolemy* indeed with many others give the name of *Euphrates* or *Regius*, and *Gekon* they term *Mahar-Jares*, and *Marsias*, and *Basar-Jares*. So is *Euphrates*, near the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Pliny* called *Fixirater*: by *Junius Tuck-perah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The proflution, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Gomyra*. *Plutarch* call it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrews *Parath* (saith *Ar. Montanus*): *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Pforab*; *Enchelus*, *Zozimus*, *Annius*.

Amnianus, *Chalymicus*: *Gistilianus* and *Colinthus*, term it *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nabor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Digitio* and *Digitab*, *Seilax* and *Sollax*: of the Hebrews it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants, *Tegil*.

But *Merkur* upon *Genesis* conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (saith he) stream into four branches; two of which keep their ancient names, and the other two are called *Pifon* and *Gekon*. The reason why these two Rivers, joyned in one (below *Apamia*), lose their names and are called *Pif-Tygris*, and the memory of *Euphrates* extinguiſhed, is, because the best part of *Euphrates* running through the channel of *Gekon*, sinketh into the Lakes of *Chaldea*, not far from *Ur*, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the *Persian Sea*, as *Tygris*, accompanied with *Pifon*, doth.

This error, That *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was first broached by *Josephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierom*, take this for current; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the *East India* to find out *Havilah*: so was *Gekon* drawn into *Africa* to compass *Ethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of *Paradiſe*, be found to be a Region, adjoining to *Babylon* on the one side, and *Cush* (which is falsely interpreted *Ethiopia*) situated to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon men the transportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cush* the Son of *Ham* first late down with his Sons *Shelah*, *Havilah*, *Sabrah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the Son of *Cush* did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compasseth; and the Land (called *Cush*) which *Gekon* watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the Sons of *Joſſan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in *India*, so did the Sons of *Cush* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was first *Chusea*, of *Cush*, then *Chuse*, *Suse*, and *Sufana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Deserts of *Sur*,

did the *Iſſacites* and *Amalekites* possess all the interjacent Countries: for *Sail* intote, the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphraſt converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red-Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red-Sea, to *Havilah* in the *East India*, for *Sail* was no such Travailer or Conqueror, and therefore *Havilah* must be found nearer home, where the Sons of *Iſſaek* inhabited; and which Country *Sail* walked: for *Amalek* and the *Amalekites* possessed that neck of Country, between the *Persian Sea*, and the Red Sea; *Havilah* being the extrem of the one, towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the *Atidians* and *Edumians*, from the East-part, or backside of the Holy Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Deſerta*.

§. XIV.

Of the River *Gekon*, and the Land of *Cush*, and of the ill translating of *Ethiopia* for *Cush*, 2 Chron. 21. 16.

NOW as *Havilah* in the *East India* drew *Pifon* so far out of his way thither, so I say did *Cush* (being by the Seventy translated *Ethiopia*) force *Gekon* into *Africa*. For *Cush* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the *Greeks*, whom the *Latines* followed, *Gekon* consequently was esteemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopian* are, as much as *black* or *burnt faces*, whose proper Country called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopian*, and far South in *Africa*; yet those of *Thebaides* are those so often remembered in the *Egyptian* stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopian* are very near, or else directly under the *Equinoctial line*, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the *Chusites*, who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the Septuagint, *Perrinus* doth qualify in this manner: There are (saith he) two *Ethiopia's*, the East, and West: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Perrinus* will make *Cush* and the land of the *Chusites* (which is *Arabia Petrea*, and part of *Arabia the Happy*, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Ethiopia*.

Now, if it be granted, that *Chush* and the Land

See more of this point c. 7. Sect. 10.

Land of the *Chusites* be that Tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit Ismael ab Havilah usque Sur, que respicit Aegyptum introcuntibus Assyrios*, Ismael dwells from Havilah unto Sur, that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same sufficeth to prove that *Gehon* cannot be *Nilus*, but a River that watereth *Cush*, and not *Aethiopia*. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Ismael*, &c. hath this sense: *Ismael dwelt from Havilah*, which is the way of *Assyria*, or the Country bordering *Assyria*; and *Sur*, which lieth toward *Egypt*, which is as much to say, as, The Issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve Tribes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of *Egypt* and *Assyria*. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplied, it well appeared, when *Zearab* the *Chusite*, which others call *Iharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of *Juda*. Which Armie came not out of *Aethiopia* beyond *Egypt*; for that had been a strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of *Egypt*, between *Phaestina* and *Aethiopia*. But these were the *Chusites*, *Amalekites*, *Medianites*, *Ismaelites*, and *Arabians*. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his Victory took some of the Cities of King *Zearab* round about, as *Gerar*. Now, that *Gerar* is a City of the *Aethiopians*, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the Scripture disproving it: *And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Country, and dwelt between Kadesh and sojourned in Gerar*: Now *Sur* is that part upon which *Moses* and the *Israelites* first let their feet after they passed the Red-Sea, where the *Amalekites* in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary and unable to resist. Again, in the Story of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines unto Gerar*; and I am sure *Abimelech* and the *Philistines* were no *Aethiopians*. And lastly, *Moses* himself, where he describeth the bounds of *Canaan*, hath these words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar*: for *Sydon* was the frontier of *Canaan* towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gaza* towards the South. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* doth, with an honest excuse, save this Translation of *Chus* for *Aethiopia*; yet it appeareth plainly, that the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* did altogether mis-understand this place. And first, for *Homer's* East and West *Aethiopia*, they are both found elsewhere: For *Pliny* in his fifth

Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Author of these two *Aethiopia's*. But the East *Aethiopia* is that which compasseth *Nilus* to the South of *Egypt*, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the *Abissines* under *Prester John*; And the West *Aethiopia* is that which joyneth it self with the River *Niger*, which we call *Senega* and *Gambra*: for thereabouts are these *Aethiopians* called *Perorh*, *Dararites*, with divers other names, which *Pliny* numbreth. But all these are in *Africa*, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith *Pliny* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa* and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of *Niger*, and that of *Prester John*, and the *Trogodites*) lie due East and West. But as for *Cush*, and the Region of the *Ismaelites*, &c. they are extended directly North from that *Aethiopia*, which is beyond *Egypt*. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding gross herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharaoh*, in the Wars against the *Aethiopians*: for in that (to make *Chus*, *Aethiopia*) he transporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all *Egypt*, and setteth it in *Aethiopia*, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated *Nilus*, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the *Greek* Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the *Septuagint* have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what hast thou now to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Nilus? quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon?* To this saith *Pererius*, professing Hebraicè *ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat Nigram & turbidum: Truly* (saith *Pererius*) the word *Gehon* in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but *Sichor*; which signifieth black and troubled water.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument; that *Chus* was ill taken for *Aethiopia*. *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the *Greek* and *Latine* call a *Madianite*, and not *Aethiopian*, as (with *Iosephus*) the *Geneva* converts it, though it help it a little with a marginal Note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Country of *Madian*, which is that part of *Arabia Petraea*, bordering the Red-Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that *Moses fled from Pharaoh into the Land of Midian, and sat down by a Well*, &c. And again, in the third of *Exodus*; *When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro, his father-in-law, Priest of Midian*, &c. Indeed, these four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they

they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the *Medianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Chusites*, which were all, in one general word, *Arabians*; and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in *Gen. 37. v. 25, 27*, and 28. that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same Chapter, *v. 36*. it is written, that the *Medianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharaoh's* Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the *Medianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and these were all *Arabians*: and so in this very place it appeareth by their Merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were laden with Spicerie, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia Felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East *India*, all the World is served with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their Spices they received from the East side of the *Arabian* Gulf, as aforesaid. And in the 39 Chapter, it is said: That *Potiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismaelites*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now to make this the more manifest, it is written, *Judg. 6*. That when *Isaiah* had sown, then came up the *Medianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East were *Arabians* of the Desert; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Medianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Medianites* and *Amalekites* are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Medianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, *v. 24*. these Nations are called *Ismaelites*, and neither *Medianites*, nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* desired that every man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of *Arabia*, amounting to 1700. shekels of Gold, it is written: *For they had golden Ear-rings, because they were Ismaelites*. And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes; & manus omnium contra eum; His hand* (saith God, of *Ismael*) *shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him*. Of these *Ismaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schinitæ*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in *Cedar*, and the Desarts of *Sur* and *Tharan* (saith *Iosephus*) use poyson upon their Arrows, as the *Indians*

do. Toward the South-east are the *Medianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them towards the Desarts of *Arabia*, the *Amalekites*, and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill Translation of *Aethiopia* for *Chus*, is, among other places, made most apparent in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Ethiopians*; so *Hierome* reads it: the *Geneva* Translation hath it, which were besides the *Aethiopians*. Now, how far it is off between the *Philistines* and the *Negro's* or the *Aethiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* do mixe and joyn with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from *Aethiopia* about two and thirty, or three and thirty degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Sur* and *Tharan* are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours*. * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Aethiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt* (saith *Stenclus*) *but Aethiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Country which joyneth to Arabia*. * *Stencl. Equè. in Gen. c. 2.*

Now, may we think, is it probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon* for *Nilus*, or *Nilus* for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moses* had meant *Nilus*, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) a River of *Egypt*, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of *Nilus* is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the *Ismaelites*, that *Nilus* had been a River of *Paradise*, they might justly have thought, that he had decided them: for they had lived there all days of their lives, and found no such *Paradise* at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof, except we shall believe the *Paradise* of *Hesperides*, where (saith *Pliny*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in stead of golden Apples. But *Nilus* is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Isaiah*, and once in the Prophet *Hieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of *Aethiopia*, but of *Egypt*. For in a word, the *Ismaelites* had never any communion or affairs with the

* *Chro. 11. 16.*

* *Stencl. Equè. in Gen. c. 2.*

* *Exod. 11.*

* *Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 25. v. 3. c. 26. v. 18.*

the *Ethiopians*, nor any intelligence or trade beyond *Egypt*, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the *Chusites*, *Philistines*, *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, and *Madianites*: who being often governed by many little kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or Heads of those Nations; but in one general name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of *Canaan*, they were afflicted with the *Cælo-Syrians*, with the *Magogians*, *Tubaltites*, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the Nations which remained of the ancient *Canaanites*, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Acon*, *Gaza*, and many others; yea, *Jerusalem* it self was with-held from *Israel*, from the days of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*, by the *Jebusites*.

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of *Gehon* watereth that part of *Arabia* the stony, which the *Chusites* inhabited in the times of the Kings of *Israel*: and in this *Desart* it was, that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out *Paradise*: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them *Gehon* and *Pison*; to the end that the one might water *Chus*, and the other *Havilah*; for I find none such *In rerum Natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within *Paradise*, even *Arabia* the *Desart*.

And as he well proved that *Pison* was not *Ganges*, nor *Gehon Nilus*; so where to find them elsewhere, it seemeth he knew not. Certainly, this River of *Gehon*, which he maketh to fall into the *Mediterran* at *Gaza*, and whose Springs he findeth far East in *Arabia*, is but imaginary; for the Current by *Gaza*, is but a small stream, rising between it and the *Red-Sea*, whose head from *Gaza* it self is little more than twenty *English* miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the *Chusites*, as they were planted when the state of *Israel* stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Flood, *Chus* and his children never rested, till they found the Valley of *Shinar*, in which, and near which himself, with his Sons, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of *Tygris* chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*;) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of *Arabia-felix*. *Nimrod* seated him-

self in the best of the Valley, where he built *Babel*, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of *Babylonia*. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of *Chaldea*; and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westwardly towards the *Red* or *Arabian Sea*: from whence *Mizraim* past over into *Egypt*, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now, because there could be no such River found in *Arabia* the stony, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Ethiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we do examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whoever else that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of *Thames*, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that *Thames* or *Tems* was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered *Scotland*, which he also entituled by the same name of *Britannia*, afterwards might conclude that *Scotland* was no part thereof, because the River of *Tems* is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to *Europe*, according to *Hærod. l. i. and 4.* *Hærodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in *Thrace*, which then watered as much of *Europe*, as he first discovered; Shall we in like sort resolve that *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, &c. are no parts of *Europe*, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chusites* should, or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit; seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have been Masters in time, (as the *Saracens*, which came of them, were) of a great part of the World. For, though the *Babylonian* Empire which took beginning in *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of four Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Successors within a few years after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the same of *Babel* consumed the memory of *Chusica*. For of this Tower of *Confusion* did all that Land take the name of *Babylonia*: and the greatness of that Empire founded by *Nimrod* a younger Son, obscured the name and Nation of his Father *Chus* in those parts, until they crept farther off; and in places not yet entituled, and farther

ther from the *Babylonian* Empire, where the *Chusites* retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soil and Territory, by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think, that *Chus*, or any of his, could in half creep through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. years after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Bryar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themselves (as it were) into one main body and Forest. For if we look with judgment and reason into the Worlds Plantation, we shall find, that every Family seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and though necessity enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creep out of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort and succour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassible. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, fate down in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered *Paradise*: for thither it was, to which the greatest troupes of *Noah's* children repaired; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increase. The first Father of men, *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The second Father of Mankind, *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choyce of *Babel* (as aforesaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Havilah* place himself upon *Piso-Tygris*; *Ramah* and his Son *Sheba* farther down upon the same River, on the Sea coast of *Arabia*: *Chus* himself upon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwaies fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Ninive*, *Charan*, *Reseph*, *Canneb*, *Ur* in *Chaldea*, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded upon these navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already of ten remembred.

§. XV.

A conclusion, by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

BUT now to conclude this Dispute; It appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scripture, that *Paradise* was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and

habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram sutorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Equinoctial*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which Climate, the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein soever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can most vaunt that they have excelled; yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at Nature's hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay down by those pleasures and benefits, the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earth-quakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no comparison between one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of *Paradise* had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may safely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Universal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of Life, and of Knowledge; Plants only proper and becoming the *Paradise*, and Garden of so grant a Lord.

The sum of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have been dim-sighted (some of them finding *Paradise* beyond our known World: some, above the middle region of the ayr: some, elevated near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the ayr, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in *Eden* (saith *Moses*); Eastward, in respect of *Judea*, that God planted this Garden; which *Eden* we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of *Eden* to water this Garden, and from

from thence, divided it self into four branches; and we find that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* swimming through *Eden* do joy in one, and afterward taking waies apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*; the true seats of *Chus* and his Sons being then in the Valley of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built *Babel*. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joynd, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth *India*, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of *Eden*; That *Gehon* was *Nihus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, then *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same

quarter of the World; but *Nihus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the *Mediterrane* Sea: and *Euphrates* dilueth out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and falleth into the *Gulf of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North; the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threefold and three degrees the one from the other. In this leaf following, I have added a *Chorographical* description of this terrestrial *Paradise*, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, until such time as this description of mine be reprieved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

For eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge, was *Adam* driven out of *Paradise*, *In exilium vite temporalis, Into the banishment of temporal life*, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrews*) hath a Plural construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives*, because the fruit thereof had a property, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, and rational life of man; and not only (but for *Adam's* transgression) had prolonged his own daies, but also given a durable continuance to all his posterity; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to think, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures; Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed

thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have been translated, as *Enoch* was. And, as before the Flood, the days of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred years, and soon after the Flood, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostom, Rupertus, Tostatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adam's* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posterity had been immortal. But such is the infinite Wisdom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or else, that millions of Souls must have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: And therefore that of *Chrysostom* must be understood of immortality of bodies, which should have been translated and glorified.

But of what kind or species this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in

Apoc. 2. 7.

in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not material, but a meer Allegorie; taking their strength out of *Solomon*, where Wisdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; as out of the *Apocalypse*, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place Saint *Augustine's* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial *Paradise*, so there was a celestial. For although *Agar* and *Sarah* were Figures of the Old and New Testament; yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer foolishness. And so in this place, the sense of the Scripture is manifest; For God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to the sight, and sweet to the taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, *Hesiod, Homer, Ovid*, and others, steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of *Paradise* they took the Platform of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Neëar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Neëar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young; and *Ambrosia*, immortality; and therefore said to be the meat and drink of the gods.

§. II.

Of *Becanus* his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

Now, for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himself the honor to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever guess at, wherewith *Goropius* much marvelled. But as he had an inventive brain, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses*, *Zar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above six hundred years before *Becanus* was born: and *Zar-Cephas* himself referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philostratus*

Maaburgensis, and others, whose very words *Goropius* uleth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that belief. For *Moses*, *Zar-Cephas* in his Treatise of *Paradise* (the first Part and fol. 48) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, The Indian Fig-Tree; of which the greatest plenty (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acefnis*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or near the Kingdom of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of a great Pear, or (as *Pliny* reporteth) somewhat bigger; and that it is a Tree, *sempiterna*, Always planting it self; that it spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troop of Horse-men may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristobolus* affirmeth, that fifty Horse-men may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onciferus* raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceeded all other in bigness, which also *Pliny* and *Onciferus* confirm: to the trunk of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant as *Becanus* conceiveth, who, because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of *Paradise* to the Tree, and set it by the River *Acefnis*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from *Paria* in *America*. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the soil) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head-branches, there issueth out a Gummy juice which hangeth downward like a cord or finew, and within a few months reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth, but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top-boughs, and from his own proper root, this cord maketh it self a Tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young Trees, there fall again the like cords, which in one year and less (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also Trees of the bigness of the neather part of a Lance, and as freight as Art or Nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can do. Now, one of these Trees considered, with all his young ones,

plin. l. ii. c. 3.

lib. ii. cap. 2.

may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four thousand Horfmen, if they please; for they cover whole Valleys of ground where these Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner parts of *Trinidad*. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, shooting always downward to find root under water, are, in those Seas of the *Indies* where Oysters breed, entangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the Sea, I have seen five hundred Oysters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oysters grew on Trees in *India*. But that they bear any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never find, and yet I have travelled a dozen miles together under them. But to return to *Goropius Becanus*: This Tree (saith he) was good for meat, and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, This Tree having so huge a trunk (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other Tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certain, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunk or stem: for among ten thousand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *In medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) *In the midst of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*) word for word, is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the Tree it self was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew near it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame, did not run up and down the Garden to seek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it self; and these leaves of all other were most commodious, by reason of their largeness; which *Pliny* avoweth in these words; *Latitudo foliorum peltis effigiem Amazonie habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: which also Theophrastus* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Virg. Æn. Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
l. 1. 494: Penthesilea furens.

The *Amazonians* with Crescent-formed shield
Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threatmeth us all that read him, to

give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc à nobis, de ficu hæc, ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moisis narratione comparat, ut audeat dicere, Adam arborem inveniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things, which we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses, as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my self, because I neither find this Tree, sorting in body, in largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*. That the Earth never brought forth any of these Trees, neither before nor after. But I leave every man to his own belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the easie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feed thereon; it pleased God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita non propter aliud quam ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis obedientie bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodness of pure and simple Obedience.**

*Aug. 4
Gen. 3.
l. 13. c. 10.*

§. III.

Of *Becanus* his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of his *Ficus Indica*.

BUt in this I must do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it self to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the Earth, which all the rest of *Adam's* Posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiousness of this Tree, he compareth to the dark and shadowed life of man, through which the Sun of justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climb the Tree of the Cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived Knowledge among

so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the World most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrows and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little; in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publick ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bigness of the smallest peaze; glory, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the World invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by so much exceed all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly ability surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such Men, and such Trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the porcest and basest Man, then such a flourishing stateliness, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedness and shame, sought for leaves to cover himself withal: this may serve to put us in mind of his and our sins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

§. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledge of good and evil: with some other notes touching the story of *Adam's* sin.

NOW, as touching the sense of this Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the proprietie of the Tree it self, *Moses Bar-Cephas*, an ancient Syrian-Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgment: That the fruit of this Tree had no such virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noeth: *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (3d. eff.) experientiæ boni & mali ab e-ventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may

conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods own hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed all men living have grown up; and having received immortality from the breath or spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandment was the fearfullest Evil, and the observation of his Precepts the happiest Good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sickness is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proof thereof in himself another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glass of his own guilty soul, he beheld therein the horror of Gods Judgments; so as he then knew, (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evil, which could not be expressed. He then saw himself naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicity: and therefore was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation by any self quality or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Ephai*, and the Well of hatred *Sinnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Esau* contended for them: and the heap of Stones called the heap of witness, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the Stones bare witness, but for a memory of the Covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Proentis*, & *videntis*.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affection, ambitious of a farther knowledge then he had perceived in himself, and looking but lightly (as all his issue do) into the miseries and sorrows incident; and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tasting the fruit forbidden: he was transported and blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleasing persuasions, unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtle arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poison mankind in

*Num. 12.
3.
Gen. 16.
10, 11.
Cap. 31.
48.
Cap. 28.
19.
Cap. 16.
14.*

in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himself perished for ever.

But what means did the Devil find out, or what instruments did his own subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the Woman; so as by *Adams* hearkning to the voice of his wife, contrary to the express commandment of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comfort and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife*, &c. (said God himself) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life*. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted; even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts into whom the Devil entred and perwaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her dif-

obedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting for her knowledge; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yield to her perwasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingness to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the Son of *David*, Gods chosen servant, and himself a man endowed with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perwasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perwasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorarable things, between the Fall of Adam, and the Flood of Noah.

S. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cains sin: and of his going out from God.

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (jealous of the acceptance of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himself the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural murder, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater than he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place, *Moses* giveth a reason: for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himself made the cause known unto *Noah*, saying: *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth*. Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men only, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After

this Murder of *Abel*, *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, towards the East-side of *Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utramque simul*; God (saith *S. Augustine*) is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once; And that is true, *David* witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven (saith David) thou art there; if in Hell, thou art there also*. But what is meant thereby? *Exiit a facie Dei* (saith *Chrysostom*) *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord; (that is) he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

S. II.

Of *Cains* dwelling in the Land of *Nod*: and of his City *Enoch*.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, *S. Hierom* and *nier.* *Ab.* many others understand to signifie War-

wandering, or uncertain habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Josephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else; and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murder committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whosoever findeth me* (saith *Cain*) *shall slay me*. Now, that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling signifieth an Abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was which he affirmeth towards the East-side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-born, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortify himself against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of *Christ*, and of the *Jews*; and that as *Cain* after that he had slain *Abel* unjustly, had thenceforth no certain abiding in the World: so the *Jews*, after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the *Jews* had never since any certain Estate, Common-weal, or Prince of their own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of the *Nomades*; but *Arabia* the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these *Nomades* any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in *Ireland*) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the *Greeks* *Nomades*, and by the *Latines*, *Pastores vagi*, as the Northern *Tartarians*, the *Getulians*, and *Numidians* in *Africa*, the ancient *Britains*, and the Northern *Irish*: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy itself, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name taught them the husbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from *Eden* is that part of *Assyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Calena*; which also might be derived of *Carena*, the Countrey of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse

following: *Thou be cast out man, &c. and at the East-side of the Garden of Eden be the Cherubims*: which sheweth that the entry into *Paradise* was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of *Paradise* which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region fought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod*, or *Naid*, do signifie *profligate*, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, then till he built the City of *Enoch*, the first of the World, which he enclosed, either for his own defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that *Nod* was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* useth of himself, it seemeth by the perforce of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as travellet in fear of revengement: *For whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

And because these *Henochians*, so called of the City of *Enoch*, were the first society and civil assembly of all other, it is likely that the same of these People (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in memory of *Noah* and his Sons: so that after the Flood (as there were of all sorts of natures, some virtuously, some loosely disposed, and every active mind finding before it whom to follow or imitate) those People, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these *Henochians* were not the least. Perchance the place itself, where *Enoch* stood before the Flood, and whereof Monuments might remain (as the pillars or foundation of *Joppa* did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place, to call themselves by the same name: for of those *Henochians* there were many Nations in the borders of *Pontus*, and *Colchis* in *Iberia*, *Segdiana*, and *Bactria*; of the same name many mountains, as those which are otherwise call'd *Coraxici*. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath covered over, or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoice, and therewith satiate our selves, if of so great, and almost worn-out Antiquity, of the eldest Peoples names and nations, there remain any print or footsteps to Posterity.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we find those *Henochians*, described, though diversly written: as in *Pliny*,

Fliny, sometimes *Henochii*, in *Mela*, *Enochii* in *Placcus*, *Heniochi*, in *Lucan*, *Eniochi*: All which inhabit upon the Sea *Euxinus*, but yet none of these are on the East side of *Eden*, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from *Eden*. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometimes he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition; at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of *Shinar*; but in this of *Cain*, he addeth the word (towards) as, in the land of *Nod*, towards the East-side of *Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two, either to the North, or to the South of the East.

But, as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of *Enoch* the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was re-peopled after the Flood: so it is probable that these *Henochii* of *Colchis*, and other parts adjoining, were not the first of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: because, had this *Enoch* the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then been seated North, and not East or Eastward from *Eden*. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now, *Mengrelia*)

Plin. l. 6.
c. 4. 5.
Tol. l. 6.
Asie. 3.

Sanni Henochii; *Ptolemy*, *Zaris*; beyond which an hundred & fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about *Iberia* and *Albania*; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of *Paropamisus*; between them and the great River of *Oxus*, which bordereth *Bactria* on the North side; and these *Henochii* are due East from the Region of *Eden*, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

And although we cannot be assured that these *Henochii* took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet because they inhabited due East from *Paradise*, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noah's* Sons did that came into *Shinar*) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annias* the Friar, who sets *Enoch* in *Phenicia*, quite contrary to *Moses* word: *Phenicia* from all parts of *Eden*, being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the *Henochii*, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called *Henochia*, and the same also in the East, with divers mountains about *Bactria* and *Sogdia*

na, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Caster* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchires*, who attended them in the interprise of *Jafon* into *Colchis*. And though I do not deny, but that *Jafon*, with other Greeks, ranged the coasts of *Asia* the less, in an open Boat or kind of small Gally,* of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for the most part Poetical; and withall, that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Not count
callest
them also
one.
Part. com.
l. 8. c. 9.
Siral. l. 11.

In the
second
Book of
this
Part, Chap.
13. Sect. 5.

§. III.

Of *Moses* his omitting sundry things concerning *Cain's* Generation.

BUT of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of *Enoch* in prophane Story, thus much may suffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certain particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which, for the first, it is demanded, How it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his Son *Enoch*) to perform such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which lasted, by the least account, 1656 years, in five short Chapters: Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure as 800, and 900 years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as *Enoch*, be the capacity answering to what other of the World loever: for in what Age of *Cain's* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whole times, and the times of his issues, *Moses* had the least care. And as it is said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required, is to be understood: which advice, seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth

quireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand, that such was his meaning all in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he pake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos, or a fine diurnum* (that is) in process of time, it came to pass that *Cain* brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years foregone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of *Enoch* or *Henoch*.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built *Enoch*, so of *Solomon*, that he built the Temple of *Jerusalem*; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he employed in that Work 150000 labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded such a building. And therefore seeing that we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, birth, or death of any of *Cain's* issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *Cain also knew his wife, who conceived and bare Enoch, and he built a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his Son Enoch. And to Enoch was born Irad, and Irad begat Methusael, and Methusael begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.*

Now, of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner. *And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807 years, and begat Sons and Daughters: so as all the days of Seth were 912 years, and he dyed:* as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbered in *Libro viventium*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the reprobate Generation, (as afore said.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 2 <i>Cain</i> . | 7 <i>Lamech</i> , who by |
| 3 <i>Enoch</i> . | <i>Adam</i> had |
| 4 <i>Irada</i> . | 8 <i>Jubal</i> , and <i>Tubal</i> and |
| 5 <i>Methusael</i> . | by <i>Silla</i> , <i>Tulal</i> <i>Cain</i> |
| 6 <i>Methusael</i> . | and <i>Noemah</i> . |

I. ADAM.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 2 <i>Seth</i> . | 7 <i>Henoch</i> . |
| 3 <i>Enoph</i> . | 8 <i>Methusalem</i> . |
| 4 <i>Cainan</i> . | 9 <i>Lamech</i> , |
| 5 <i>Adahaleel</i> . | and |
| 6 <i>Jared</i> . | 10 <i>Noah</i> . |

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threefore and seventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, *Adah* and *Sylla*: and to these three Sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Drovers: *Tubal* Gen. 4. 20, invented Musick, and *Tubal-Cain* the working in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanical, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees, of Shepherds, Hand-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astrology: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seventy years, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threefore and five years, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his until he was 162 years old: *Methusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500 years. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threefore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Methusalem*.

shufalem, nor Noab of Lamech; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that Noab might have had many Sons before Shem, Ham, and Japhet. though these three were only named, and surviving, and which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we find *Mabaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threecore and ten years, who was the first Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Abufalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other Sons of *Methufalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noab*, as aforefaid. Of this Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat elfe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, and fo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; fo doth St. *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest Sons, but from thofe whom God had chofen and blefied, without refpect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and tranfitory only; and therefore the Evangelift nameth *Ifaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: fo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Efaa* the elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simcon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and fo from *David* a younger Son of *Jefus*; and laftly, we find, that the Kingdom it felf of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Solemon*.

S. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

THE third Objection is, that the great difference of years between thofe of the first Age, whereof some of them had well near feen a thousand years, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the fame meafure as in after-Ages, feeing that soon after the Flood, men lived not a third part of that time; and in fucceeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon refolved that thofe years were but Lunary years (to wit) of a month or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, are easily confuted. For whereas *seth* begat *Enosh* in the year of his life an hundred and five, if thofe years be taken but for months, then had *seth* lived but eight years and one

moneth when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* have the fame allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have been but fix years and forty eight weeks old; and fo it may be gathered of the reft, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at fix, feven, or eight years, agreeth with the fhort lives of the *Pigmies*, and not with the conftitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that thofe which lived longeft, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourcore and ten and odd years; which were not only lefs by far than the Patriarchs lived after the Flood, but fhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourcore, and fome an hundred years. Further (if need be) to difprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. 25.* That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunary years) makes but feventeen and an half of our years.

And if we feek for a caufe of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in higheft perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and pureft feed there mult of necessity spring up the faireft and fruitfulleft Plants. Secondly, the Earth it felf was then much lefs corrupt; which yielded her increafe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any fuch mixture of harmful quality, as fince that time the curfe of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and mankind: Neither had the waters of the Flood infufed fuch an impurity, as thereby the natural and powerful operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmful change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of ftrength, and another of weaknefs, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: fo Time it felf (under the deathfull fhade of whofe wings all things decay and wither) hath wafted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea the Heavens themfelves, being of a moft pure and cleafened matter, fhall wax old as a garment; and

and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Virtue from the fuperiour.

But befides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and fimplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milk of a ftrange Dugge; an unnatural curiofity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurfes, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her felf hath not yet a root fufficient to maintain her own top; and fuch half-ripe feeds (for the moft part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxuriousnefs of this gluttonous age, wherein we prefs Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her ftrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ftrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath thefe elegant Verfes:

Plin. l. 4.
O Prodigia rerum
Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu;
Et quæstorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitiosa Javes, & laute gloria mensæ,
Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhæque bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satie est populus, suavisque Cereque.

O wastfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and
sent;
Vain-glory of a Table sumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be pre-
served.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to
craufuse,
But with the Brook the peoples thirst is
served;
Who fed with Bread and Water are not
sterved.

Plin. l. 1.

The Egyptians affirm, that the longest time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the fame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Scroffus* to an hundred and feventeen years. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, pro-

ducing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number, and review of the eighth Region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) four and fifty persons of an hundred years of age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and seven and thirty years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father, and the Son.

The fimple diet and temperate life of the *Esseans*, gave them long account of many years: fo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the *Perfian* Magicians, and *Indian* Brachmans. The *Greeks* affirm out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three Ages, and *Tirefias* fix, *sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the Iles *Asia*, little lefs: *Allo* *Mafaniffa* of *Numidia* lived very long, and *Dando* of *Illyria*. Among the Kings of *Arcadia* many lived three hundred years (saith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them lived full two hundred years; and fo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the *Egyptians*: and that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witnessles with himself; as *Marcetbon*, *Berofus*, *Mochus*, *Eftius*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius* *Hecateus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman*, General of the *Turks* Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my self knew the old Countes of *Dejmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the year 1589. and many years since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of *Dejmond* fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witness: *Strozzius Sicogna*, out of *Torquemada*, *Maffens*, and the like Authours, tellecth of some that have not only far exceeded the term prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thofe daies wherein *Galen* the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in respect of thofe Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let Blood six pound weight, whereas we (for the moft part) stop at fix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the natural causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents,

Sol. Fe. l. 1. cap. 3. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Plin. l. 7. c. 19.

Idem. l. 1. c. 1. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Idem. l. 1. c. 1.

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldering stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate use of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

S. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that Enoch writ before the Flood.

A Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certain knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publick dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wife men to a posterity equally Zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And as it was thought by *Elders, Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not only upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *secretiorem & veram legis narrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law;* which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joshua*, and *Joshua* to the Elders: for, to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast Pearls before Swine.* In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of Beasts, Birds, and other creatures; and to be taught only to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of

the Jews was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster, Mercurius, Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *Receptio* in Latine, and a *Receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the *Druids* and *Bards* of our antient *Brittains*, and of latter times by the *Irish* Chroniclers called *Rimers*. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Setb*, and *Setb* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less then five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to *Israhel*, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless, that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruin or foundation thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed to *Setb*. But of these Prophecies of *Enoch*, *St. Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of *Saba* (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had seen, and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition and Letter, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange Miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make mention of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Johannes*.

Cabala est scientia Theologicæ non reu. lita. P. M. 83. Nitens. 110. fol.

Jude Epi. 1. 14.

Origen. Homil. 1. in Num.

Origen. Hom. 18. Num. 8. comment. Evang. Johes.

et. diff. 15.

Tert. de heli. mu. lorum.

Id. 11. 15.

pius, Gazens (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, alledgeth that *Pope Gelasius* among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jews. But I rather think with *Pererinus*, that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of *St. Augustine*, *Scriptisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus: That Enoch the seventh from Adam, did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth, that this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the Prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Jews *Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to some of his Sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and taught out, but left by *Setb* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if Letters and Arts were known from the time of *Setb* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*; it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by Letters, or by *Cabala* and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then self-authority.

S. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Flood.

NOW let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cain*, children: and of *Adam* by *Setb*, ten; *Setb* being given by God instead of *Abel*: And of *Setb* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publick. For although *Adam* instructed his Children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the death of *Enosh*, men began publicly to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publick manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the Sons of God, or the Godly, distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the Son of *Setb*, to the time of *Henoch* the Son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away.* By that, that he walked before God, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*; *Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God.* The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra*, and others, understand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) scilicet, *mortuus est; God took him away, (that is) he dyed,* which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God took him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, *And he dyed;* but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying only, *He was missing, or, he was not seen. Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrews) *quia, Deus eum transtulit; And he was not found, for the Lord took him away.* In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the same kind of changing which *St. Paul* prometh, when he saith, that, *when the end shall come, we shall not all die.*

Dion. Acrip.

Fol. 18.

Gen. 5. 24.

V. 1.

1 Cor. 15. 51.

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Enoch, Moses passeth over to Methusalem and Lamech, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saying that Lamech prophesied of his Son Noah, *Gen. 5. 29.* saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed. Of Noah, Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of Adams children by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the war, peace, government, and policy of those (strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories, if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to Posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same add of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of aftertimes, especially in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to Hippocrates: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus praeceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, time is headlong.* And that those people of the first Age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses; *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown.* But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their own abilities, as they forgot altogether the piety of Seth, and the ways wherein Enoch walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil and continually evil. And this wickedness was not only found in the issues of Cain, but it was then universal, when the children and Sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and misled by their Idolatrous Wives, the Daughters of Cain, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world only. That these Sons of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Enschius*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great ad-

vantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needles: the question being incapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Augustine* have answered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Inebri*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madness to imagine.

S. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also, divers in later times.

OF these Giants which Moses calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his own wit more Gigantical than the bodies of *Nimrod*, or *Hercules*) hath written a large Discourse, intitled, *Gigantomachia*; and strained his brains to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatises before named. It is true, that *Cyrillus* reproves the *Grecian* Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, That the Giants have in elder times, not only cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hills, and making War with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the Story of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and even out of this Scripture. That the Sons of God (the first Giants) were begotten, was that conceit, taken from *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*. That Giants were the Sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the Sons of God, and by the Earth, the Daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassian* (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes,
Orti quod terra fuerint & sanguine caeli.*

From th' Earth, and from thy blood, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But

But what will not Opiniators, and self-believing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since; seeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body, and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, Moses himself calleth them mighty men; which beweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards men of renown (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous actions. And if the same stature of body, and ability, had not been found among divers Nations after the general Flood, then might this place of Moses have more willingly heard need to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referre to accompany the Giants of *Albion*, in the Story of *Britany*) the Scriptures do clearly, and without all Allegorical construction, avow, That besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Joshua*, and of *David*; namely, the *Rephaims* in *Asteroth*, the *Zuzai*, or *Zanzumims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* which dwelt anciently in the Land of *Moab*; whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the *Anakims* which dwelt in *Hebron*; for they also were taken for Giants as the *Anakims*. Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon*, he useth these words: *That also was taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwell therein afore-times: and, whom the Ammonites call Zanzumims; a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these Giants called *Rephaims* in *Asteroth* and *Karnaim*, and the *Zuzai* or *Zanzumims*, *Chedorlaomer*, King of *Elam*, overthrew, afflicted by other Kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Ammonites*, men of Giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oaks: and the Prophet *Baruch*, *These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.* Particularly, it is written of *Og King of Basan*, that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, and four Cubits broad: for only *Og King of Basan* remained of the remnant of the Giants who commanded the Kingdom of *Basan*

four hundred years after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of *Promice* (sent by *Moses* from *Cadeshbarne* in *Parau*) made report at their return of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the Sons of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people*

*which we saw in it, are men of great stature: for we saw Giants, so that we seemed in our fight, like Grasshoppers, and so we were in their fight (that is) the Searchers found in their own judgments a marvellous difference between the Anakims and themselves: inasmuch that the Israelites were so stricken with fear, as they rather fought, and desired, to return again into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful Nations. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliath the Philistine of Gath*, was a Giant*

of six Cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore, weighed five thousand shekels of Brass: the shaft of his spear was like a Weavers beam, and his spear head weighed six hundred shekels of Iron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gebew*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slain by *Jonathan, David's* Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, even four and twenty.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after slew thirty of the *Philistines*, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Ass: And lastly, he took the gates of *Azzah*, and the two posts, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before *Ebren*. If then it be approved by every judgment, that both Nature, and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it self) intebbed and almost worn out the virtue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautiful, than it did in after ages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembered by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of men in general, soon after the Flood, and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born, in the withered

I quarter

quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth Age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newness of the World.

But the wickedness (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the Flood, gave end to all flesh, but to the just Noah and his Family. And God repented him that he had made man: which Saint Augustine thus expoundeth; *Neque enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui penitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa presentia. Sed si non uatur Scriptura*

talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiarius insinuat omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut & perterreat superbie, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quereutes, & alat intelligentes; God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture did not use those words, or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it self familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stir up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.

CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World; and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

S. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

Here, before we proceed any further, the occasion offereth it self for us to consider how the Greeks, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mystical fence, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolen out of the Books of God. But, as a skillfull and learned Chymist can as well by separation of visible elements draw helpful Medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthfull Herbs and Plants (all things having in themselves both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those that seek after God and Truth, find out every where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expressed.

That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, and in the old Egyptians.

But this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Man-kind, it took such effect, that thereby (the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced Plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general flood could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among the few Sons of Noah, there were found strong effects of the former poison. For as the children of *Shem* did inherit the virtues of *Setb*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the Sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the Sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the *Chaldeans* began, soon after the Flood, to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was only due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*

Phenicians did not only learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several Gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Egyptianos in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutatos, eoque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Tempia Diis, sibi crexisse; The Egyptians (saith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.*

S. III.

That in process of time, these lesser errors drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross superstitions of the Egyptians.

But as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: so did these grots and blind Idolaters, every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortal men only, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Mind, to Palenels, Sicknes, Sorrows, yea, to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

*Bovem colit, ego Deis magis bovem.
Tu maxinum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obscurum credidi suavissimum.
Carves suillas tu carves, at gaudeo
His maxime: canem colit, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obscurum.*

I sacrifice to god the Beef which you adore.
I broyl th'Egyptian Ecles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the flesh of Swine; I find it sweet.
You worship Dogs; to beat them I think meet.
When they my store devour.

And in this manner *Juvenal*.

*Porrum, aut cape, nefas violare aut frangere
moris:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!*

The Egyptians think it sin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onions, which they serve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

S. IV.

That from the relics of Ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain, &c.

But in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metal remaining after the Flood; and partly from *Misraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had learn'd the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: for, all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained: and though other Nations alter them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturns*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest, which *S. Augustine* out of *Varro*, *Eusebius* out of many prophane Histories, *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to wit, the *Phenicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturn*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of Cities; and the first City of the World was built by *Cain*, whom he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii*, before remembered. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Hyginus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo Jove edificatam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient Jupiter*, seated in the East parts, or in *India*, according to that of *Moses*: *And Cain dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c.* where also the *Henochii* were found after the Flood. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the *Athenians* called *Poleus*, Gen. 4. 16.

Phars. 1 de
Natur. Oc-
Deorum.
Panfæa 1.4.
5. & 10.
in Prælogo.

a Founder of Cities, and *Hercules*, an In-
clofer, or Strengtheners of Cities (Gay *Phormius*
and *Panfanians*;) and that to *Jupiter Hercos*,
and in very many places Altars and
Temples erected. And, that there were Ci-
ties built before the Flood, *Plato* also wit-
nesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirm-
ing, that, soon after mankind began to in-
crease, they built many Cities; which, as his
meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his
third Book of *Laws*: for he saith, that Ci-
ties were built an exceeding space of time
before the destruction by the great Flood.

This first *Jupiter* of the *Ethnicks* was then
the same *Cain*, the Son of *Adam*, who marry-
ing his own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to
have done) inhabited the East, where *Ste-
phanus de Orbibus* placeth the City *Henoebia*.

Gen. 4. 10,
21, 22.

And besides this City of *Henoeb*, *Philo Jude-
us* conceiveth that *Cain* built fix others, as
Maich, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jefca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*:
but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now,
as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom
also the *Ethnicks* had the invention of Sacri-
fice: so were *Jubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain* (in-
ventors of Pastorage, Smith-craft, and Mu-
sic) the same which were called by the an-
cient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*,
and *Apollo*. And as there is a likelihood of
name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so
doth *Auguftine* expound the name of *Noema*,
or *Namath*, the Sister of *Tubalcain*, to signi-
fy *Venus*, or, beautiful, *Voluptas*, or pleasures;
as the Wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the
Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as *Adam*
was the ancient and first *Saturne*; *Cain*, the
eldest *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea*, or *Na-
math* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the
dividing of the World between the three
Brethren, the Sons of *Saturne*, arise from the
true Story of the dividing of the Earth be-
tween the three Brethren the Sons of *Noah*:
so also was the fiction of those golden Apples
kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent
which tempted *Eva*: so was *Paradise* it self
transported out of *Asia* into *Africa*, and made
the Garden of the *Hesperides*: the Prophecies,
that *Christ* should break the Serpents head,
and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned
the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of
Hesperides, and descending into Hell, and cap-
tivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of
Henoeb by God, was borrowed the conver-
sion of their *Heroes* (the inventors of Religi-
on, and such Arts as the life of man had pro-
fit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and
(withall) that leaving of the World, and an-
cient of *Asfræa*: of which *Ovid*;

Læb. 1. 4.
c. 27.

Ovid. Met.
L. 1.

Ultima caelestium terras Asfræa reliquit.
Asfræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth
did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would
understand Justice it self to have failed, as
it is a virtue abstract, and may be considered
without a persons yet, as it is usual among the
ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vice
by the persons of men and women, as *De-
fire* by *Cupid*, *Valour* by *Mars*, *Beauty* or
Luft by *Venus*; so do they also the persons of
men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore
by Justice and *Asfræa*, *Enoch*; the justice and
piety of *Enoch*, being in the same manner ex-
press, as that of *Noah* was by *Mofes*: for *Noah* Gen. 7.
was said to be a just man; And *Noah* walked
with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, That
he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for
God took him away.

Nat. Com.
1. 2. c. 1.

From this Story also of the first Age, and
from that part where *Mofes* remembreth the
Giants begotten by the Sons of good men
upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom
Mofes calleth mighty men, and men of re-
nown) did they steal those wondrous great
acts of their ancient Kings, and powerful
Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken
against the Gods, from the building of the
Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *S.
Augustine* termeth him. Which was of their
Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth.

Læb. de
viti. Dei.

*Tentaverè (nefas) olim destrudere mundo
Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & vitiò leges imponere cælo.*

The Giants did advance their wicked
hand
Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong
down;

And robbing *Jove* of his Imperial Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud
command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* pur-
posed to raise the building of *Babel* to that
height, as God neither by drawing waters
from the deep, nor by any conjunction of
the Stars, should bury them under the moi-
sture of a second Flood, but that by this
building (if they had been herein victori-
ous) they would have given the Law to Hea-
ven it self. Also the making of leagues, peace
and covenants among Heathen Nations and
Kings, confirmed by Sacrifice, whereof *Virgil*
both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneids*
hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed
from *Mofes*, *Exod. 24.* who, when he read
the Book of the Covenant, sprinkled the
people with blood.

Joseph. Li.
contra Ap-
pion.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*,
the paternal Ancestor of *Henoeb* and *Noah*:
for *Amenophis*, the same King of Egypt which
reigned at such time as *Mofes* carried thence
the

the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned
men, mistaking his time, supposed) called
his Son and Succellour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and
of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judg-
ment have granted) were the Princes of
Thrace, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were
many very famous. But herein was the me-
mory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that
the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most
ancient Parent, and of the first Tradition:
in honour of whom they called a principal
Province *Sethetica*. We also find in *Bithy-
nia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same
name elsewhere. And sure, from the *E-
gyptians* did the *Grecians* borrow this kind
of Theologie, though they scorned to ac-
knowledge any antiquity preceding their
own: and that they might not seem to learn
elsewhere, they gave the same names to
their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did
to theirs.

Plut. in
Isid.

Strab. 1.
17.

S. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, and the strange
story of the third.

BUT of all those Armies of *Jupiters*, re-
membred by the Antients, *Cicero* ma-
keth but three, because those were of most
fame: which other Writers have also done,
who fought out, and laboured in their ori-
ginals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the Son of *Aether*
and *Dier*, so called because the one had re-
ference to his Celestial conditions (for either
is as much as *shining* or pure fire:) the other
discovered his natural virtues, which daies
and times make more perfect, and are the
witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the Son of *Cæ-
lum* or Heaven, for the same former respect;
and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King
of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the *Grecian* fables
were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candia*), the
Son of *Saturn* and *Ops*. The name derived
from the Latine is taken of *Jævus* pater,
from the Greek word *Zeus*; it signifieth life,
but somewhat strained. *Boccar* in his Gene-
alogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his
name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet;
but whether that Star had such a name be-
fore the same was given to men, I know not.
Jupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest,
honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, lo-
ving, and faithful (that is) giving these in-
clinations. And therefore those antient Kings
beautified with these conditions, might be
called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howsoever

they were, or were not with those virtues
riched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the
eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-
names: great Princes affecting as high Titles
of honour and reputation in the world (how-
soever deserved) as the worthiest that ever
were, acquired by their well-deservings.
Jovis omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The an-
cients called all Kings *Jupiters*, as *Tacetus* in
his *varia historia* confirmeth; *Reges olim Jo-
ves vocarunt omnes*; In old times all Nations
call'd their Kings *Jupiters*. But where this last
and most remembered *Jupiter* was born, it is
uncertain. Some there are, that make him of
Crete: others that he was but sent thither
by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be fostered
and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle:
because it was conditioned between *Saturn*
and *Titan*, that *Saturn* being a younger Bro-
ther, and reigning (for his own life) by *Ti-
tans* permission, he should put to death all his
male children, lest the *Titans* might be in-
terrupted by any one of them in their succe-
ssion; which agreement, because *Saturn* per-
formed in his first born, it is feigned that *Sa-
turn* devoured his own children. Hereof
Lycoophon, thus turned into Latine:

Nat. Com.
1. 1. c. 7.

*Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filius.*

Saturne to be the father is not known,
By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between *Titan* and *Saturn*,
Sybillæ also witnesseth in these words;

*Conceptis verbis, Titan jurare coegit
Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum,
Quò possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturn*
swear
No Son to nourish, which by reigning
might
Usurp the right of *Titans* lawful heir.

But *Opis* the Mother of *Jupiter*, being de-
livered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*
conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Ljanius*) into
Crete, as he did afterwards his two Brothers,
Neptune and *Pluto*: where he was brought
up in *Gnosus*, the chief City of that Island,
by *Cressa* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a peo-
ple and nation thereof.

Enst. in
Temp.

Others challenge him to be of *Thebes* and
a *Theban*: others call him an *Arcadian*: o-
thers make him of *Messena*. The like conten-
tion is found among the Greeks touching his
education and first fostering. Some affirm
that he was fed by *Hony-bees*: in recom-
pence whereof he changed their black coats
and

and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a God; others, that he was nourished by Beards: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end, when *Titan* had knowledge that *Saturn* had broken his faith, he set on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturn* being the less powerful, fled into *Italy*, and left his Kingdom in *Greece* to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once settled, and became potent, he gave himself over wholly to palliadeize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as do ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the sin of *Sodom* with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with incest, marrying his own Sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by strong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; *Niobe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphytrion*, by whom he had *Pelagus*, *Sarpidon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name; with another Son called *Saon*, of whom *Savonas*; by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Jordana*, *Dencalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Briotonartis*: by *Proteogenia*, he had *Athlus* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus*, married *Libya*, of whom that Country took name, for so the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He ravished *Aegina* the Daughter of *Aeolus*, and carried her into the Island *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torribelia* he had *Arceflaurus* and *Carbus*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had also *Dardanus* by *Eledra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begat the Brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*; and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbar*. He had besides these (if they bely not their chief God) *Phileus* and *Philonus*, inventors of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were born in Ages so far differing. And of these his several ravishments,

betrayings, stealing away of mens Wives, Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient Fables of his transformations into flowers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Grecian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romans* fear to entitle this Monster *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Book, *de natura Deorum*, affirm, that he deserved nothing less; and in his Oration, *pro domo sua*, reproacheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Jupiter*. His burial was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian*). *Cretenses non solium natum apud se, & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt*; The *Cretians*, or *Candians*, do not only avow that *Jupiter* was born and buried among them, but they shew his Grave and Sepulchre: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain *Jafus*. This, *Callimachus* in his Hymns also witnesseth; but, as offended thereat, saith thus:

The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'it alway.

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report *div. l. 4*, from the *Libyan* Fables, confirmed (as he saith) by some *Greek* Writers, that the original of these Gods was from the Western parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantide* reigned one *Oranus* (which signifieth Heaven) called so, for his great skill in *Astrology*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives forty five Sons; but by his principal Wife *Titea*, he had seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all which were called after their Mothers name, the *Titans*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that she for her goodness was Canonized as a Goddess, being dead, and called the Earth, as her Husband was styled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her Daughters *Basilæa* (which name founding as Queen in *English*, she is by the *Latine* translation of *Diodorus* called *Aegina*) excelling the rest as far in virtue as in years, was by general consent of her Brethren, and of the People, appointed to rule as Queen after her Father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to husband her Brother *Hyperion*, to whom she bare a Son and a Daughter, called *Sun* and *Moon*. The beauty and towardsness of these children moved her Brethren to envie, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they took the Boy and

Lat. in scilicet.

drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loss of this child, caused his sister to break her own neck; and the loss of both her children, made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wild fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom she is said to have vanished away. Ere she died, her Son (as the Fable hath it) signified unto her in a Dream, that he and his sister, by the providence of God, should become immortal; that also the *Sun* and *Moon* should be called by their names, and that their death should be revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her self as a goddess; and teamed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilest they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other Sons of *Oranus* divided the Kingdom. Of these, *Atlas* and *Saturn* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a just and wise Prince, deeply skillful in *Astrology*: and, for invention of the sphere, said to have supported Heaven. He had many Sons; but the principal of them called *Hesperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was said to have been carried away by the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in the midst of his contemplations; and his name, in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning Starr. The seven Daughters of *Atlas* were also said to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registered among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in quality to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seven Stars, called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africa* and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the Sons of *Oranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten Sons, which he called *Curites*: he called that Island after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Isle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* must not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if these Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as these *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keep his people in subjection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of *Africa*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, near to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He also begat on *Amalthea*, a Son, called *Bacchus*, whom he caused se-

cretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nysa*, an Island in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva*, and certain *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Seacoast, bending in form like a Horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentiful Horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these news, she fled from her Husband to her brother *Saturn*, who, not only entertained her as a sister, but took her to Wife, and at her instigation, made war upon *Hammon*, vanquished him by the assistance of the *Titans*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curites*, *Jupiter's* children before mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was named *Crete* by *Hammon*; after the name of *Crete* the Kings Daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may seem, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and many things else commodious for man-kind, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore, hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming against him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nysa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entered into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they set forward against *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* prisoners, returned to *Nysa*; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaved himself so well, that he won the love of all the people by whom he passed; in so much, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturn's* rigorous government, he was greatly strengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he won a battle of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which, *Saturn*, with his Wife *Rhea*, fled by night, setting the Town on fire, to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entertained. *Saturn* had a young Son by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This child *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East-Countries: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a Boy, Governor of the Country; but appointed unto him as an Over-seeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilest *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as far as into

India,

De legib.
c. 10.

Lactantius.

bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum : malorum autem omnium non causa ; God is absolutely good, and so (affirmed) the cause of all that is good : but of any thing that is evil, he is no cause at all. And again, Charitas Dei fuit causa fustionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum ; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things. Apuleius the Platonist ; Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam nature dignitate : & nihil est Deo similis & gratius, quam vir animo perfectio bonus ; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature : neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect heart. Thales affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient : Quia nunquam esse cepit, because he never had any beginning. Zeno, that God beheld even the thoughts of men ; Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be careful in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the World being beginning in Euripides, Scholar of Anaxagoras ?

Celum terraque unius forme fuit : Sed cum sufflent abijuncta amplexu mutuo, Emergit omnis in lucem res progenita ; Arboris, aver, feræ, quasque affert mare, Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear :
But when dis-joynd once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then ;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still remaining races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato ; so we find the same excellent understanding in Orpheus, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God ; though he use the name of Jupiter, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time : but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this Jupiter, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith Mirandula) quos Orpheus canit, non decipunt Demonium, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit ; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina ; The names of those gods whom Orpheus doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodness ; but they are the names of natural and divine Vertues. Yea,

that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to Musæus, and the Hymn following, teach us : *Respicimus verò ad divinam hunc sermonem, et diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum ; rectam autem ascende viam, & solum effice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt : ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri possit mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else ; in which he's still : nor could it ere befall
A mortal eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same Authour,

Jupiter omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem ; Jupiter est caput & mediis Jovis omnia munus. Jupiter est fundamen huius, & stellantis Olympi. Jupiter & mas est, & semina nescia moriis. Spiritus est candidus, candidi vis Jupiter igitur. Et pelagi radice, Sol, Luna est Jupiter ipse. Rex & origo simul verum est, & terminus idem. Nam prius occultus ; magno post nomine sacrum Cor referans, bonus in dulci dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he ;
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be,
God is the base of Earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the Male and Female too, shall never die.

The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher.
The King th' original of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he did all comprehend,
Whence all the blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now (besides these former testimonies) that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Grecians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of Justine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Engubinus, Pencer, Plessier, Danæus, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded

of

of what nature God was, described him by these Attributes and properties : *bonus, justus, sanctus, fœstus, possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without fear, glorious, and self-charity. Epicharmus affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every Nature, was only and every where powerful : agreeing with Democritus : Rex omnium ipse solus ; He is the only King of kings : and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita prebet ; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God (saith Antisthenes) cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known ; Nisi in patria illa percipi, cuius imaginem nullam habes : Save only in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also Xenophanes Colophonius : Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus similis ; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals : and Xenophon ; Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnæ potentie, quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perhistrat ; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty ; as it is manifest to all : but of what Form he is, it is manifest to none, save only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, Plato saith, Totius rerum nature causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sustentator, assiduum mundi sui opifex, suæ propagatione genitor, neque loco, neque tempore nullo comprehensibilis, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis ; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soul, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time ; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is. Therefore was it said by Saint Hierom, Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revocemus labores, necesse est in eis reperiri aliquam partem laborum Dei : ut, apud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi Deum : apud Zenonem, Stoicorum Principem, infero & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in Plato, God the Creator of the world : in Zeno,*

Hieron. in
Gen. in
Dan. in
Princip.

Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Soul, &c. And this is certain, that if we look in to the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgment ; never any man whose mind the Art of education hath not bended ; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded ; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a peevish inspection advised ; but that he hath found by an unresistible necessity, one true God, and everlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining ; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expressed, then that Egyptian Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity : all being at length by devilish policy of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured ; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perfwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

But these are again vanished : for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimney, which the lack of Fuel starveth, Water quenched, and want of Air suffocated. Jupiter is no more vexed with Juno's Jealousies ; Death hath perfwaded him to chastity, and her to patience ; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his : yea their stately Temples of Stone and durable Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to Baal, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phenicia that lament the death of Adonis ; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from Jupiter. The great god Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apollo's Priests are become speechless, and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit Egyptians, and couzening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his overthrows and dishonours : for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed,

burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the *Eubæan* Pyrates: Secondly, by the *Phlegians* utterly sack'd: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Archilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captains of the *Phocænes*: Sixthly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoil of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was again gloriously re-built, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the success of his *Partian* enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth.

The like success had the *Jews* in the same *Julian's* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrow by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the *Jews* were overwhelmed with the ruins, and others slain and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the *Jews*, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allipius* and the Ruler of the province of *Judea*, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing near the foundation, and off consuming the Workmen, made the Enterprise frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOW the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as

in those daies) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself then ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tells them that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) is without taste; so pleasure fatisieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, then in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* find in his Pupils any remorse, any feeling or fear of God's future judgments, he persuades them that God hath so great need of men's Souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the mind of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and over-grown with grass, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of Death a double and twofold opening, worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joys) at the other our cruelties, covetousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time near at an end.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's Flood.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane Testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's Flood.

Joseph. l. 1. c. 4.

OF this distraction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith *Josephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Decedens cum suis in altam regionem intravit*: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region. And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himself, *Berosus* writeth in this manner: That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and unnatural wickedness, and that they were contemptuous & religious & devout; contempters of religion and of the gods: among which mighty men (saith *Berosus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat Noah*: There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods then the rest, whose name was *Noah*: who with his three Sons, *Sem*, *Japheth*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserved themselves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: And God said unto *Noah*, Make thee an *Arke* of Pine-trees: thou shalt make cabins in the *Arke*, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the *Ayr*, *Noah* and his family excepted.

Lat. impref. de Joseph.

But this universal grave of Waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not persuade all natural men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet*: Whilst the truth lieth wrapt in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdoms: moved lo to think, because in elder Ages there have been many other Floods (as they suppose) of that nature.

Hereof *Nicolas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*. *Est super Arminadum excelsus Mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugiens sermo est diluvii tempore liberator, & quendam simul in Arca decessum in hujus vertice hesisse, ignorumque reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit de quo citam Moses Judæorum legislator scribit*: thus far this Author. There is (saith he) above *Arminadum* (or the Country of *Arminy*) an exceeding high Mountain in *Armenia*, called *Baris*: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the Deluge; and that one was carried in an *Ark*, and rested upon the top of the Mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the *Jews* makes mention. And of this opinion were the *Talmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who, after *Moses*, was one of the most ancient, howsoever he hath been since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the general Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famelam, qua universos perit Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World universal perished*: witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his Wife *Titea*, and his three Sons with their Wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

§. II.

Of the Flood in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noah's Flood.

BUT from the vanity of the *Greeks*, the Corrupters of all truth (saith *Laëtantius*), who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to persuade the World that there was

Rho. L. 15.
c. 33.
Enfth. de
Prep.
Evang. I.
10. c. 3.
Ca. 22.

was no Flood preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, King of the *Thebans* in *Æthiopia*, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogyginus id appellatur Poeta, tanquam perverius dixeris ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.*

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Ensebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67 years after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he far later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth Book of his *Antiquities* remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autumant hunc; unde sit Cadmus, qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à Bove jugulatum sic nuncupatus; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (saith he) who think that this Ogyges did reign in Egypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, who travelling into Greece, built Thebes, so named of a Beef slain: because in the Syrian Language, a Beef is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of *Ogyges* fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the *Septuagint*: and the Flood of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now, although the very year and time of this overflowing in *Æthiopia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set down, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that and the general Flood.

For, *Paulus Orosius*, affirms that this tempest fell upon the *Athenians*, but 1040. years before *Rome* was built. *Eucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than *Rome*; which was founded (according to the same *Eucholzerus*) in the worlds year, 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the general Flood preceded the building of *Rome* (saith *Eucholzerus*) 1563. years: and the Flood of *Ogyges*, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Floods must be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Prifcus*, as some do) it appears by this, that the Flood of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica*, or *Ogygia*, did not extend it self any farther

then the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Ægean* Sea. For, whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witness, that the City of *Joppe* in *Judea* was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the height of waters) there remained on certain Altars of Stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Flood of *Ogyges* spread it self over any part of *Syria*, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Æthiopia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid*.

Siqueras Helicen, & Buran, Æthioides urbes, Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Æthiopian* ground, Are fought in vain, but under Sea are found.

Of this Flood of *Ogyges*, was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the Daughter of *Cæus*, the Son of *Titan*, being beloved, and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Pylhon*, to follow and affright her, wherefore she travelled; till at length arriving at the Isle of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reign) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, that in *Attica* and along the coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of *Ortygia* elyped the light of the Moon somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moon, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be born in the Isle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth Manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Historics have

have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayr, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusual face of Skies. *Varro* in his Books, *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by *S. Augustine*) reports out of *Cassor*, that so great a miracle hapned in the Star of *Venus*, as never was seen before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrastrus Cyzænius*, and *Dion Neopolites*, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Now, concerning the course of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any more read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I see no reason, why the difference found in the Star of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and fogs than those which covered Greece with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigio: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, decrying one ly that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth seem; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the help of perspective Glasses, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in *Venus*, by his late observations. Whether some wary disposition of the ayr might represent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galileus* hath seen through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of *S. Augustine*) accompanied with such unusual (and therefore the more dreadful, though natural) signs, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Flood of *Noah*, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may seem to have had no other token, or fore-shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himself, which was not regarded: for they

were eating and drinking, when the Flood came suddenly, and took them all away.

§. III.

Of Deucalions Flood: and that this was not Noahs Flood: nor the Umbri in Italy, a remnant of any universal Flood.

A Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*; of which *S. Augustine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus (ut Varro scribit) regnante Atheniensibus Crano, successore Cecropis (ut autem nostris, Eusebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis: (that is) in these times, (as Varro reporteth) Cranos the successor of Cecrops governed the Athenians, or, (as our Eusebius and Hierome say) Cecrops yet living, that Flood (called Deucalions) happened.*

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the said 18. Book, he useth these words: *Eduxit ergo Moses ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Athenienium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Tripas: Moses led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter time of Cecrops, King of the Athenians; Ascatades reigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicyonians Marthus, and over the Argives Tripas. So as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this Flood of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. years, according to *Fundinus*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the year of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were born in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codeman*, then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. years of age when this Flood happened, it falleth within one year of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion*, by all approved Historians, is said to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Flood of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phæton*'s time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* six years after *Israel* departed *Egypt*; which makes twenty years difference, according to *Fundinus*, who will have this Flood and Burning to have fallen 14. years before *Moses* left *Egypt*: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Flood and Burning, the year 2440. and to *Moses* egression the year 2454. And yet *Cædrenus* thinks*

ced. l. 1.
fol. 34.

thinks that *Moses* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood of *Deucalion*, and the Burning of *Phaëton* preceded the Flood of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Theffaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. years, or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his Chronologie, makes it 230. and so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 30. year of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Flood 770. years: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Grecia temporis quidem Phœniæ, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio, quæ fuit tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece, in the time of Phœnus, who lived after Inachus, the Flood of Ogyges. Now, if the Flood of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. years before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orosius (as before) then it is manifest that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that Ogyges Flood happened before the Hebrews left Egypt 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orosius. And for my self (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60. years more to Abraham after the Flood, than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these Floods in this sort. The general Flood was in the year of the World 1656. Jacob was born in the year of the World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Flood to Jacob's birth, there were consumed 513. years. Ogyges Flood happened 100. years after Jacob was born; and therefore after the general Flood 613. years. Now, *Deucalion* was born in the year of the World 2356. and had lived 82. years, when his kingdom of *Theffaly* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his flood was after *Noahs* Flood ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. years between the general Flood and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the flood of *Theffaly* followed the general 782. years. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus ante duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second year of Sphærus, are numbered 700. years, and when Deucalion was 82. years old, he saw Theffaly drowned. This Flood hapned in the Winter time about Parnassus: witness Aristotle, in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom S. Augustine so often citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in**

Antiquities) findeth this flood of *Deucalion* to have hapned in the time of *Cranus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*: *Orosius* thinks it somewhat later, *Amphitryon* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Only this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Theffaly* it self, and the Regions adjoining Weltward, but it covered the greatest part of *Italy*: and either the same, or some other particular flood then hapning, oppressed *Egypt*, saith *Eusebius*. And therefore did the Greeks either think it, or feign it to be universal; and *Deucalion* the King, saving himself, and some others on the Mountain of *Theffaly* (of all other the highest, saith *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preserver of man-kind. That this flood covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called *Quæm*: quia ab imbribus diluvii superfluent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Book, and *Tresenius* in his second: which *Umbri* these Authors make the Parents of the *Sabinæ*, and the *Sabinæ* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brucii*, and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that these *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italy* before the Flood of *Noah*, and so took name by saving themselves upon the *Appennine* Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who, & who only then were preserved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first people which after the general Flood inhabited *Italy*, were the *Cambyenes*; (so named from *Camse*, whom *Cato* in *Origines*, another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a consort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a savage life, till such time as *Saturn* arriving on those Coasts, devised Laws to govern them by: the memory of whose Acts in that Region, *Diodorus* and *Thallus* among the Greeks; *Nepos*, *Cassius*, and *Varro* among the Latines, have preserved; and of whom *Virgil*:

Primus ab æthere venit Saturnus Olympo, Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptus. Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus albis Composuit, legesque dedit; Latiumque vocari Maluit.

Saturn descending from the heavens his Son, His Kingdom lost, and banisht thence, doth fly, Rude people on the Mountain tops he won To live together, & by Laws: which done, He chose to call it *Latium*.

And

And afterwards in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Amoræi*, and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which again sought to displace the ancient Inhabiters:

Virg. l. 8. Thus manus Ausonia, & gentes venere Sicani.

Then came th' *Ausonian* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spain*, and fate down in *Italy*) *Thucydides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligi*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these Plantations and re-plantations, came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of France, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hæturia* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* have assured us: and therefore this Flood of *Deucalion*, was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italy*, and disposse'd of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was first called *Camafene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Ausonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* Flood happened) posses'd the same, about 306. years before the War of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being the Father of two and twenty Sons, the youngest called *Oenotrus* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria*: This name it held until *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy*. After these, came the *Pelagi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, took from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had posses'd) and past over the *Appennine* Mountains they added divers others, whereof *Telagina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not antiently such a Nation as these *Umbri* in those parts, I do not affirm; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the Greek word *Umbros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universal Flood: and of two antient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

Saint Augustine out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the Greeks and Latins made not any mention of the Universal Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembered) were all things among the Greeks (which antiquity had worn out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Englisb* commonly call (worm-eaten, or) of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquity, then such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigene*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certain knowledge of *Noah's* Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirm by hear-say, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountain *Barris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *sermo est*; That such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembereth a place out of the antient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himself from a Flood, fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship, ad *Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth Birds, that finding no Land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time; but at the third return, the Birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius*'s words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (though in other terms) of *Noahs* Flood.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this general Flood. And *Plato* in *Timæus* produceth an Egyptian Priest, who re-counted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt*, the story of the Flood universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. *Eriæ Annus* his *Xenophon* remembereth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat

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more

more antient then that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the general Flood for the fifth, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*; *sub primo Ogyge*, which was *Noah*. He called the second, *Niliaca*; *Hercules* and *Promethens* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Agyptians*, though I do not believe him as touching the time. But this Flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Promethens*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Promethens* his Liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod.* *Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursum velocitatem profunditatemque aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, Herculeum, tum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volent e vestigio comprehensisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Graeci quidam Poetae rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, Herculeum tradunt Aquilam Promethei jecur depascentem occidisse: This Flood* (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftness of his course, as also for the depth, was in those days called the Eagle: but *Hercules* by his great judgment and virtue did again compress and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of *Hercules* into a fable) devised, that *Hercules* slew the Eagle which fed on *Promethens* liver; meaning that he delivered *Promethens* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Ammius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this brief fort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuisse: prima novimebris Inundatio terrarum sub primo Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*): the first, which was universal, of nine moneths; and this happened under the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Promethens*, *Egyptians*: a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia* under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance, (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Heben's* rape. *Diodorus*, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Savothracers* for his Authors, remembereth a Flood in *Asia* the less, &c. else where, of no less destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus*

and *Hellepont* breaking in over the Land.

But there have been many Floods in divers times and Ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous Overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a most fearful storm of Thunder and Lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the land after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Acbaia* or *Attica*. Before that, in the year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands; and after that of a Flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Stronius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth: also in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperour. He also remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier*, a French Historian, speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in *Anno Domini* 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountain, about *Nismes*, there were removed divers old heaps and moutures of ground, and many other places torn up and rent: by which accident there was found both coy of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate and Vessels of other Metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

§. V.

That the Flood of Noah was supernatural, though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.

Now, howsoever all these Floods, and many other, which have covered at several times, several Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southlayers among them) may be ascribed to natural causes and accidents; yet that universal Flood

Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial commandment of God himself; who at that time gave strength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes by whatsoever union, could perform, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, strength and faculties supernatural. *Henricus Mechliniensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Masar*, observeth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation, since called the Ship of *Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watry Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of *Astronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Flood by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himself: and further, that by * *Cataractae celi*, Englished the Windows of Heaven) *Moses* meant this great and watry Conjunction; the word *Cataractae*, signifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens such a Constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgment was *Gal. Parisiensis*, who understood, that the words *Cataractae celi*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former Conjunction, or for those watry signs, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the Moon: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His own words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraeorum Cataractae celi vocasse, nisi partes illas celi, quae generativae sunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aequatica, ut Cancer, &c. as aforesaid. As yet* (saith he) I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meant by those words (*Cataractae celi*, or Windows of Heaven) unless he thereby understood those celestial powers, by whose influences are ingendred the rain and inundations of

waters, such as are the watry signs of *Cancer*, &c. But, in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdom this Conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of virtues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing ayr into water by the ministry of his Angels, or whosoever else best pleased his All-powerfulness.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Flood: And what are *Cataractae celi*, Gen. 7. v. 11.

Now, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new (for God rested the seventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may seem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God had so restrained himself, or no; I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the highest mountains, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish; for it is written, That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up, (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was dispersed therein, pierced, and brake-through the face thereof. Then let us consider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center, some three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest mountain of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia*, or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tennerif*, and I do not find, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteen times: for the Fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayr over and above it,

Not Com.
L. 4. c. 6.

Xenop. de
egum.
comm. per
Ammius,
lib. 37.

Alto de
Caucasus
Tio de co
Africage,
Gen. 7. v. 11.

The word
Cataractae
is properly
signified a
ny place of
Rocks, a
gate, a
gate
which the
force of the
water being
naturally
carried
down-
wards,
dasheth
and break-
eth; of
Aegaeus,
Aldo, or
Ficus,
Hence,
because
Windows
do not
only open,
but also
shut, the
word hath
been re-
pounded
(Hindus)
for Rains
or Flood-
gates.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the Heathen.

we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayr, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly, For the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliaensis*, to which I may add *Eroscus*, and others, That such a conjunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the gravest *Africologian* it was observed, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at *Noah's* Flood; than which (saith he) there was never a more fair, dry, and seasonable year: The like destruction was prophesied of the year 1588. But *Picus Earl of Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mystic in the word *Cataractæ Cæli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sense of the word) to expels the violence of the Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of Water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistless violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows, or Flood-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That Waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost ayr, and the Waters fell in abundance: Behold (says *Job*) he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*) And all things are dried up but when he sendeth them not, they destroy the Earth: And in the 26 Chapter: He bindeth the waters in the clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the general Flood, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and these joining together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves; and the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, formerly condensed into drops.

Noah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entered the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth Quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecies of his Father *Lamech*, Celsation; to whom afterwards gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogger*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogger*, there was also a great Flood of *Achaia*: *Satur* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steal away *Jupiter's* fire; Fire in that place being taken and underflood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others think, that he was so called for his excellent wisdom and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus*, (*id est*) *Vinofus*, because *Jain* signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so *Tertullian* finds him written in *libris Ritualibus*, in the Books of Ceremonies, preceding both *Satur*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine; for it was in use before there was any Latine Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name known. Of the antiquity of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this testimony: *Janus erat nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortibus petrius nondum haberat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinnus & Far primus populos docuit Janus ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomuria & Sacra docuit; In the time of Janus (saith he) there was no Monarchy: for the desire of rule had not then folded it self about the hearts of men. Janus first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meal: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, where in they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater testimony than this there cannot be found among all the Heathen, which in all agree so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilst *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that took on him sovereign Authority. Secondly, *Noah*, after the Flood, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and*

Gen. 8. 10.

Ara. cont.
Sept. 1. 6.

Ovid de
Festis. l. 1.

Na. Com.
l. 1. c. 13.

celius.

Gen. 9. 10.

Stuck in
libris con-
cordantiis
et Danicus
de prima
mundi
aetate.

and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before and after the Flood. *Quia preterita novum, & futura profecerit*, saith *Arnobius*: Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, The seed of the World: because, as out of that confused Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beasts and Plants; so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:
Aspicit quàm longi temporis aëta cano!*
The Ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great years
By those old times, of which I sing, appear.

He was also intitled *Cælus* and *Sol*, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomy: *Verumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod.*, *Siculus* and *Alex.* *Apbrodisens* so call, because he was the restorer of the Greeks to their former liberty, but in respect of the Flood. For the Greeks called *Liber* γρ., and his Nurses *Hyades*, of Rain, because *Noah* entered the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah's* Flood. He was also by others furnished *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionysus*, quasi *dionysus*, *mentem pungens*, Bite-brain, or Winesinger; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwise, and derive that name à *Patre & Loco*; Of his Father and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nisa*, a Town of Arabia felix, saith *Suidas*, out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; and *Noah* became an Husbandman. Now howsoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from *Noah*. But this name of *Bacchus*, more antiently *Bodens*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danens*) from *Noachus*, (N) being changed into (B); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the first and antient *Bacchus*) were all

those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was, furnished *Nylus*, of the Mountain *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves feign of his enterprises: and these Mountains of *Nysa* joyn with those of *Paropamisus*; and those other Eastern Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* reited after the Flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given him, brought the same confusion to places as to himself. Notwithstanding all which, we find the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of *Noah* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Protenus*, *Dannus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the Name.

§. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Now in what part of the World *Noah* built the Ark, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only *Coropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his Ark near the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Ark; to which also he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are sure of, that the Ark was built in some part of the Eastern World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it reited after the Flood. For *Noah* did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the Ark no otherwise move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calm Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continual

Job 12.
v. 15.

Gen. 8. 1.

Gen. 9. 10.

Gen. 8. 1.

and down-right Rains, there were any Winds at all, therefore was the *Ark* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to pass upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at all, which could drive the *Ark* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Ark* had *fundum planum*, a flat bottom, and not stayed in form of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut the Waves for the better speed.

Simp de Ark. fol. 127.

This kind of Vessel the Hebrews call *Thebet*, and the Greeks *Larnax*, for so they termed *Democritus* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight days he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (L) into (P) *Parnassus*; but *Parnassus* thinks that it took name of a Son of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus*, the Inventor of *Auguration*.

De Oracul. fol. 94.

Percursus finds the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinity with the Greek, but thinks it derived from the Hebrew word *Nabas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

Epiph. in Antor.

Josephus calls the *Ark*, *Machina*, by the general name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the Hebrew, *Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*. That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Ark* of the *Sanctuary*, but *Thebet* such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters.

Gen. 6. 4.

Lastly, this *Ark* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofs, with a Crest in the midst thereof, and the sides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noyfulness of the many Beasts, which filled the other rooms and parts of the *Ark*.

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The Hebrew word *Gopher* once, and in this place only used, is diversely understood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbins*, Cedar; the *Seventy*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signify any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed

the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his Grace and mercy for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in Egypt it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the City, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrifying or mouldering in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet favour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because neer the place where the *Ark* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, beside the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. *Percursus* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers sorts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one sort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to sever the clean Beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have been a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Valley of *Sodom* and *Gomorrath*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltites*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West India: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the *Ark*, was of sufficient capacity.

THE *Ark*, according to Gods commandment, had of length three hundred Cubites

Pl. 18. Plin. lib. 4. 86.

De Creat. Del. lib. 1. 2. 126.

Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or high; by which proportion, it had six parts of length to one of breadth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *S. Augustine*: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesie que sit salva per lignum, in quo pendit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisque ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt (saith he) it is a Figure of the City of God travelling in this world as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, breadth and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was fore-told and performed.*

By what kind of Cubit the *Ark* was measured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a half, measured from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens measures hath made the difference. For as there is now a less proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit from the sharp of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of less length than it was in elder times.

Athen. dionys. l. 4. Plin. lib. 7. de Rem. lib. 11.

Saint Augustine, considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the *Ark* held, with their food and water, was sometime of opinion, that the *Ark* had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost six of the common: For, measuring the *Ark* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Vessel built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolemy Philopater*. But *S. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgment as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be relieved. For

it was not needfull to take any kinds of Fishes into the *Ark*, because they were kept living (saith *S. Augustine*) in their own Element. *Non fuit necesse confervare in Arca que possent in aquis vivere, non solum merse sicut Pisces, verum super-natantia, sicut multa alia: It was not needfull to conserve those creature in the *Ark*, which could live in the Waters; and not only Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowls which sit and swim on them. And again, Terra, non aqua, maledicta; quia Adam non ejus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the Sea, did Adam eat. So, as *S. Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 127.

And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the species, which now seem differing, and of several kinds, were not then in *verum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyenæ*, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficial consideration, that all those which were red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing from those that are less painted, and wear plain russet or black; they are much mistaken that so think. And for mine own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the Cat of *Europe*, and the Ounce of *India*; and, even those Dogs which are become wild in *Hispaniola*, with which the *Spaniards* used to devour the naked *Indians*, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of *India* is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of *Caribana*; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of *Virginia*. The Dog-fish of *England* is the Shark of the South Ocean: For its colour or magnitude made a difference of species, then

Athen. lib. 10.

then were the *Nigro's*, which we call the *Black-Moors*, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts; and so the Giants of the South *America* should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also fee it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Climate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting; and the best Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcumers, by being set in a barren soyl. Therefore, taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but half a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a half of Giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, and 60. foot in depth.

Deut. 3. 11.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of Og, King of *Basán*, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of six Cubits and an handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger then all *David's* body, who carried it away.

1 Sam. 17. 4.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of breadth, and three of height) reached the length of 27. foot upright, and so must their Priests have ascended by steps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment, given in these words: *Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures*

Exod. 20. 26.

was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one foot and a half, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtless) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the horses whereon they rode, and all other Creatures of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Ark, it were not hard to conceive, how all the distinct species of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessel of those dimensions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now usual measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large bodies which were in the days of *Noah*, might have room sufficient in the Ark, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of Creatures to be saved, (that is, seven of the clean, two of the unclean, with necessary food) might have place in the Ark, *Buteo* hath very learnedly declared: the brief sum of whose discourse to that purpose, is, this. The length of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole Convexity to have been 450000. Now, whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 39. distinct species of Beasts, or (less any should be omitted) for 100. several kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them; and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entered into the Ark, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kind, so that in all there were in the Ark one and twenty great Beasts

Beasts

Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as ninety one Beeves; yet for a supplement (left perhaps any species be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the Ark six and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threecore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beasts might be kept in one story or room of the Ark, in their several Cabins; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his Family, and all their necessities.

§. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East-Indies, and Scythia.

§. I.

A Præterition of some Questions left material: with a Note of the use of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

What time *Noah* took to build the Ark, I leave to others to dispute: but he received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into four, *Saint Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversy: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Aligatoris*) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horses; were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needless curiosity; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well within the Ark, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the Hebrews, who suppose that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfy my self and others in, is, in what part of the World the Ark rested after the Flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestrial Paradise, and the resting of the Ark) do onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the

Flood; and all Story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

§. II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

And first, for the true place where the Ark rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion, or singularity; but do herein ground my self on the original and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, That the Ark stayed upon one of the mountains of *Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrasts* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai*, or *Gordiei*, in Armenia the greater (as the words *Gordai*, and *Kardu*, seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any such thing (now) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater Armenia. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this Mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which Mountain the Frier *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him find another adjoining, called *Ocila*, and to say that the Ark (of which *Moses* the Law-giver of the Hebrews wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I do not find any such Mountain in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontory in *Arabia Felix* of that name; and *Pliny* finds a Mart-town so called in the same, which *Ptolemy* calls *Ocila*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian Mountains. *Berosus* calleth those Mountains of Armenia *Gordiei*, and *Curtius Cordi*: *Ptolemy Gordai* and *Gordai*: of which the Countrey next adjoining is, by this *Nicolaus Damascenus*, called *Nymada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Miyadi*, or rather *Minni*: which word is used for Armenia Minor. And the very word of Armenia seems to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni*

Gen. 8. 4.

Gen. 8. 1. 27.

M

of

of Syria; for that Armenia also is a part of Syria, *Phry* witnesseth. *Epiphanus* placeth the *Cardes* about these Mountains, whom others call *Gordien* or *Gordeni*. The Mountains are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the Mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates*, in the Plains of Armenia the great, near the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, *Gordien* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanus* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*. Which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noah's* coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any Hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* *Armenia* (*Kubaris*). That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Joseph*. l. i. c. 4. says, the place is called *Armenia* (as it were the descent or coming down) and *Epiphanus* lib. 1. contr. *Harref* calls it *Armenia*, which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* Tongue signifieth Descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Luba* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Latine Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Abi* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Luba* tenu. Yet this opinion hath been embraced from Age to Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any of the rest adjoining.

§. III.

The first Argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so near a place as Armenia.

But there are many Arguments to persuade me, that the *Ark* of *Noah* did not rest itself in any part of Armenia, and that the Mountain *Ararat* was not *Babel*, nor any one of the *Gordian* Mountains.

For the first: It is agreed by all who follow *Eusebius*, that it was in the year 130. or in the year 131. after the Flood, when *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward call'd *Babylonia*, *Chus*, and *Chaldaea*. If then the *Ark* had first found

Land in Armenia, it is very improbable, that the children of *Noah*, which came into that Valley, could have spent so many years in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was only interjacent, which might by easie journeys have been past over in twenty days; and to hasten and help which passage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered itself, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burthen: so as where the Defeat on the one side resisted their expedition, the River on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of the same, where the *Ark* of *Noah* was first supposed to settle itself; Then, if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprize of a second Flood (according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*) it foundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called, of the many Rivers which imbroide or compass it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no sooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared Inundation. Now, at *Babel* it was, that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first known City of the World, founded after the Flood, about 131. years, or (as others suppose) ten years later: though (for my self) I rather think that they undertook that work in two respects; first, to make themselves famous; To get us a name (saith the Text). Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion over the rest.

§. IV.

The second Argument: That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

For a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noah's* taking Land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the East had) may easily persuade us, that those Sun-dling Nations were the most ancient. The certainty of this report, that the *East-Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordinance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to understand, That the place of *Philoftratus* in *vita Apollonii*

lonii *Tianai*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though expressed in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wife men, which dwell between *Hyphais* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to go forth into Battel: but that they drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules* *Egyptius* and *Bacchus*, joining their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden Shield. For the invention of Letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into *Greece*: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that Letters are no less ancient then *Seth* or *Henech* were: for they are said to have written on Pillars of Stone (as before remembered) long before the Flood. But from the Eastern world it was that *John Gutenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicolas* *Gersou* a *Frenchman*, bittered both the Letters and Invention. And notwithstanding that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the *Chinois* had Letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greeks* had neither any civil knowledge, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred years since discovered those Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinois* account all other nations but salvages in respect of themselves.

And to add strength to this argument, the conquest and story of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuosity in that little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexander's* time, learning and greatness had not travelled so far to the West as *Rome*, *Alexander* esteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-rising, and hear *Paulus* *Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and *Island* thereof, we shall find that those Nations have sent out, and not received; lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civil; the farther West, the more Salvage. And of the *Ille* of *Japan* (now *Zi-*

pingari) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incole religionis, literis, & sapientie sunt addiditissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent then prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians: They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who have been employed in those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.*

§. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful resemblance which Semiramis found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what Age she lived, and how soon after the Worlds new birth she gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more then three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoynd also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggon: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Country after the Flood. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: All Historians consent that she was the Wife of *Nimrod*, and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Chus*, *Chus* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of *Babel* may appear; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast between *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountered in that War with this her powerful Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, then equalling her own, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*: *Staurobates coactis majoribus, quam qua erant Semiramidis, copiis: Staurobates*

gathering together greater Troops than those of Semiramis. If then these numbers of Indians had been increased but by a Colony sent out from Shinar (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurabates* must have been made of Stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the Indian Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the Colonies sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65. years time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was born: of which, thirty years to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabbath*, *Raamah*, and *Sabteba*: and then thirty years to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Seba* and *Dedan*, both which were born before *Nimrod*: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make sixty five, and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Seba*, and *Dedan* with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain six years to have been spent in travelling from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinar*, in the year after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinar* in the year 101. and the Confusion to have been at *Peleg*'s birth, these men do all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrod*'s Tower in the Ayr; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plains of *Shinar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that year 101. or at *Peleg*'s birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Flood (according to *Eberus*) and that the Work of *Babel* lasted forty years (according to *Glycas*) *Homini bus in ca persicienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vain 40. years to finish it*. By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Flood, ere a Colony was sent into East India; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurabates* could have

exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the world gathered the most of Nations into one body.

§. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the Flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the Flood without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself, then covered with many years, planted himself in the same place which God had assigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia Felix*, where he should (if the Tradition be found) have left certain Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*: then into *Spain* where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Son *Cham* the *Saturn* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say he banish'd him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the *Grecian* fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Flood, the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bulches, and Briers, that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the Valley of *Shinar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spain*: For *Noah* who was Father of all those Nations, a man revered both

for his Authority, Knowledge, Experience and Piety, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent persuasions he would have bound their hands from so vain labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himself, he would have held them in that awful subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of man-kind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinar* (being the greatest troop, because they had the greatest part of the World to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus*, and *Celestinus*, take the testimony of *Aethodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increase (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Sephene*, and *Joëan*, of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joëan* of *Sem*, and *Sephene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the Sons of *Sem*: *Joëan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East-India. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia*, and the other adjoining to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of *Joëan*, or of all the rest a certain number (*Cham* and his issue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himself, it cannot be known. Of which Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chapter following.

Now, another reason which moves me to believe that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the Story of the Hebrews, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all man-kind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principal a Person, to be ci-

ther forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the World) withdrawn himself, and rested a-part with his best Beloved, giving himself to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile foil, where he planted his Vineyard, and dressed the Earth; after which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, he is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so far away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

§. VII.

Of the senseless opinion of Annianus the Commentator upon Eberus: who finds divers places where the Ark rested; as the Calpian and Gordizean Hills, which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some places of Scythia.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of *Frier Annianus*, who in his Commentaries upon *Berosus* and others, laboureth marvellously to prove that the Ark of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* Mountains called *Cassii*; which Mountains separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. And because all his Authors speak of the Mountains of *Gordiaz*, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those far-distant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with error, which have carefully over-seen, Printed, and Published *Ptolemy*'s Geography, in which they are altogether dislevered. For that last Edition of *Mercators* sets these Hills five degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies of *Villanovanus*, and others, we shall find nothing in them to help *Annianus* withal: for in those the Mountains *Cassii* stand seven degrees to the East of the *Gordiaz*, which makes 420. miles. And for those Authors by whose authority *Annianus* strengtheneth himself, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like dispute. *Aberrantur vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnorum stiris ignorantia; They have all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdoms*. But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* stood on the Mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of

Gen. 10. 7.

Gen. 10. 7.
Gen. 10. 7.
Gen. 10. 7.
Gen. 10. 7.

Psalm. 136.
A. 136.

Dial. 1. 3.

Cato de
orig. part
prima.

of the *Scythians*: and to prove the same he
citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth
that 250. years before *Ninus*, the Earth was
overflowed with Waters, *Et in Scythia Saga*
renatum mortale genus; And that in *Scythia*
the flock of mortal men was renewed. The same
Author also teacheth, that the *Umbri* before
remembered (who were so called, because fa-
voured from *Deucalion* Floud) were the Sons of
the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his ve-*
nisse Janum cum Dyrin, & *Gallis prope-*
rius Umbrosum; From these *Scythians*, he
saith, that *Janus* came with *Dyrin*, and with
the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Umbri*: And
again, *Equidem principatus originis semper*
Scythis tribuitur; Certainly, the prime *Anti-*
quity of Off-spring is always given to the Scythi-
ans. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*,
that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now
Tartaria, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *As-*
atica, were among the first peopled: and
they held the greatest part of *Asia* under
Tribute till *Ninus* Time. Also *Pliny* called
the *Umbri* which long since inhabited *Italy*,
Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation, who
descended of these *Scythians*. Now, that
which *Annius* labourereth, is to prove that
these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the *Ne-*
phews of Noah) did first inhabit that Region
of the Mountains, on which the Ark rested;
and confessing that this great Ship was
grounded in *Armenia*, he seigneth a Nation
of *Scythians* called *Araxe*, taking name of
the Mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *A-*
raxer. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth
him in part (to wit, That in *Scythia* man-
kind was restored after the great Floud 250.
years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly de-
stroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding
the word *Saga*; as, in *Scythia Saga* *rena-*
tum mortale genus; In *Scythia Saga*, mankind
was restored: he therefore in the *Preamble* of
his Commentary upon *Berosus*, leaveth out
the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repe-
tition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines*
in Scythia salvatos. For *Scythia Saga*, or *Sa-*
ce, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of
Parapinsus, on which, or near which, is the
most probable that the Ark first took
ground: and from those East parts (accord-
ing to *Moses*) came all those companies
which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinar*
or *Babylonia*.

Plin. l. 3.
c. 14.

Strabo. l. 1.

Plin. Asia
lib. 7.

Gen. 11. 2.

But now, the best authority which *Annius*
hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath
read that the *Scythians* were originally *Ar-*
menians, taking name & *Scythia Rege* *co-*
rum, from *Scythia their King*. But (in a word)
we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his
fallhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*,

a most approved and diligent Author, be-
ginneeth in that place with these words: *Fa-*
bulatorum Scythæ, The Scythians Fable: and
his Interpreter in the table of that work,
giveth this Title to that very Chapter; *Scy-*
tharum origo & successus, fabula; The original
and success of the *Scythians*, a Fable. And (in-
deed) there needs no great disproof hereof,
since *Ptolemy* doth directly delineate *Scythia*
Saga, or *Sace*, and sets them in 130. degrees
of longitude; and the *Persians* (saith *Herodo-*
tus) call all the *Scythians*, *Sace*; which *Pliny*
confirms: for in respect that these *Sace* (saith
Pliny) are the *Scythians* next to the *Persians*,
therefore they gave all the rest that name.
Now, that any Nation in *Armenia* can neigh-
bour the *Persians*, there is no man believeth.
But this supposed *Scythia Araxe* in *Armenia*
lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42.
degrees distant from the *Sace*; and the
Country about *Araxe* *Ptolemy* calleth *Col-*
thene, and *Seducene*, and *Sacapene*, without
any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all
those which are, or were reputed *Scythians*
either within *Imaus*, or without, to the num-
ber of 100. several Nations, are by *Ptolemy*
precisely set down.

But, to come to those latter Authors,
whereof some have written, others have seen
a great part of those North-East Regions,
and searched their Antiquities with great di-
ligence: First, *Marius Niger* bounderh
Scythia within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scy-*
thia without these Mountains, is also beyond
our purpose) *Scythia inter Imaum montem ea*
est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore
dicuntur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Ori-
ente Imao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à
Meridie Sacæ, Sogdianæ, Margianæ, usque
ad Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare excurrentis: &
parte ipsius maris hinc usque ad Rhæ fluminis ostia
terminatur: Scythia within the Mountain Ima-
us, is that part of the World which in their own
speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the
same is bounded on the West-side by Sarmatia A-
siatica, (or of Asia:) on the East, by the Imaean
Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands:
on the South, by the Sacæ (which are the Sa-
ce) the Sogdian, and the Margian, to the mouth
of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as far as the
mouth of Rhæ.

Now, if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*
to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia quæ*
magna sanè Regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes
complectitur, Which is a great Region, com-
prehending innumerable nations, saith Niger
much of it being between *Scythia* and *Ar-*
menia, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Ar-*
menia can be no part of *Scythia*; and to
make

L. 4. c. 4.

Tib. Asi.
l. 7. c.

Rhe. Non
Volge.

com. 2.
Asie lib.
472.

Ad meri-
dionem fœco
Bosphoro
per septem
circulos
circum
perit Euro-
ni usque in
offium Co-
sæ fluvii:
undere:
his a parte
deserta Col-
chia, Iberia,
Asiaticis
in usque in
Hyrcani
maris pro-
veniunt.
Spac. high
lib. 30.

make it more plain, he disleaveth *Sarmatia*
itself from any part of *Armenia*, by the Re-
gions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which
he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*,
and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound
of *Scythia*.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word
of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian*
Nation; neither doth his fellow Frier *John*
Plancarpio (cited by *Vincentius* in his de-
scription of *Scythia*) make any mention of
Armenia; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armeni-*
an born of the blood of those Kings (though
afterwards a Monk) ever acknowledge him-
self for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythians*
Races descended: though he writ that story
at large, gathered by *Nicolaus Salcuni*, and
(by the commandment of Pope *Clement the*
fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Ca-
non of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* born,
and that travelled a great part of *Sarmatia*
Asiatica, find *Armenia* any way within the
compass of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*;
and yet no man (whose Travails are extant)
hath observed so much of those Regions as
he hath don: proving and disproving many
things, heretofore subject to dispute. And
among others he burieth that ancient and re-
ceived opinion, That out of the Mountains,
Rhipæ, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the
Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*: pro-
ving by unanswerable experience, that there
are no such Mountains. in *rerum natura*,
and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of
those famous Rivers are now by the Trade
of *Moscovia* known to every Merchant, and
that they arise out of Lakes, low, woody,
and marshy grounds. The River of *Tanais*
or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the City *Tulla*,
some twenty English miles, out of a Lake
called *Iranowesero*, in the great Wood *O-*
kenitzkies or *Tepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *P-*
tolemy calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, ri-
seth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the
great Wood *Vodkewski*: from which Lake
the two other famous Rivers flow of *Bor-*
ysbenes (now *Neyper*) and *Dniuna* or *Dividna*.
And this learned *Polonian* doth in this fort
bound the *European Sarmatia*. In *Sarmatia*
of Europe are the Regions of *Russians*, *Lith-*
uanians, *Muscovians*, and those adjoining,
bounded on the West by the River of *Vistla*,
the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for
Vistla, a River which parts *Germania* and
Sarmatia: and for the East-border he nameth
Tanais, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth
from Europe by the same River of *Tanais*,
and the *Caspian Sea*, to with-hold it from
stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia*

Being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolemy* cal-
leth *Scythia intra Imaum montem: Scythia*
within the Mountain Imaus. And the same
Matthias Michon further affirmeth, that the
Scythians (which Frier *Annius* would make
Armenians) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica*
itself above three hundred and a few odd
years before his own time: these be his
words: *Constat cum esse gentem novam, & ad-*
ventitiam a partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus)
paulo paulo abhinc trecentis annis Asia Sarmat-
ian ingressam: It is manifest (saith he, speak-
ing of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late
planted Nation, come from the coasts of the
East: from whence they entered into Asia, & gat
new seats a little more then 300. years since:
For (indeed) before that time the Goths or
Poulovi inhabited Sarmatia Asiatica. And
this *Matthias* lived in the year 1511. and
this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was Printed
at *Angula* in the year 1506. as *Buchol-*
zerus in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now
these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East;
for in the East it was, that the Ark of *Noah*
rested, and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those peo-
ple which lived at the North foot of those
Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they
encounter or begin to mix themselves with
the great *Imaus*. And were there no other
testimony then the general description of the
Earth now extant, and the witness of *Ptolemy*,
it is plain, that between all parts of *Armenia*,
and *Scythia*, there are not only those three
Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but
the *Caspian Sea*: on the East shore of which
Sea, but not on the West, or on that part
which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are
(indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*)
between *Jaxartus* and *Talus*; but what are
these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Ara-*
xe, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more
then the *Scythians* of Europe?

||. VIII.

The fifth Argument: The Vine must grow nat-
urally near the place where the Ark
rested.

TO this if we add the consideration of
this part of the Text, That *Noah* plan-
ted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of
the Vine or *Rayn* did not grow naturally
in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting
of the Ark was supposed: for if the Vine
was a stranger in *Italy* and *France*, and
brought from other Countries thither, it is
not probable that it grew naturally in *Ar-*
menia, being a far colder Country. For *Tyr-*
rebus first brought Vines into *France*, and

Saturnus

Gen. 9. 10.

Serchis
Scythia
Europia.

Saturnus into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gauls* invaded *Italy*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus*) the *Gauls* remained between the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neer unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, until they drunk Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italy*; and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to inhabit that Country, which brought forth such pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not natural in *France*, but from *Italy* brought thither; as by *Saturn* from else-where into *Italy*.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* travailed not far to seek out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsel how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and wheresoever the *Arke* rested, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a wanderer.

|| IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: *The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.*

And that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appear, saving that it may be inferred out of these words (*from thence*) because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them [from thence] upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem edificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cælum essent ascensuri*: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have sealed the Heavens.

|| X.

An answer to the objection of the name of *Ararat*, taken for *Armenia*: and the height of the Hills there.

But before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see and consider what part of

Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the *Ark* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath only these words: *The Ark rested on (or upon) the Mountains of Ararat, or Armenia*; saith the Marginal Note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldean Paraphrast* calls it *Kardu*; of which the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Euphrianius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keep the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it self had antiently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Ark* first fate thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Ark* found the highest Mountain of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before *Noah* came out of the *Ark*. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the *Sybilis* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the *Ark* stayed after the Flood. And the better to particularize the place and seat of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia* and not *Armenia*; they are placed where the City of *Celenus* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description the maketh mention of *Marfjas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it self with the River *Meander*, which is far from the *Gordiean* Mountain in *Armenia*. We may also find a great mistaking in *Josephus* (though out of *Berosus*, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that *Josephus* sets *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, toward *Adiabene*, and affirmeth withal, that in the Province of *Ceron* (by others *Kairas* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of *Noahs* *Ark*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is between *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains *Cordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus* differs far from the words of that

Gen. 8. 14.
Euphr. l.
1. c. 10.
Hanc.

Berosus



Berosus, which wandereth up and down in these days, let out by *Annius*. For *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus*, hath these words: *Fertur & navis hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiarum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde absum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent*: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiean Mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But *Annius* his Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* useth these words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordia montis vertice quiescit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*. For the whole *Arke* being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordiean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of words) the name is diversly written. The ancient *Berosus* writes *Cordiei* with a (C); and the Fragment *Gordiei* with a (G): the one that the Bitumen is used for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the general, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of them, useth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*): the one, that so it is reported, the other, that so it is said; and both but by hear-say, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountains which *Ptolemy* calls *Gordiei*, are not those Mountaines which himself giveth to Armenia, but he calleth the Mountains of Armenia, *Moschici*. These be his own words: *Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretched along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Paryardes: which Mountains Pliny calleth Paryedri, and both which ly to the North of Gordiei or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the Gordiean Mountains in 39. and a half: from the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians, and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie, do still remain Christians. Concerning the o-*

ther suppositions, that the Mountains of *Gordiei*, otherwise *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

||. XI.

Of *Caucasus*, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian.

For the best *Cosmographers*, with other, that have seen the Mountains of Armenia find them far inferiour, and under-set to divers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and else where: as the Mountain *Arbos* between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (saith *Castaldus*) is far surmounting any Mountain that ever hath been seen in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seven and thirty miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*; *Arbos* adumbrat latera Lemniae bovis: *Arbos* shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos. Also the Mount of *Olympus* in *Thessalie*, is said to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of *Antandrus* in *Mysia*, not far from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a far more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seen from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Mauritania* neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of *Atlas*, of which *Herodotus*: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint*. Upon this Coast there is a Mountain called *Atlas*, whose height is said to be such, as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top thereof. And if we may believe *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus, qui estivum ad ortum sunt acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga a Solo radiantur usq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu: Caucasus* (saith *Aristotle*) is the greatest Mountain both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightened by the Sun-beams (usq; ad conticinium) which is, saith *Macrobius*, between the first crowing after mid-night and the break of day. Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the highest Mountain of the World known, is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at

Plut. Murs.
Cosm.

Arist. Met.
c. 13.

any such late hours. Besides these Mountains which *Ariftole* calleth *Caucas*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*; though (indeed) *Caucas* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth *Caucas*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which funder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yieldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

|| XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we should take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

So as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Syblis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *verum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hieronymus*) signifieth high Towers; and so may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) then to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains *Gordis* stand: for *Ptolemy* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordian*, and calleth those of *Armenia*, *Moschici*, and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated near the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Exbrates*, and out of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moschici* are those Hills which disjoin *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the Georgians) from *Armenia*.

|| XIII.

Of the contrary situation of *Armenia*, so the place noted in the Text: and that is

is no marvail that the same Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, should keep the same name all along: and even in *India* be called *Ararat*.

Lastly, we must blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) set it East from *Sinuar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alps*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*: But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, so all that long Ledge of Mountains, which *Pliny* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolemy* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great *Imanus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seem to arise. So all these Mountains of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Casspi*, *Moschici*, *Amanici*, *Hemiochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diversly called by *Pliny* and others) *Ptolemy* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountains which cut asunder *America*, even from the new Kingdom of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountains of *Ararat* run East and West, so do those marvellous Mountains of *Imanus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imanus*, even as *Pliny* called these former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the Hills of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolemy*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and differ; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Affrica*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North or South side of them. For all the Mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imanus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which funder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less, on the North-side, are called *Taurus*; and those

Pliny in his description of Lycia. l. 5. c. 21

Ptol. tab. Asia.

Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amans*: the Mountains called *Taurus*, running East and West, as *Imanus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus*, the River of *Exbrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amans* to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolemy's* three Tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates* (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Affrica* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinu. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Eastern *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southern part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yielding her self to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly, of *Caucasus*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions, *Hydaspis* and *Zaredrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Imanus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountains in this place only are properly called *Caucasus* (saith *Ptolemy*) that is, between *Paropanisus* and *Imanus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*.

|| XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountain *Caucasus*, and toward the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the soil.

Now, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River *Taurus*,

and the Mountain *Nysus*, (so called of *Bacchus Nysus*, or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the World did *Coropius Becanus* conceive that the Ark of *Noah* grounded after the Flood; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indo-Scythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noeth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Vines of the World, namely, in *Judea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*; and under these Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the Land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bigness at *Efcol*.

Numb. 13. 24.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana*, near the Mountains of *Morus*, did *Alexander* feast himself and his Army ten days together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

|| XV.

The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

And therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it self sometime is known by the name of *Ararat*. But as *Pliny* giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paropanisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germany* are called the *Alps*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them: the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entrench by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterrane* and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Dwrazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Egeum*: between *Sesius* and *Abydos*.

dus, Hellespont: and afterward Pontus, Propontis, and Bosporus. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland called *Deucaliodonnum*: and on this side, the *Brittain* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this Question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plainness: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the fence is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancy to our selves any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as Saint *Augustine* hath taught us, touching the Gospel of *Christ Jesus* (which is) *Negus alter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quam scriptam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conplexerit: That no man otherwise take or understand that which be readeth in the Gospel (the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which be bare in his own body, setting it down.*

Gen. 11. 1.

The words then of *Moses*, which end this Dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode:* which proveth without controversy, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinar*; and therefore the *Ark* of *Noah* rested and took land to the East-ward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places wherefoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countreys, he always precisely nameth toward what quarter of the World the fame were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Jofan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mountain in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth; *And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden:* And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham*, after he departed from *Sechem*, he useth these words;

Gen. 10.

30.

Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents:

Gen. 4. 16.

having Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter, it is written; *And Abraham*

went forth journeying towards the South: also when *Ezekiel* prophesieth of *Gog and Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Togorma* were of the North-quarters: and of the Queen of *Saba* it is written, that *she came from the South to visit Solomon:* And the *Magi*, (or *Wise-men*) came out of the East to offer presents unto *Christ*. And that all Regions, and these travels were precisely set down upon the points of the Compass and Quarters of the World, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Judaa*; *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Celoyrians*, the *Tubalmer*, and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the East, nor so near unto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it is self; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto celo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in forty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in forty five; and those *Gordian* Mountains, whereon it was supposed that the *Ark* rested, stand in forty one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinar* are situated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between East and West) the *Gordian* Mountains stand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of *Shinar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinar* North-west, 95. degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compass. But *Gregory*, and *Hierome* warn us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabae, epices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus: In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who also speak by hear-say, and by report, *Ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinar* lieth West from the place where the *Ark* of *Noah* rested after the Flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first civil, which

Ezek. 38. 6

Mat. 23. 34

Mat. 23. 34

which had *Noah* himself for an instructor: and directly East from *Shinar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest Grapes, and the best Wine. The great Armies also which overtopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that those parts were first Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my self I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Ark* rest on those Eastern Mountains, called by one general name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountains of the North-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warm East where *Noah* rested, where

he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agricultura stindium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua Ili-Adamath (hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratque est, The study of Husbandry pleased Noah (saith the excellent learned man *Arias Montanus*) in the knowledge and order of which it is said that Noah excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language, a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himself with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the World where he was first delivered out of the Prison of the *Ark*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and mankind.



CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the Earth was re-peopled.

S. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder then Japhet.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

Of these Sons of *Noah*, Which was the eldest, there is a question made. *St. Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue; as by the examples of *Enoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversy; The *Latine* Translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these words: *Unto Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But *Junius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To Shem also the Father of all the Sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet the eldest son, were children born:* So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar Translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these Translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not

tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* then for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; and in the six hundredth year (to wit) the hundredth year following, came the general Flood; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noah*'s life, and in the year of *Shem*'s life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but an hundred years old, two years after the Flood: and *Noah* begat his first born being 500. years old; and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the Flood, and in the six hundredth year of *Noah*'s life, and not two years after. Which seeing the Scriptures before remem-
bred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him (to wit) Ham;* of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This younger son, so converted by the *Vulgar* and *Geneva*, *Junius*

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. 24.

In Gen.

as turns it *filius minimus*, His youngest son; but St. Chrysostom takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest son of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was disinherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet*, in the second Verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the *Vulgar Paginatus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this convention, *Shem* *Frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelcius*, *Shem* *Frater Japhet majoris*; or with *Peregrinus*, *Shem* *Frater Japhet ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldest. For where *Peregrinus* qualifyeth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem's* age at the time of the Flood did not agree with the elderhip (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that *Shem* was an hundred years old, and begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood; and again in the 12. Verse: *So Shela lived after he begat Ebar, four hundred and three years, &c.* so as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precisely accounted.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to *Moses*: that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of *Ham*.

But let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the flood, which being rightly un-

derstood, we shall find that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth *Eusebius* in the Proem of his Chronology: *Moses is found more antient than all those whom the Grecians make most antient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan War; and far before Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Esculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the rest of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembered by *Cicero*, the antientest was the son of *Ether* whose three sons begotten on *Proserpina*, were born at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Egypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis*; *Moses* brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt* in the last days of *Cecrops* King of the *Athenians*, saith *S. Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops*, the Founder of that City it self, but *Cecrops* few long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand, by alleging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of Japhet were	{	Gomer,	{	The Sons of Gomer were,	{	Askenaz.
						Magog.
{	Madai.	{	Javan,	{	Elisha.	
						Tubal.
{	Mesbach,	{	and	{	Kittim,	
						Tirws.

First.

Cicero de Nat. Div. lib. 1. §.

Peregrinus de Hist. lib. 1. §.

First, we are to consider, that the World after the Flood was not planted by imagination, neither had the Children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinar* to the uttermost border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, in haste, but that these Children were directed by a wife Father, who knew those parts of the World before the Flood, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all adventure, but assigned and allotted to every Son and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or else to glorify their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themselves, and after them, upon Reason and Nature. First therefore we must call to mind, and consider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great foundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our selves thereby, what wonderful Defarts, what impassable fastness of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grafs; what lakes and standing pools, and what marishes, fens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pestered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either, with woods, or with other offensive thickets and bushments: much more did all sorts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitful Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the start of 130. years to raise themselves without contrivance.

This being considered, it will appear, that all these people which came into *Shinar*, and over whom *Nimrod*, either by order or strength, took the Dominion, did, after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adjoining to the said Valley of *Shinar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinar*, with the Dominion of *Palestina*, which the *Canaanites* first possessed; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the sudden, but by time and

degrees. For we find that *Abraham*, the true succellour of *Shem*, dwelt in *Chaldea*, at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travelled to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Decents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldea*: a where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people, by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Africa*, and founded *Nineveh*. Indeed, the great Masters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking less effect, until divers years were consumed; and until the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Decents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in Japhets Portion: of *Berolus* his too speedy sailing Gomer the Son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhets Sons, *Tubal* in Spain: and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.

To begin therefore (where *Moses* be- ginneth) with the Sons of *Japheth*, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to *Japheth* Sons, as to the rest which came into *Shinar*, was (if the division were made at *Phaleg's* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the years after the Flood one hundred and one; of which question else-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of *Japhet* were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all *Europe*, with all the Isles adjoining, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea *Hellepont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus*, and *Exinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North; for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterranean* to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea; with that of *Glaciale*, to the North, North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades*, or Isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*; and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*,

culia, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta, the Isles of Britannie, and Zeland, with their young ones adjacent.

Gen. 9. 27.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, anwereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilates Deus Japheth; Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) *Japheth*, and let him dwell in the Tents of Shem. For though *Junius* here useth the word *alliciat*, and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva*, *perhædeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet*, or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japheths* Sons, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, depart from *Babylonia*, & planted *Italy*; which also *Fundanus* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c.* In the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign, *Gomerus Gallus* planted a Colony in that Land afterward called *Italy*: and in the twelfth year of the same *Nimrods* Reign, *Tubal* seated himself in *Austuria* in Spain (now called *Biscay*) which was in the 140. and in the 142. years after the Flood, according to *Berosus*. But this opinion is very ridiculous: For before the confusion of Tongues, the Children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building of such a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Fundanus* himself out of his Authour *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium; To the height and magnitude of the Mountains*. Sure that both this City and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: but the Lord came down to see the City and Tower which the Sons of men had builded. Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Brick to such a Work, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was: For where the universal Flood covered the highest Mountains fifteen Cubits; Let us build us a City and Tower (saith *Nimrod*) whose top may reach unto the Heaven: meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen Cubits higher than

the highest Mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second Inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters forcibly over-bearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest; approved also by the Prophet *Jeremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest upon many waters*. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which *Glycas* upon *Genesis* giveth forty years. For it seemeth that the Tower was near finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written; *So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City*. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoining, wherein they inhabited: it is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one another's speech. Now, to Gen. 11. think that this work, in the newness of the World, (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same year, could creep through 3000. miles of Defart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those light believers, that neither tie themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the Ark of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. years; it were more than foolishness, and madness it self, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrival at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. years, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands, viz. in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but half that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all forts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Work of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (withall the former wants supposed) be erected in thole

Fundi. Chronol.

Gen. 11.

those few years remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of judgment weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattel, to travel 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the West Indies, of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entered the Country ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people spent many years by the account before remembered in passing from the East India, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, until they came into *shinaar*, which lieth in 79. degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the body of *Biscay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon*, or *shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *shinaar* to *Austuria*, or *Biscay*, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to find *shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the Ark rested in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travel 3000. miles, to Countries less known unto them by far, than the Land of *shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was known to *Noah* before the Flood: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembered; but what he understood of most part of the world else, it is unknown. And therefore did *Annius* ill advise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spain*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods* Reign: Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be born at once? But it may be objected, that the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and so save this great travel through Defarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it is to imbarque so great a People, as we may justly suppose those Conductors carried with them, will not easily believe that there were any Vessels in those days to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whose milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Herds and numbers

of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Drovers and Herds of their own, and their own Shepherds and Herdmen. Now, if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Silicia*, he might have made good choice within the *Streights*, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valencia*, and other Provinces in that Tract; past the *Streights of Gibraltar*, diddained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countreys; and have sought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Country of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any Vessels that durst cross the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jafon* had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, such as they use this day in *Ireland*: which although it carried but four and fifty passengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea paravarum navicularum usus: For in former times they used cal. l. 4. c. very small vessels*. I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of Ships to them:

Prima ratem ventis credere doctæ Tyros.

Tyros knew first how Ships might use the Wind.

And for those Boats called *Longæ navæ*, or Gallies, *Pliny* saith, that *Ægeas* ascribed the device to *Paralus*: and *Philostephanus*, to *Jafon*: *Ctesias*, to *Samyris*; and *Sapbanus*, to *Sémiramis*: *Archimæchus*, to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythreæ* are said to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then *Amniculus* the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to four Banks: the *Quinque Remi* first to have been used by *Nepheleon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels, in those parts of the World, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punic* War. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on *Sesoftris*, though *Sémiramis* used them in the passage of her Army over *Indus* in *Abraham's* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first brought a Ship into *Greece*; and yet the *Samotheacians* challenge the invention: and yet *Terullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minevra*: others, to *Neptune*; *Thucydides*, to the *Corinthians*. And lo ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* used to coast the shores of the Red-Sea upon raffe, devised by King *Erythrius*: and in the time of the

Diod. Sic. vul. 1. c. 4. c.

Tibull. l. 1. Sat. 1. 16.

Diod. Sic. vul. 1. c. 17. c.

Thucid.

Plin. l. 7. cap. 16. c.

Ter. de Cœ. ron. mil.

the Romans, the Britans had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have seen at the Dingle in Ireland, and else-where. *Naves ex corio circumfute in Oceano Britannico* (saith Textor:) of which Lucan the Poet:

*Primum cana falix, madaſa vimine parvum
Texitur in puppin, caſoque induta juvenco,
Velociter patiens tumidum ſupernat amnem.
Sic Venetus ſanguante Pado, fulſoque Britannus
Navigat Oceano.*

The moſt ſoft Oſyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven firſt into a little Boat: (billow
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling Poe
Sails the Venetian: and the Britain ſo
On th'out-ſpread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when Noah, by Gods inſpiration, was intruſted in ſo many particulars concerning the Ark, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the Ark of Noah, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, are any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattel; as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of Nimrod any Ship, or uſe of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if Gomer and Tubal had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Navigation would not have been dead for ſo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countreys far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of Moſes and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policy, and Neceſſity: and to the reſt, neither probability, nor poſſibility.

§. IV.

Of Gog and Magog, Tubal, and Meſhech, ſeat-
ed firſt about Aſia the Leſſ; out of Ezechiel,
Chap. 38. 39.

NOW, although many learned and reve-
rend men have formed (I know not

whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, Arias Montanus, was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for Joſephus, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſs and fabulous; whereby both Euſebius, Hieroſolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for current, have been by him far miſs-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World Gomer the Son of Japheth poſſeſt, as alſo Tubal, it is needfull to begin with Magog: becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of Gog and Magog: which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith Matth. Beroldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians: of which Gog was Prince, or chief Conductor, in their Attempts againſt Iſrael. For beſides the portions of Europe, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater Aſia, which Japheths Iſſies poſſeſt, all Aſia the Leſs was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of Japheth (whom Ezechiel ſpeaks of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appear, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter Ezechiel propheth of the uniting of the two Kingdoms of Iſrael and Juda, after their delivery from Captivity.

By which Prophecie of Ezechiel it appear-
eth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And David my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Shepherd*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in Davids time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, Ezechiel propheth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeek to impeach this Union, and diſturb the people of Iſrael, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the Iſraelites after their return, and fought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of Gog, Prince of the Magogians, or Celogrians, next border-
ing

ing Paleſtina, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of Aſia the leſs, which lay North from Judea. The words of Ezechiel are theſe: *Son of man, ſet thy face againſt Gog, and againſt the Land of Magog, the chief Princes of Meſhech (or Moſoch) and Tubal: and afterward; Behold, I come againſt the chief Prince of Meſhech and Tubal: and in the ſixth Verſe; Gomer and all his Bands, and the Houſe of Togorma of the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel having firſt delivered the purpoſe of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that ſhould in vanity aſſail Iſrael. He joyneth them together under their Prince Gog, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Juda, and how ſeated and joyned together. Gog ſignifieth in the Hebrew (ſaith Saint Hierom) *ſedum* or *covering of a houſe*: and Pinitus upon Ezechiel affirmeth, that by Gog is meant Antichriſt: for (ſaith he) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli regnum ſub ſpectu humani: That Antichriſt ſhall be the covering of the Devil under humane form*. He addeth, that Magog is as much to ſay as Gog: the Letter (M) being an Hebrew Prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of*, or *from*: ſo he taketh Magog for thoſe people which follow Antichriſt. So far Pinitus is, at leaſt in this not amiſs, that he expoundeth Magog not for any one perſon, but for a Nation: with which agreeeth this obſervation of Beroldus, Magog (ſaith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham-Magog*, which ſheweth Magog to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (He) which is uſed but for an Emphaſis (which the Hebrews call *Heliageia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called either Magog, or, according to others, the people of Gog) alſo Prince of Meſhech (or Moſoch) and of Tubal: as by the firſt Verſe of the 29. Chapter is made maniſeſt: *Behold, I come againſt thee Gog the chief Prince of Meſhech and Tubal*. This muſt needs be meant by the Succeſſors of Seleucus Nicanor, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſeek to make the Jews their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguiſh the Religion it ſelf (which the Hebrews profeſſed) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerve the mortal and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. S. Ambroſe, and Iſidore take Gog for the Nation of the Goths: beſike, becauſe they invaded Europe, and ſacked Rome, and many other places and cities thereabout. Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela derives*

the Turks from the Scythians, effeemed Magogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others, for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as Junius, who ſayes that Gog is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greeks Stories call Gyges: who in former time having ſlain Candaulus the Lydian, gave his own name to that Nation, thence after called Gygader: and thereof alſo the Gygean Lake; which Lake Strabo alſo findeth in Lydia (of which Gyges was King) forcible Furlongs from Sardis. Plinie calleth it *Cygenum ſagnum*. Herodotus and Nicander ſet it about the Rivers of Hillus, and Mæander; but the difference is not great. Marius Niger maketh mention of this Gyge King of Lydia: who, after he had ſubdued the Country about the River Rhodius which runneth into the Hellespont, called the Promontory Trapeſe after his own name Gyges. Theſe Opinions do alſo ſeem to ſtrengthen that of Junius. For Magog, ſaith he, is that part of Aſia the leſs, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his Son Croſus; who (as Junius further notes) having maſtered all thoſe Regions as far South as Libanus, in that Border built the City Giganta, or Gogkarta (which in the Syrian ſignifieth the City of Gog) ſeated in Celogrya, whole People were the ancient Enemies of the Jews.

Now, that Magog is found in Celogrya, Pliny affirmeth, ſaying; *Celogyria habet Bamyceen, que alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur: Syris verò, Magog; Celogyria habet in it Bamyce, which in another name is called Hieropolis; but of the Syrians, Magog*. He further telleth us, that the monſtrous Idol Atergalis, called by the Greeks Derceto, was here worſhipped. Lucian makes mention hereof, ſaying, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expreſſeth not; forbearing, perhaps, the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greek. But if we may believe Strabo, then was Edreſſa in Meſopotamia, the ſame Bamyce or Hierapolis, where the ſame Idol was worſhipped. Ortelius is doubtfull whether one of theſe Authors did not miſtake the place of this Bamyce, or Hierapolis. It may well enough be, that the ſame name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due North from Paleſtina, and were both ſubject unto the Kings of the Race of Seleucus. Now, I do not condemn the Opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus following Joſephus, but grant that, perhaps, Magog might alſo be the Father of the Scythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made Prince of Magog, the Nations of Celogrya, and the North parts
adjoyn-

c. 38. v. 2.

in Ezech.

chap. 37.
v. 19.I. v. de
vite.Strab. lib.
13.Suid. Col.
107.Jun. in
Ezech. 38.

Strab. l. 16.

adjoining be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might be propagated into *scythia*. Yet it is not to be denied, that the *Scythians* in old times coming out of the North-east, wasted the better part of *Asia* the less, and posselt *Calyria*, where they built both *scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this City *Hierapolis* or *Magog* (standeth due North from *Judea*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israhelites* were the *Ptolemies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successors of *Seleucus*, the Successors of *Alexander* *Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrtius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Story of *Tobias*. *Pliny* takes it not only to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edeffa*: not that by *Emphates*; but another of the same name: now, the known name is *Aleppo*: for *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis* or *Magog*. This City had the Title of *Sacred*, as the *Sacred City*, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idol of the Mermaid *Atergates*, or *Atergiths*, according to *Pliny*, which the *Greeks* call *Derceto*.

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third Verse of the thirty eighth Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the City of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Calyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* refer himself to latter times, and think that some Colony of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* pass into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part possessed by the *Georgians*) then is his judgment of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation, pass into the Countries near the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, say-

ing, that they were antiently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Justine*) they passed into *Spain* to search out the mines of that Region: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes*, lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonauts* did visit them:

*Hac gens tellurem rigido non verit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercurius hac mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.*

The *Chalybes* plough not their barren Soil, But undermine high Hills for Iron Veins: Changing the purchase of their endless toil For Merchandize, which their poor lives sustains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the Straights into that Country: and after by the *Moor*s who held *Granado*, and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of *Nimrod*'s Reign, *Tubal* pass into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Uval*: a poor Town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find *Mosch* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not far off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Funchius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words: *Mefacus, qui à Mose Mefech, prifcus Mefus ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem possit: hac regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hac est terra Magog principalis*; *Mefacus*, whom *Moses* calleth *Mefech*, placed the ancient *Mefians* from the Mount *Adulas*, unto the Coasts of *Pontus*. This Region was afterward called *Cappadocia*, in which is the Town *Mazica, &c.* this is the principal Country of *Magog*. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meshech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spain* lying directly West, and not North from *Judea*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth

phecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meshech* and *Tubal* jointly. And for a final proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all *Horim*. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty*. Then, if any man believe that these troops came out of *Spain* over the *Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France*, *Italy*, *Hungary*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued again about the *Hellefont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is half the length or compass of the then known World; he may be called a strong Believer; but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary; it is known that *Seleucus* was a Province neighbouring *Palestina* or *Judea*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the less, (namely, the *Seleucida*) and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which yet they posselt *Syria*, till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meshech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himself with *Togarma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Asia* the less; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germany*, rested long in *France* and *Brittany*, and possessed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as *Malanthon* well notes) the signification of their Parents name, which is *Utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they return upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, *M. William Camden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie *Robbers*; necessity forcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For that the Warlike Nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gauls*, the authority of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following, they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie, though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were

drawn at length into *Asia* the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitors. I lay not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Siberia*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning *Samothres*, for his excellent wisdom, surnamed *Dic*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Meser* never heard of, who ipake his knowledge of *Japheth*'s Sons) they must find him in some old Poet: For *Funchius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *quis hic Samothres fuerit incertum est; Who this Samothres was, it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dic*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gauls* suppose to be their Ancestors, yea, and *Vigener* confesseth with *Funchius*: *Mays on ne sçait qui il estoit; No man knows who he was.*

§. V.

Against the fabulous *Berosus* his Fiction, That the Italian *Janus* was *Noah*.

BUT before I go on with *Noah* his Sons, I think it is necessary to disprove the Fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himself; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pistor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to pervert us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italy*, wherein he lived 92. years. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For, if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve*, by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *African*, in his Oration against the *Greeks*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote only three Books dedicated to *Antiochus* the Successor of *Seleucus* I. I.

Nicanor: but *Annius* hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldeans* and *Afyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the busines of all the World. And if we may believe *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Aeneas*) consumed but 150. years: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Aeneas* arrival into *Italy*, there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codeman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Flood 1064. and *Noah* died 350. years after the Flood: and so there past between *Janus* of *Italy*, and *Noah* surnamed *Janus* 704. years. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Janus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latius* followed *Fannus*: which *Latius* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Afyria*; with *Pelagius* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now, all these five Kings of the *Latines* having consumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

True it is, that the *Greeks* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth Son of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Javan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the Son of *Medea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were defended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *British* Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the *English* Speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange, if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italy* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spain*, that no plain resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian*, (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the Languages of those Countreys. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, &c. In *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*, are merely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves

with the *Grecian Janus* which commanded them, and planted them; and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. years (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinius*, the fifth King: which also *Saint Augustine* and *Justine* confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much: That whereas some of them add *Vesta* (others *Caudana*) the wife of this *Janus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that *Noah* himself (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

§. VI.

That *Gomer* also and his Son *Togorma* of the Posterity of *Japheth*, were first seated about Asia the Less: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

To turn now to the Sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countreys bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was yet Defart, and overpervt with Woods, Reeds, Boggs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chush* took the South part of *Chaldea* down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might pass to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur*, or *Orchoa*, near the Lakes of *Chaldea*, might by the same River get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Mosir*, in the description of *Paradise*, calleth the Land of *Chush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chushite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppressed,

preft, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his own Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and son of *Chush*, took both Banks of *Tygris*, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also pass to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperial feat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Syrian*, was antiently called *Chusian* or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Chush* himself took the Banks of *Gehon*, and planted those Countreys Westward, and Southwestward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Desert, where *Ptolemy* placeth the City of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

Saba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia Felix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Persian gulf*, which washeth the banks of *Arabia Felix* on the East side: so as those sons of *Chush* might take Land down the River as they pleased. Also the City of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said River of *Tygris*, and from thence a Colony pass'd to *Charran*, standing also upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheths* sons settle themselves together, and took their seats in *Asia* the less: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the *Geniiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, sate down first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phenicia*: and from thence *Gomer*, or his children, pass'd on into *Asia* the less, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spread themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the less, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witness *Hierodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistle so intitled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountains about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Pliny* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*, but *Cerberion* was a Town in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthful waters favouring of *Brimstone*, which *Augustus* caused to be cleaned by letting in the water of the Lake

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolemy* calleth *Meschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moschici*, in the Valley between the Mountains *Moschici*, and the Mountains *Pariares*: out of whose North part springeth the River *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meshech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melancthon*); and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melancthon*) signifieth *extenders, enlarging or stretching forth*. *Togorma* also at first did inhabit amongst his Parents and Kindred: The *Togormians* were, also called *Giblet*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a Tetrarchy of *Phenicia*, the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Solomon* had his most excellent *Masons*, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Jerusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the less *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, subdued by *Lucullus* the Roman, built one. *Hieroglossynianus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*, forgetting the prophecy of *Ezechiel* against the *Tyrians*: They of the house of *Togorma*, brought to thy Fathers, Horses, and horsemen, and Mules; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Josephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I do not deny, but they might be, in the ensuing ages; and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred years after the twelfth of *Nimrod's* reign. The Jews conceive that the *Turks* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldeans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Lactantius* affirms, that the *Turks* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Moscovia*. But for these subderivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second Plantation, and of the first Nations after the Flood, is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations could

Exe. 17.
19, 21.
and so the
place of
Esai. 66.
29. (for
Javan)
Hellas:
and (for
the plural
Javens)
Gen. 10.

Note.

could be hardly known: only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reft, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the Conduction and Dominion over the reft.

From *Madai* the third son of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the son of *Medea*.

s. VII.

Of *Javan* the fourth son of *Japheth*: and of *Mefech* of *Aram*, and *Melchec* of *Japheth*.

OF *Javan* the fourth son of *Japheth* came the *Tones*, which were afterwards called the *Greeks*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Ezay*: *Et mittam ex eis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Greciam: And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here useth the word (*Tarfish*) for *Tarus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarus* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Figurine* and the *Geneva* use the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same Hebrew words. Of the *Tones* were the *Athenians*, though themselves dream that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soil itself: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into *Asia* the less, of whom came the *Tones* of those parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marring the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tells us that *Xuthus* stole out of *Theffaly* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciously received by *Erichon*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two sons, *Ion* and *Acheus*, the supposed Ancestors of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Themistocles*;) who, when he had joyned *Agarato Attica*, erected a Pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hec non sunt Peloponnesus, sed Ionia*; These Countries are not *Peloponnesus*, but of *Ionia*: and on the other side which looketh towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia*.

Strabo out of *Hecateus* affirmeth that the *Tones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the

Tones of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the less, the name of *Tones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themselves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecateus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet sure I am that *Asia* the less had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not file from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia* the less in his passage; and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so-called. But yet *Strabo* himself believed, that *Tonia* took the name from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*; for so much he had learned from themselves: which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greeks*, in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested between the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Justine* out of *Trogus*, in the War between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tamais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded far the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greeks* were all Salvages, without Law or Religion, living like brute Beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

The sixth son of *Japheth* was *Mefech*, whom the *septuagint* call *Mefech* (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chief Prince of *Mefech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that between *Mefech* the son of *Aram*, and *Mefech* (or *Mofech*) the son of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus*, with the Vulgar, writeth *Mefech*, the son of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Mash*; *Junius*, *Mefch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalms*, that either *Mefech* the son of *Japheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himself: or else (which may rather seem) that it took name from *Mefch* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewailing his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words: *Vo is metha Iremain in Mefech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus; *Hei mihi quia peregrinor*

tam

tam diu: habito tanquam scenita Kedarani: The *septuagint* gives it this sense: *Vo is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Hei mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldean* otherwise, and in these words: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asiani, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among those of Asia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howsoever or which soever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petraea*; and the *Chaldean* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Mefech*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Mefech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mefch* the son of *Aram*, 1 *Chron.* 17. is called *Mefchec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Mefchec* or *Mefch* both bordering *Judea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezekiel* makes *Mefch* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mefch* our of the word *Mofech* (given by the *septuagint*) to be the *Muscovians*: sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled so far North (for to him *Muscovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mofech* the Father of the *Muscovians*: and herein also *Melancthon* runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mefch* in *Muscovia*, though with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalms*, (*Hei mihi quid exulo in Mefch*) to signifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse*; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality of the *Muscovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northern *Muscovians* had, may aswell be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarans*. For this Country took name of *Kedar* the second son of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people): the same being fore-shewed by the speech of the Angel to *Hagar*, Gen. 16. v. 12. *And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans*

hand against him. Now *Arabia* the *Desart* (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedres* Southward, both which joyn together upon the *Nabathaei*. So it appeareth (as before) that *Mefch*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did joyn to *Mefch*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the less, commanded by the successors of *Selucus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Juda*. But (as I have already said) it might well be, that long after the first Plantation the issue of *Mefch* (or *Mofech*) might pass into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountains *Mofchici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Muscovia*, and so all opinions saved. But all salvage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, do (for the most part) shew a late Plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witness antiquity.

Tyrus, the seventh son of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the sons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Josephus* was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the World *Tyrus* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speak of the Sons of *Gomer*, which were three,

Ascanes, *Ripshath*, and *Togorma*.

s. VIII.

Of *Ascanes* and *Ripshath*, the two elder Sons of *Gomer*.

ASCANES was the Father of those which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (saith *Josephus*) but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes *Ascanes* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jews* in their *Targum* make him the root of the *Germane* Nation; but their explications are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, near the Rivers of *Iliss* and *Cios*: *Melancthon* being of the same opinion, that the *Twiscones* were descended of the *Ascanes*. (For *Twiscones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanes*, *proprio articulo die Ascanes*) and that the word significeth, a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to play at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the Lake *Ascania*, known by that name in the *Romans* time. And among the Kings which came to the

Mem. in Chr.

Melancthon in Cor. lib. 1.

Mem. lib.

a.

Virg. Georg.
l. 3.

the succour of Troy, was *Afcianus* (*Deo fimilis*, faith *Homer*) like unto God: becaufe he was beautiful and strong: for in the fame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os humerosque Deo fimilis; in face and body like one of the gods*: *Virgil* alfo remembreth fuch a River, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as, *Illos ducit amor trans Gargara, tranfque fonantem Afcianum; Appetite leads them both over the mountains Gargara, and the roaring Afcianus*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Briffion* upon the River *Afcianus*, which is adjoining to *Myfia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan* Empire: and the Lake *Afcanez*, he directs us to find by the description of *Pruffa*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth far within the Countreys of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruffa* to *Nicea* are accounted 25 miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between *Pruffa* and *Nicea*. And fo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Afcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thofe North parts of *Afia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Trois*, built by *Afcianus* the Son of *Aeneas*: faying, that there was another of that name in *Myfia*. Of *Afcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolemy* witefleth: and *Strabo* giveth *Afcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myfia*, near unto *Cio*; which alfo agreeeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruffa* (before fpooken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iflands before *Troy*, *Afcanez*.

Now, whether thefe places took name of *Afcanez* the Son of *Gomer*, or of *Afcianus* the Son of *Aeneas*, it might be questioned: fure it is, that *Afcianus* which brought succour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* Son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it feemeth that the Countreys whence thofe succours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia*, or *Myfia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Afia* the lefs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Afcanez*, by the figure *Synechdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thofe teftimonies therefore which decide not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* we fhall learn of what Nation the *Afcanez* were, whole words are thefe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againft her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Afcanez, againft her*, &c. meaning, againft the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moft Interpreters confent, fo called of the Mountains of *Ararat* which run through it: *Minni*, the leffer *Armenia*; *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name

(faith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phenicia*, and *Paleftina*; and therefore *Mefopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the Story of *Jacob* and *Efus*, and call it *Aram-Padan*. Then if thefe two Nations were of the *Armenians*, and *Afcanez* joyined with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the fpoil of the *Babylonian* Empire) we fhall erre much to call *Afcanez*, *German*, or *Almain*: for we hear of no fwart *Rutliers* at that fieve. But the *Afcanez* were of thofe Nations which were either fubject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the difperfon of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eufebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jews*, who will have them to be *Almains*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will think as they do.

Of *Riphat*, the fecond Son of *Gomer*, there is mention in the firft of *Chronicles*. *Beoraldus* and *Peterius* think that he wandered far off from the reft of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I fee nothing to the contrary, but that he might feat himfelf with the reft of his Family: for there wanted no room or foil in thofe days for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood; that the *Riphei* were of *Riphat*, which the *Greeks* afterward (according to *Josephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Riphei* (faith *Melancthon*) fignifieth Giants. Thefe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moft of number and power among them, *Sarmataru gens maxima Heneti*. The greateft number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who fpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firft called *Riphei* (for the love of fome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names, and became *Heneti* (a custom exceeding common in thofe times) and dwelt firft in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witefleth, and fo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when thefe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) fought new Regions, they came along the fhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of Europe, containing *Ruffia*, *Lituanica*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled *Myria*, defirous (faith *Melancthon*) of a warmer foil of Fruit and Wine. Thefe *Heneti*, or *Veneti*, whom *Melancthon* taketh to be one people, filled all the Land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick*.

Adriatick Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Ruffia*. This Nation, after they were poffeff of *Lituanica* and *Polonia*, difturbed the Plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermundurii*. Therefore it feemeth to me, that of *Riphat*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and fo thinketh *Arian Montanus*, firft feated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courfe of time, Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thofe other parts before remembered, chiefly between the Rivers of *Piffula* and *Albis*. The name (faith *Melancthon*) fignifieth wandering, or wanderers, or Nomades: a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firft Ages.

Of the third Son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have fpooken already; now therefore of *Javan*'s children, which were four:

Elifa, *Tharfis*, *Cethim*, *Dodonim*.

§. IX.

Of the four Sons of *Javan*: and of the double fignification of *Tharfis*, either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.

Post.

OF *Elifa*, or *Elipha*, came the *Aeoles*: and of this *Elifa*, all the *Greeks* were called *Hellenes*, faith *Montanus*. *Melancthon* makes *Elifa* the Father of the *Aeoles* in *Afia* fide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And feeing the *Greeks* were defcended in general of *Javan*, it is probable that *Aeoles* and the *Elets*, took name of *Elifa* his eldeft Son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chap. fpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Ifles of *Elifa*, *Hyacinthus*, & purple de infulis *Elife facta sunt opimentum tuum*: Blue Silk and purple, brought from the Ifles of *Elifa*, was their covering. The *Chaldeans* for *Elifa*, write *Italia*: but the *Pulgar*, the *Tigrine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Elifa*: and fo I think they might do with reason. For there was not found any fuch Purple-Die in *Italy* in thofe days, nor fince, that I can read of: but thofe Ifles of *Elifa*, were by a better conjecture the Ifles of *Greece*; and the beft Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it felf: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Gethula*.

Tharfis the fecond Son of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharfis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus*, for *Tharfis* in *Cilicia*, underftands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (referving the refpect due to fo learned a man) he was much miftaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean Paraphraft* puts *Carthage* for *Tharfis*; but it hath no authority nor warrant of reafon therein. So likewife, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years

to *Tharfis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean Paraphraft* tranflates *Tharfis* (*Africa*). But *Solomon*'s Ships were prepared in the Red-Sea at *Ejfeb-Täber*, in the Bay of *Elania*, near unto *Madian*, where *Yethro* (*Mofes* Father-in-law.) Inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petrea*, *Idumaea*, or of the *Chufites*; and they failed to the higher part of the *Eaft-India*. For it had been a ftrange Navigation to have fpend three years in the paffage between *India* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been failed in fix or ten days. And if fo great riches might have been found within the bounds of the *Mediterranean* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would foon have entertained that Trade alfo. But this enterprife of *Solomon* is in this fort written of, in the firft of *Kings*: *Alfo King Solomon made a Navie of Ships in Ejfeb-Gaber, which is befide Elath, and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hiram feint with the Navie his fervants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the fervants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420, Talents of gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word ufed for the Sea in general) fo, becaufe the *Israelites* and the *Phenicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterranean* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharfis* had the greateft Ships, and were the firft Navigators in thofe parts with fuch Veffels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharfis* ufed often for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharfis*, that phrafe is not *Itinerary* at all; for we ufe it ordinarily wherefoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are fet out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore *Tharfis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but ufed for the Sea it felf. But in this place, *Tharfis* is triply taken for *Tharfis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharfis* the fecond Son of *Javan*, or by his Succelfors in memory of their firft Parent. To this City arrived *Alexander Macedon*, before he gave the firft overthrow to *Darius*, and cafting himfelf into the River to bathe and wafh his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharfis* was *S. Paul* born. Now, this agreeeth with the reafon and nature of a Plantation. For *Gomer* and his other Sons inhabiting *Afia* the lefs, and that

part of Syria adjoining) Javan, who was to pass over the Sea into Greece, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the Islands between *Asia* the *Ions* and Greece to *Elisa*, and left *Tharbis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third Son of Javan was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romans* and *Italians*; faith *Berosaldus*, but I allow better of *Melancthon's* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plural (saith he) and signifies *percussors*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Cethim* was foretold by *Elai* the Prophet, *Isai*, 23. (according to *Melancthon*) had relation to Alexander and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab Elai prædicta est, qui capite vicefimo tertio inquit, venturus esse everfurus Tyri ex terra Cettim; This calamity (saith Melancthon) was foretold by Elai the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were come out of Cettim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from the Continent; and so also Cettim might be taken for Italy, saith Berosaldus yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecie which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrans* by Alexander, who, after seven Moneths siege, entered that proud City, and cut in pieces eleven thousand principal Citizens; (strangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of thirteen thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appear plainly in the first of the *Macehabees*, in these words: *After that Alexander the Macedonian, the Son of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Josephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City Cettim, the Country of Zeno the Philosopher (witness Laertius;) which City Ptolemy upon Ezechiel affirmeth, that it stood in S. Hieron's time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the Islands of Cethim; and in that sense might Cyprus be so called also; and yet, because Tharbis was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharbis; and finding that Island too straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in Asia and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he sent Colonies over the *Egean* Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.**

Dodonim the fourth Son of Javan, and the

youngest brother (by the best opinions) late down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharbis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodonim* and *Rhodonim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (*D*) and the Hebrew (*R*) are so alike, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Acrolessia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soil in *Cyprus*: so *Dodonim* (seated in a far less Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Teloponnus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built (or perchance not so ancient as *Dodonim* himself yet his posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noah's* children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors being desirous to retain among them, by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken and grafted else-where. And because great Kingdoms were often by new Conquerors newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) free from any alteration.

Thus then did Javan settle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of Asia the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Josephus* their Father had done in the body of the lesser Asia, together with Javan's brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest, round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the Son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldaea*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travelled Southward in *Arabia felix*, and South-westward into *Arabia Petrea*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Misraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner took the way of Egypt: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoining. The Sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the Sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves to- wards

wards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterranean* Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan.

S. X.

That the seat of Chush the eldest Son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scriptures, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

¶ I.

Of Josephus his Tale of an Ethiopess, Wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of Chush.

That Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm, vers. 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the Land of Ham: and in the 78. Psalm. He slew all the first-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham. There is also found a great City in *Thibaidai*, called *Cheramus* (as it were the City of Ham) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder Son of Ham, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Ethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have here failed, that *Chush* could not be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia* (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petrea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desert: which Regions *Chush* and the *Christies* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first fate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num. 12. vers. 1.* where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nebuchodonosor's* Conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Num. 12. vers. 1.* as also else-where, understand *Chush* for *Ethiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appear that *Josephus* was grossly mistaken, or

vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus*, presuming that *Chush* was *Ethiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Num. 12. vers. 1.* is called a Woman of *Chush*) was a Woman of the Land of *Ethiopia*, telleth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Ethiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Josephus*. And after he hath described the strength of the *Ethiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Chambyles* called so from the name of his Sister (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Moses residere exercitum otiosum agere ferret, hoste non audente matris conficere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Ethiopum Registia nomine Tharbis, &c. which Tale hath this sense in English: When Moses was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not fall, and come to hand-to-hand, there happened this accident in the mean while: The Ethiopian King had a Daughter called Tharbis, who at some of Moses's given, beheld the person of Moses, and withal admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Ethiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; which Moses on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereupon she consents, and Moses having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

¶ II.

A Dispute against the Tale of Josephus.

His Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Ethiopia*; as he names *Ethiopia* it self to have been the Country of *Moses* his Wife; when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Ethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the *Sabaens* are *Arabians*, and not *Ethiopians*; except *Josephus* can

can persuade us, that the Queen of Saba, which came from the South to hear the Wisdom of Solomon, were a Negro, or Black-Moor. And though *Damianus* & *Goes* speak of certain Letters to the King of Portugal from *Prester John*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Ethiopian* King would persuade the *Portugals*, that he was defended of the Queen of Saba, and of Solomon; yet it doth no where appear in the Scriptures, that Solomon had any Son by that great Princess: which had it been true, it is likely that when *Sisbac* King of Egypt invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hiernsalem*, his Brother (the Son of Saba and Solomon) who joyed upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aid and succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to have been an Arabian, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moses* married the Daughter of *Jethro*, Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North-coast of the Red-Sea, over against the body of Egypt, and near *Esfon-Gaber*, where Solomon provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red-Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Idumaea* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North; to *Arabia Petrea*, by the East; to the Mediterranean, by the West; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-east. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left Egypt, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia itself, he had formerly lived forty years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the Egyptians learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and *S. Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians. But on the other side, this Text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second, Therefore *Moses* fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the Land of *Midian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the third Chapter, it is as plain as words can express, in what Region *Midian* was, where it is written, When *Moses* kept the sheep of *Jethro* his Father-in-law, Priest of *Midian*, and drove the Flock to the Desert, and came to the mountain of God in *Horeb*. Now, that *Mount Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himself, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Josephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and friends) neither had she the name of *Tharbis*,

but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was she a Negro, but a *Madianite*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his People first and last. For *Moses* sitting by a Well (as disconsolate, and a stranger) defended the Daughters of *Reuel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns or Countreys.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumaea*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Jethro* had been an *Ethiopian*, it had been a far progress for him to have passed through all Egypt with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the Egyptians hating *Moses*, and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petrea* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandered forty years, and did by these late travels of his, seek to instruct the Children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathens*, and finding that those stiff Plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he wore them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thofe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this Opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrylamanensis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who allowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Moysen, &c.* *Apollinaris* also lyeth, in affirming that *Moses* had two Wives: and who doth not perceive these things, feigned by him? For it is manifest, that the Wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, Daughter to the Priest or President of *Midian*: and that *Midian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond Egypt; being the same that joyneth to Arabia: So saith *Chrylamanensis*.

¶ III.

¶ III.

Chush ill expounded for *Ethiopia*, *Ezechiel* 29. 10.

Now, as *Chush* is by the Septuagint converted *Ethiopia*, and the Wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopijsa*: so in the conquest of *Nebuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for Arabia. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nebuchodonosor* was never in *Ethiopia*. Behold (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of Sevench, even to the borders of the Black-Moors: which last words should have been thus converted: From the Tower Sevench, to the borders of the Chusites, or Arabians, between which two is situated all Egypt. For to say, from the borders of *Sevench* to the *Ethiopiens*, hath no fence at all, *Sevench* it self being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to *Ethiopia*, or the Land of the Black-Moors. So as if *Nebuchodonosor* conquest had been but between *Sevench* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Country, lying between *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of England between *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same fence with the former, if any man sought to express by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: *Barwick* being the North border of England, as *Sevench* or *Syena* is the South bound of Egypt, seated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nebuchodonosor* never entered into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the *Genua*, and all other (in effect) have written *Ethiopia* for *Chush*.

¶ IV.

Another place of *Ezechiel*, Chap. 30. Vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

And as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort converted: In die illa egredientur nuntii a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendum *Ethiopia* confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Genevians: In that day shall their messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid. Now, the Latine for (ships) hath the Greek word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three

banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have been (as in the former) amended by using the word *Chush*, or *Arabia*, for *Ethiopia*, or the Black-Moors, every man may see which meanly understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into *Ethiopia*, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to pass out of *Northampton* into *Leicester-shire*: *Ethiopia* being the conteminate Region with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from Egypt *Nebuchodonosor* should send Gallies along the Coast of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the Stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all Egypt, and the Defart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nebuchodonosor* was at *Sevench* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to pass into it; being all one large and firm Land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it; for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and steep Mountain) called *Catadupa Nilus*, were at hand.

Lastly, I have already observed, the Sons of every Father feared themselves as near together as possibly they could; *Gomer* and his Sons in *Asia* the less; *Javan* and his Sons in *Greece*, and the Islands adjoining; *Shem* in *Persia* and *Ealtward*. So the sons and grandchildren of *Chush* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude, in a word, the Hebrews had never acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* Black-Moors, as is already remembered in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

¶ V.

A place, *Elay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking *Chush* for *Ethiopia*.

And as in these places before remembered, so in divers others is the word *Ethiopia* put for Arabia, or *Chush*, which puts the Story (where it is so understood) quite out of square; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what fence hath this part of Scripture, *Isai* 18. *Va terra Cymbalorum ala-*

rum que est trans flumina Ethiopia; or, according to the Septuagint, in these words: *Ve terre navium alarum que est trans fluvios Ethiopia; Wo to the Land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia, sending Embassadors by Sea, even the Vessels of Reeds upon the waters. Ve terre umbræ ore; Wo to the Land of the shady coast, faith Junius.* The former Translations understand it in this sense; That the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significantly called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Isaiab*, is *Egypt*, not Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this Message to the *Isaiah*, which *Isaiab* repeateth, and by the former Translation, every man may see the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* set next unto *Judea*; when it is the Land of *Chus* and *Arabia* indeed that lieth between *Judea* and *Egypt*, and not *Ethiopia*, which is seated under the *Equinoctial* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material question (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Ethiopia*? Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that be treateth of an unknown Region. Now, if *Ethiopia* it self be under the *Equinoctial* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Ethiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape of Good Hope*, commonly known by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

¶ V I.

That upon the like mistaking both Terrhaca in the Story of Senacherib, and Zera in the Story of Asa, are unadvisedly made *Ethiopians*.

And by this Translation is the Story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judea*: when having certain knowledge that *Thirrhakeh* (which all the Interpreters called King of *Ethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw

himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatening Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Judea*, perwading him to submit himself: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of Ashur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabshakeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Judea* and *Benjamin*, with a third Army (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharpses*) *Rabshakeh* halted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set down before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Elenchoropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium*, and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himself, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Hierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Josephus* himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Jews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was about (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart*: Now, the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which all toucheth on the three *Arabia*'s, to wit, the *Story*, of which it is a part; the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any *Desart* between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, Verſ. 6. hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chus*) is also translated *Ethiopia*; and in this sense have all the Interpreters (but *Junius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse: *He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh King of Ethiopia, &c.* whereas it should have been thus converted with *Junius*: *Andicent autem de Thirrahake Rege Chusis; He heard also of Thirrahakeh King of the Chusites.* For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose

Plin. l. 5.
c. 91.

3. Chron.
cap. 14.

whose Houles and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smook of *Judea* flaming was blown, being their nearest Neighbours: and so were not the *Ethiopian* *Black-Moors* under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither War nor Peace (which discovereth all Regions) ever found out, faith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Ethiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Asa* King of *Judea*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Chariots. Indeed, how such an Army, and whose Chariots should pass through all *Egypt* (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For Princes do not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of *Black-Moors* heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Ethiopian* such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Ethiopia*. But the word *Chus* being first so converted for *Ethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

¶ VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, *Elaï*. 18. 1.

Concerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Navium alarum, Winged Ships* (so the Septuagint turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sails whistling in the winds, or terre umbræ ore* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a shadowed coast, or the Land shadowing with wings*, as our *English* Geneva hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and *S. Hieron*, have one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a Ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our Ships sails slowly, that the wanteth wings (that is) when her sails are either worn, or too narrow: and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed for many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Isaiab*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signify both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline sound: so as the meaning of this place (faith *Pintus*) is this: *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others: safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings: which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of*

Isaiab: and this phrase is often else-where used, as in the 16. *Plalm*: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum proteges me: Defend me under the shadow of thy wings.* The Boats of Reed (spoken of are of two kinds; either of basket-Willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottom, and built up on both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I have seen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. X I.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of *Egypt*.

¶ I.

That *Mizraim* the chief Planter of *Egypt*: and the rest of the Sons of *Ham*, were seated in order one by another.

The second Son of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; who (according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chus* first possessed *Chaldaea* on the West side of *Gebon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, he entered *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of *Judea*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Pbut*) past over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Pbut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palestina*: and these four brothers possessed all that Tract of Land, from *Gebon* in *Chaldaea*; as far to the West as the *Mediterranean* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petrea*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samarita*, and *Judea*; with the two *Egypt*s, whereof the neather is bounded by *Mempbis* on the South, and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Ethiopian*, or *Black-Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Pbut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the rest of *Noah*'s children, fort themselves.

¶ II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* began to be known: and of the *Egyptians* *Lunary* years, which made their Antiquities seem more fabulous.

This flourishing Kingdom possessed by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and

and became Egypt, at such time as *Agypsus* (otherwise *Ramesses*, as some think) the son of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danauus*, hither him into that part of Greece, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. years after the Flood, in the time of *Jofua*, as *Saint Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odyssey* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojane* Warr. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Ofiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first Book against *Apion*) numbeth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who continued 393. years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name, 330. years after *Jofua*, and about 1000. years after the Flood. But where *Josephus* in the same Book taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycos*, which he also calleth *Pafiores*, or *Shepherds*, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. years: whom also he calleth his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jews*;) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* saith, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had Memory and Story of 13000. years; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid*:

*Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the Earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Jove* was
bred.

But for those 13000. years, it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their years by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. years, whether we take their Moneths or Lunar years to have been of the first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunar years.

|| III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

Gerardus Mercator, in his *Chronologie*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth Dynasty (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Flood: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth Dynasty was at once with the general Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. years after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds Dynasty (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salis*, to have been in the year of the World 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the 16. Dynasty was begun but in the 292. year after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190. years. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every Dynasty to endure 115. years, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but six years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynasties lasted but 162. years: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. year after the Flood: so as where *Mercator* maketh all the 15. to precede the Flood, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the Flood, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falsehood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. year that *Nimrod*, with the Sons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into *Spain*, in the tenth year of *Nimrod*'s reign (which was ten years after his arrival into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* possessor, and a Government established in the very first year of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off, or near, in question: for, from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

|| IV.

|| IV.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

But whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their Dynasties (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. years after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general Flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only of *Egypt*, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred years of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confess, that there were then both the *Asyrians* and other Nations.

Now, seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving-belief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gain say any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavelling humours: for I think it the part of every *Christian*, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and pre-judicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needles, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soon after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Flood, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of *Adam*, than to the Sons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearful that the death of *Abel*

would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the help of his own issues, built a City (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinar* with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years the fame (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. years after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. years) as well *Asyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be peopled before the Flood; as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Asyrian* Empire, that all those peoples which we increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the Flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*: For, that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East; as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her own Army of three millions (and the left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account, *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Asyria* but 292. years after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterrane* Sea; when there had now passed from the Flood to the time of this her invasion somewhat less or more than 360. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 130000. Footmen, and 500000. Horse-men, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea, *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren)

mult long before this time of *Semiramis*, have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe *Trogus Pompeius* (Epitomiz'd by *Justin*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was born. For these be his own words, speaking of *Ninus*: *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Egypti, &c.* But there were in times more ancient *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanaïs* King of the *Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Babylonians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesius* numbeth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horse-men: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster's* Army was far short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foreign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that *Egypt* was possessed by *Misraim*, the Son of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200. years after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many millions of men were found within 300. years after the general Flood; so as not only *Babylon*, and *Affrica*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palestina*, yea, the far-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprest, which 1656. years brought forth before the Flood? even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where death forbore the Father, and made no place for the Son, till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

|| V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

For what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by Wars, or Pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth, with all the industry of man, could not give them food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in *Brittain* since three or four hundred years before the *Norman Conquest* (saying such as by accident, or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrimony) it is to be thought, that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from, or eschew. For what humane argument hath better persuasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of Mankind?

Now, if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alleged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palestina* (which is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life-time of *Cain*, and all those times between his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. years. And sure, though this fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his

Comment

Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *S. Hierome*, for such Authours gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitiosus contraria*; Let us choose what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly, in the very beginning of the first Book, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the general Flood: and in that first Part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universal World: and though that phrase (*Of all the World*) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Jews, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain, that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth, from the Sun rising to the Sun setting; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his Sons at adventure, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the Earth was more passable and easie to travel over before the Flood, than after it. For *Pererius* himself confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. years after *Ogyges* Flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopied for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and less cumbersome to walk over, in the first Age, than after the general overflowing.

|| VI.

Of the words of *Moses*, Gen. 10. Ver. ult. whereupon *Pererius* grounded his Opinion.

Asily, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*; And out of these were the Nations divided after the Flood: *Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; By which it appeareth (saith *Pererius*) that there was no such division before the Flood; which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of Tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people.

This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weak: The Text is self rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (saith *Moses*) were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood, out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the Flood, or to any plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none else among whom the Earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noah's* Sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as *Berosus* says well, that when man-kind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat. They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations*. For we find (as it is before said) that within 300. years after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies such multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all *Asia*, the Greater and the Lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania*, and *Lybia*, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe *Berosus*, then not only those parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Flood) *Spain*, *Italy*, and *France* were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Flood, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly, seeing all the World was overgrown, there were people in all the World which offended.

|| VII.

A Conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of *Phut* (another Son of *Ham*) which peopled *Lybia*.

Therefore, for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I do not think the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that

Egypt

Egypt being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. years more or less after *Adam*, there might remain unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the Lift and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferred. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Ephemerus*. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his coming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus*, the Son of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis*, or *Nicopolis*, to the *Mediterrane* Sea, was called the Inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the several branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the *Greek* Letter *Delta* which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharau*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulled: The other branch, which yielded it self to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Ethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of the ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks*, *Diopolk*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Josephus* calls *Egypt*, *Mesfin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Joseph. l. i.
Ann. c. 7.
Hem. c. 10.
Jerpe.

L. 1. c. 10.

Phut, the third Son of *Ham*, took the next portion of Land to his Brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei* (saith *Josephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of

Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, that *Phut*, *Chub*, and *Lud* were *contermini*, and associates with the *Egyptians*.

§. XII.

Of the eleven Sons of Canaan, the fourth Son of Ham.

§. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleven Sons.

Canaan (the fourth Son of *Ham*) possessed all that Region, called by the *Romans* *Palestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*; in the latter times known by the name of the *Holy Land* and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set down by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodoma and Gomorrah, and Adma, and Zeboim, even unto Latha*. Now, howsoever these words of the *Hebrew* Text (as thou goest) be converted, *Moses* meaning was, that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodoma* and *Gomorrah* the East, and the other Cities named, stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now, the Sons of *Canaan* which possessed this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth*, or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebus*, or *Jebusaeus*.
4. *Emori*, or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgish*, or *Girgishens*.
6. *Hevi*, or *Chivens*.
7. *Arki*, or *Harkens*.
8. *Seni*, or *Sinews*.
9. *Arvadi*, or *Arvadans*.
10. *Zemari*, or *Samarus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamathens*, or *Chamathens*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari*, or *Samarus*, or from some of his.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon and Heth.

Zidon the first-born of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phenicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could never obtain *Zidon* it self.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth*, or *Chethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites*, inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the *Torrent* *Bejor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*, having the Desert of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Petrus jaramenti*) four miles from *Gaza*, dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as *Hebron*, and *Manre*, and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite*, did *Abraham* buy the Field of *Sarabs* burial. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Jacob*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth*. The *Giant Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the seventh of the *Kings*; *Israel* hath hired against us the Kings of the *Hittites*.

Gen. 10. 19

Gen. 13.

Gen. 37. 46.

Kings. 7. 6.

§. II L.

Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Jebusaeus, the third Son of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus* (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arzon* and the Mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overtrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus*, in the edge of *Ce-*

losyria, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountains of *Juda*, and in *Idumaea*, near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometimes called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: For the wickedness of the *Amorites* is not yet full. And that this was also a powerful Nation, we find in the Prophet *Amos*: *Thou destroyed I the Amorite, before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oak*.

Deut. 1.
Num. 13.

Amos 1.

§. IV.

Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

The fifth Son of *Canaan* was *Gergesius*, or *Gergeson* (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East-side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* sets the City *Gerasa*, which *Josephus* calls *Gefera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* disposed the possessed with devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts, because their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*: *Gergesius* also built *Beritus* (sometime *Gera*) afterward *Felix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large privileges. *Hevus* the sixth Son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Captivorum* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the Warr of *Jofua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to assist them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God*.

The seventh Son was *Araceus*, or *Harkis*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterrane* Sea (over against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

§. V.

Of Sini and Arvadi.

Sineus the eighth Son, *Hieropolymitanus* sits at *Caparosa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea*, not far from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable;

bable, that *Sinens* founded *Sin*, which Saint Hierome calls *Sim*: *Ptolemy*, *Simyra*: *Mela*, and *Pliny*, *Symirus*: *Brocard*, *Sycon* (called *Synochus*) near *Arca*. *Petrus* thinks that *Sinens* inhabited the Defarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brocard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sinens* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini*, written with the letter *C*. (otherwise *Kenai*) who descended of *Hobab* the Son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israhelites* in their conduction through the wilderness of *Pharan*. But the *Cinei* were admitted among the *Israhelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*, beside their inhabitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinei*, *Balaam* prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

Job. 4.
Job 19. 33

Eccl. Ty.
Vii.

The ninth Son was *Aradens*, or *Aradens*, who in the Isle of *Aradus*, built the City *Arades*: opposite against which Island, on the Main of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came Saint *Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no such work of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembereth in his Prophecies against the *Tyrians*: The inhabitants of *Zidon* and *Arad* were thy Mariners.

Eccl. 37.
C. 8.

||. VI. of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth Son, there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Celofyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samarajim* (of the same Orthography) upon the Mountain of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chron.* c. 13. v. 4. which the *Latine* converteth amiss (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierofolymitan Paraphraſt*, makes *Samaras* (of whom were the *Perizites*) the Parent of the *Emiffani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemiffeni*, in *Celofyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samarai*, both the Hebrew Orthography, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disprove: And he bought the Mountain *Samaria*, or *Shemeron*, of one *She-*

Beroald.
Chron. 1. 4.

1 Kings
16. 28.

mar, for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Mountain; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of *Shemur*, Lord of the Mountain, *Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the Conquest of the Holy Land, by the children of *Israhel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritans* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Jews stood up, they always called themselves Jews: when it suffered, or sank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*; and partly of the *Naturals*.

||. VII. of Hamathi.

THE last of *Canaan's* Sons was *Hamathus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath* (saith *Beroaldus*): of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamathus* was present. *Josephus*, and Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountain *Cassius*, and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucia*, of which Saint *Peter* was Bishop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were born; but *Antioch*, furnished *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth between *Apamea* and *Emesa* in *Cassius*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierom* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Province of *Laudicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces, *Laudicea*, and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the Holy Land: and therefore *Emath* so taken, could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joſua* is directly proved. For *Joſua* counting the Lands that remained unpossessed, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-rising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermion*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in

in *Nephthalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israhel*: because *David* accepted the presents of *Tobu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithal) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israhel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight: For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though leased, altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Joſua*: for *Emath* is indeed situated on the other side of the Mountain of *Hermion*, which joineth to *Lihanus*; and is otherwise called *Iurea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſua* 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conversion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierom* mistaken *Emath* or *Iurea* for that over the Mountains, and the City in *Nephthalim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (understanding the difference) write it *Amath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belongeth to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Lihanus*, to the East of *Assedim*: which City *S. Hierom* writes *Emath*; *Josephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amathos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabshakeb* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*. Where is the God of *Hamath*?

29. 13.
8. 19.

§. XIII.

Of the Sons of Chush (excepting Nimrod, of whom hereafter.)

The Sons of Chush were,	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>{</td> <td><i>Sheba</i>,</td> <td rowspan="4">And the Sons {</td> <td><i>Sheba</i>,</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Hevila</i>,</td> <td rowspan="4">of <i>Raama</i> were,</td> <td>and</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Sabti</i>,</td> <td rowspan="4">{</td> <td><i>Dedan</i>,</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Raama</i>,</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Sabteca</i>,</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td><i>Nimrod</i>,</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	{	<i>Sheba</i> ,	And the Sons {	<i>Sheba</i> ,		<i>Hevila</i> ,	of <i>Raama</i> were,	and		<i>Sabti</i> ,	{	<i>Dedan</i> ,		<i>Raama</i> ,			<i>Sabteca</i> ,			<i>Nimrod</i> ,	
{	<i>Sheba</i> ,	And the Sons {	<i>Sheba</i> ,																			
	<i>Hevila</i> ,		of <i>Raama</i> were,		and																	
	<i>Sabti</i> ,				{	<i>Dedan</i> ,																
	<i>Raama</i> ,																					
	<i>Sabteca</i> ,																					
	<i>Nimrod</i> ,																					

||. I.

That most of the Sons of Chush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaeans that robbed Job: and of the Queen that came to Solomon.

Sheba or *Saba* was the eldest son of *Chush*, the eldest Son of *Ham*; to make a difference between him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the Son of his Brother *Raama* or *Regma* (or *Ragna* after *Montanus*) his name is written with a single *S* *Samech*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma* with an *S* asperat, which is the

Hebrew *schin*. *Sheba* the eldest Son of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the Son of *Regma*, posses'd both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* took that part towards the Red-Sea, as nearest his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulf of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabei*, *Arabum populi*, propter fluvium clarissimi, ad utraque maria portus gentibus habitant; the *Sabeans*, people of Arabia, famous for their *Frankincense*, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas (to wit) the *Persian*; and the *Arabian* or Red-Sea. This Country was afterwards called *Arabia*, a populi mixtionem, saith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeeth *Ptolemy*; who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red-Sea, and the City *Rhegma* towards the *Persian*; with whom also we may leave *Sabia*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolemy*, because he remembereth a Nation (called *Staber*) near the *Persian* Sea; and *Majabath* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Josephus*, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabei*, which stole away *Job's* Cattel, should run through all Egypt, and all Arabia *Petraea*, and find out *Job* in *Tracoonitis*, between *Palestina* and *Celofyria*, 1200 miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the *Sabei* on the Red-Sea, nor those towards the *Persian* Sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon *Job*, whichsoever *Beroaldus* shall take for nearest. But these were the *Sabei* of Arabia the Desert, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth, out of his own experience, that the City *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Savé*, now *Semifacae*; and from this *Saba* in Arabia the Desert, came those *Magi* or *Wise-men*, which worshipped *Chriſt*, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: The *Magi* came neither out of *Mesopotamia* (as *Chryſostom*, *Hierom*, and *Ambrose* supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wise-men do believe, but out of *Saba* in Arabia the Desert: which City, when my self was there, was (as I judged it) called *Semifacae*. And to approve this Opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabei* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea; as those on the Red Sea) are so dis-jointed with large Defarts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of Cattel, both in respect of the Mountains, of

the sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec bestia videtur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramin aliquid, sed non nisi montes, saxa, alij, simi, asper-rimi: Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, nor birds, no, not so much as trees, or any pasture or grass, but only sharp, and high, stony, and craggy mountains. Berosus and Pererius conceive, that the Queen of Saba, which came to visit Solomon, was of the Sabæi, on the East side of Arabia Felix; but the contrary seems more probable, and that she was Queen of Saba towards the Red Sea: for Solomon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petrea, betwixt Idumæa and the Red Sea; as far down as Midian, or Madian, and Ezion Gaber; and this Queen of Saba, which inhabited the West part of Arabia Felix, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel, enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprize by any other Prince or Nation.*

But, to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that *Seba*, or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons, *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possiories of Arabia the Happy, and the Desert: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chus*, who held Arabia Petrea. Now, for *Sabta*, there is found of his Name, the City of *Sbatha*, or *Sabota* in the fame Arabia: of which both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; who withal nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there was sometimes found sixty Temples. *Ezechiel* joineeth the Father and the Son together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants*. And that they were the Eastern Arabians, their Merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Josephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the Ethiopians about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the Ethiopians *Afhabari*, they be not worthy any farther Answer than hath already been given: especially seeing these Cities, preserving the memory of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in Arabia, were yet remaining in *Ptolemy's* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the names of other of the brethren of the Family of *Chus*, with little alterations, are preserved. In Arabia the Desert, is found the City of *Sabæ*, or *Save* (now *Semicalac*) with the City of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolemy* himself called *Raaben* of *Raamah*. In Arabia the Happy, is found the City of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the City of *Sapiba*, or *Sap-tab*, nor far from the East-coast of Arabia: as also the *Metropolis* and chief City in the body of the South part of Arabia, called with-

out difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great City of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoining, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof again toward the straight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his brothers and nephews which were seated on the East side of Arabia, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by Boat, even unto *Rhegma* the City of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set near the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Per-sian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolemy's* time.

II.

Josephus his Opinion of *Dedan*, one of the issue of *Chus*, to have been seated in the West Ethiopia, disproved out of *Ezechiel* and *Hieremy*.

And whereas *Josephus* (whom in this Saint *Hierom* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the Son of *Raamah* into the West Ethiopia, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, and *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba* and *Raamah* in 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West Ethiopia, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above four thousand miles. Besides which, the Merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked *Black-Moors*. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for thy Chariots; and these Western Ethiopians never far cloth, till the *Portugals*, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the Merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet-Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for Linnen, or Iron chiefly.

But in those days, the West part of Africa, within the body of the Land, was known only by imagination: and, being under the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And therefore, that the Negroes of the West Ethiopia, which inhabit about *Serra Lione*, or *Niger*, could either pass by Sea or land to *Tyre*, in the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now, to put it out of dispute, that *Dedan* alio dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chus*, which seats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us hear *Hieremy* his own words: *Fly ye inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Ebla upon him*. Herby it appeareth, that *Dedan*

was

was a Neighbour to the *Idumeans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of Arabia Petrea: and *Dedan*, which dwelt on the North part of Arabia Felix, joined in that part to *Petrea*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chus*; which neighbourhood of *Dedan* and the *Idumeans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword*.

Ezech. 15. v. 15.

§. XIII.

Of the issue of *Mizraim*: and of the place of *Hieremy*, Chap. 9. Verse 7.

The termination in the Hebrew, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as in the end of the said.

After *Chus*, it followeth to speak of *Mizraim's* Sons, whose names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plural, to signify the Nations which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder Son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in Africa: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of *Shem*, there is also *Lud*; but he is differed from *Lud* the Son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the Son of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the Son of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the Son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in Africa, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his Father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremy*, who joined them in this sort together: *Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moors, and the Lybians which bear the shield*: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. *Ethiopia* (or *Chus*) saith *Ezechiel*, c. 30. v. 3. and *Phut* and *Lud*, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the Sons of *Chus* (which were the *Chusites* the Sons of *Mizraim*) (which were the Egyptians) and the *Lybians* (which descended of his Son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in Africa a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I believe it: because *Hieremy* joineeth the *Lybians* and *Lydians* together in the place before remembered. But *Libya* in Africa is by the Hebrews called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 Chron. 12. 3. they seem to be called *Lubim*, or *Lubei*, a name somewhat near the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Nei-

chap. 46. v. 9.

ther is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a City (saith he) between Egypt and *Palestina*, which opinion I could not mislike, if the City of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda*, with a double d, and is the same City which was afterward *Drosopolis*, in which *S. Peter* cured *Aenes* of the Palsy) standeth near the Torrent *Gaan*, not far from *Joppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and far afunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*: so of divers others. *S. Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Lyba*, who was the third Son of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Pogel-lus*; and either Opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraim's* Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures, saving *Cassubim* and *Caphorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peletes*.

These *Cassubim* inhabited *Cassotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Cassus* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphorim seated near *Cassubim* in that Tract of Egypt called *Setbrois*, not far from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Setbrois*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Setbroitis*, of the City *Setbron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolemy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Cassubim* and *Caphorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the Septuagint *Allophyl* (which is) *Alienigene*, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards Egypt, of whom *Palestina* took name. For the Hebrews (saith *Isidore*) do not use the letter (p) but instead of it (ph). Their principal Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Asotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gassai*, *Ascalonites*, *Asotii*, *Gethai*, and *Accaronites*: *Isidore* affirms, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first known King of the *Philistims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Guraz*; but it is written, that he was also King of the *Philistims*, in

But upon
the 33.
Psalms.
Hierom
upon the
19. of E
zechiel.

these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistines unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some antienter *Abimelech* governed the Common-wealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The *Philistines* commanded that Tract of Land upon the Mediterranean Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Casarea Palestina*, or *Stratons Tower*) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaza*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Oyants were of these *Philistines*: and *Goliath* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith *Lyrannus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at several times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themselves.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoining, were held by the Sons of *Mixraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispose the Sons of *Mixraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistines* held it in the time of *Josua*, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages upon *Gaza*. And what marvel, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistines* were of *Captior*, and so of *Mixraim*, and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Jeremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistines: the remnant of the issue of Captior: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos*, the *Philistines* are said to be the reliques of *Captiorim*: *Have not I brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Captior, and Aram from Kir* &c. so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palestinos* de *Cappadocia*, & *Syros* de *Cyrene*, this conversion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Captior* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, between *Ptolomais* or *Berce* and *Apollonia*; but *Kir* in *Asia* under the *Assyrians*: *Tunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*; and so hath the *Geneva*. But *Pererius* calls *Captiorim* *Cappadocia*, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean *Cappadocia* in *Palestina*, and not that *Cappadocia* by the Sea *Pontus* in the North of *Asia* the *Levs*. For whether they inhabited *Schitreis*, or *Cappadocia* of *Pale-*

stina, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound *Cappadocia* to be ambiguous, as well as he doth *Cyrene*: taking it here not for *Cyrene* in *Africa* but for a place in *Media*. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Toglatphalasser* King of the *Assyrians* carried away the inhabitants of *Damascus* into *Kir*: and so *Josephus* seems to understand this *Kir* of *Cyrene* in *Media*, calling this *Cyrene*, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the *Assyrians* to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the *Samaritans* or *Israelites*, and other Nations. And hereof it came that *Kir* was called *Syro-Media*: because the *Syrians* by the *Assyrians* were therein captured.

§. XV.

Of the issue of Sem.

§. I.

Of *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Elam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

The posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the *Hebrews*: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the Children of him and *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saying that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the *Assyrians*; and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the *Assyrians*, sometimes the *Babylonians* obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saying *India*) which I believe *Noah* himself first inhabited: and to whom *Opbir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Josaph* afterward repaired: *Hi filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asiae usque ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*: These Sons of *Sem* (saith

(St.

St. Hierom
A. 2. v. 9.
I. c. 7.

(*St. Hierom*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the Indian Ocean.

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered, *Abz* 2. v. 9. and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the *Persians* became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the Kings seat of *Persia* (witness *Daniel*) And I saw (saith he) in a Vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of *Susan*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This City is embraced by the River *Euleus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

Ch. 8. v. 2.

Ps. 136.

Ps. 136.

Ps. 136.

Ps. 136.

Assur (as most Historians believe) the second Son of *Sem*, was Father of the *Assyrians*, who disdain the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the *Israelites*, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulest Princes among them, had yet the Mountain *Taurus* for the utmost of his Dominion towards the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him towards the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Ezay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed: as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Irah?* All these were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries, as *Haran* in *Mejopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Nirade*, under *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepbar*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nebuchadonozor*, who was most powerful before the conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Mejopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palestina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose Plantation I have omitted among the rest of

Job. 11.

the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *Saint Hierom* and *Josephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: For the Sons of *Cham* possit the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrews*: For *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth Son of *Sem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the less, is the common opinion, taken from *Josephus* and *Saint Hierom*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

§. II.

Of *Aram*, and his Sons.

Aram the first and last Son of *Sem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Josephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was born; the same which others call the Son of *Apollo*. *Mejopotamia* also, being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabarajim*, which is as much to say, as *Syria duorum fluviornum*; *Syria compassed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mejopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the Greeks *Mejopotamia* simply.

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *Bethuelthy* Mother; Father, and thence take thee a wife. *Strabo* also remembereth it by the antient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as these his own words converted witness: *Quos nos Syros vocamus*, i. e. *Si Syri Armenios & Arameos vocant*; Those which we call *Syrians* (saith he) themselves call *Armenians* and *Arameans*.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the Son of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not only of those in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Mejopotamia*) some read, *Genes. 22. 21. Kemmel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemmel*, the Son of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemmel's* Posterity could be famous) we find *Mejopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition, sometimes with *Nabarajim*; and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from

Hier. c. 47.

4.

Amos c. 9.

v. 7.

Of which see in the second Book, Chap. 7. Sect. 3.

from another *Aram*, which (as it seems) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks, in his Notes upon *Gen. 25. 20.* that *Padan-Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia* (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancobartia* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan-Aram*, and *Aram Nabarajim* (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities, in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana* (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sons of
Aram were, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Uz, or Hus.} \\ \text{Hul.} \\ \text{Gether, and} \\ \text{Mesch, or Mesr.} \end{array} \right.$

Uz, or Hus, inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus* and *Saint Hieron*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth, that *Abraham's* Steward, *Eliczer*, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus*, the eldest Son of *Aram*, dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea*, or *Tracanit*; whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the Land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracanit*, adjoining to *Basjan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the Son of *Nabor*, the Brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hieron*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hul, the second Son of *Aram*, *S. Hieron* makes the Father of the *Armenians*; and *Gether*, the third Son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which Opinion (because I find not where to set him) I do not disprove,

though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desert of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolemy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noah's* children feathers, to carry them far away in all half. For mine own Opinion, I always keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himself neer his Brothers in the Body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Callistis*, and *Selucis*, where *Ptolemy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mesr*, or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neer the Mountain *Mafius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desert parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; so ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these Sons of *Aram*, and the Sons of the rest of *Noah's* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdainning the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countreys are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mesr, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the *Meonians*: of whom something hath been spoken already. *Arphaxad*, the third Son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two Sons, *Phaleg* and *Jofan*: and in *Phaleg's* time was the Earth divided.

chap. 8.
sect. 7.

¶ III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the Sons of *Heber*, of the issue of *Sem*.

THE many People which at the division (at *Phaleg's* birth) were then living, and the thorough Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrews*, (saith *Peterius* out of *Sedat Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition hapned at the death of *Phaleg*; and *Phaleg* was born in the year after the Flood 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, make 340. And therefore was it so many years after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this Opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make, how in so few years as 101. (the time of *Phaleg's* birth) so many people could be increased, *Peterius* gives this Answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 60000. fighting men in 214. years (besides women, children and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the Flood the children of *Noah* might, in a shorter time, bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply: and fill the Earth*. What strength this Answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the Sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. years of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and *S. Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phaleg's* death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was, by more likely computation, 2. years before his birth) then was the division 38. years after *Nims*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whose Reign *Abraham* was born. But when *Nims* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. years before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrews*, *Hieron* and *Chrysostom*) then was the Earth so peopled in all the East and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For *Nims*, associating to himself *Arasim* King of *Arabia*, a People who at that time (saith *Diodorus Siculus*) plurimum opibus atque armis præstant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Bazanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified

Pharus the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nims* and *Tanais*, the *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*; and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Æthiopian* Sea. For the number which followed *Nims* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoraster* and others: and *Zoraster* on the other side who made resistance with 100000 prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not hapned before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their portions, as they fought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Nims* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this Opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the Earth: It was never meant that the Earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely, whatsoever mens Opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of Tongues and of Men must go neer together with the ceasing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterprise of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was born in the year 101. after the Flood, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now, if it be objected, That *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth Division) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this Objection, it may answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures; for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Ejau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this division, had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrews*, *Saint Hieron*, and *Chrysostom*, account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son the name *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed: to this I say, I do not find that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his Son: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any such had been) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards

wards fell amongst the *Hebrews* themselves. But if we give a reasonable time to the Building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

||. IV.

Of the sons of Joſtan, the other Son of Heber.

- The Sons of Joſtan were,
1. Elmodad.
 2. Saleph, or Salep, or Sheleph.
 3. Asamath, or Chatzar.
 4. Jare, or Jaraab, or Jerath.
 5. Hadoram.
 6. Uzal, or Uxal.
 7. Dicklach, or Diela.
 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal.
 9. Abimael.
 10. Sheba, or Seba.
 11. Ophir, or Opir.
 12. Havilah, or Chavila, and
 13. Jobab.

Al those Sons of Joſtan (according to Saint Hieron) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Copbe* or *Chaos*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general: And their dwelling was from Melina as thou goest unto Separ a Mount in the East. Of all these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the Sons of *Chusſh*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba*, or *Sheba*, his Grand-child by his wife *Keura*. But *Seba* the Son of *Chusſh*, and *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma* his Nephew we have left in *Arabia felix*; and *Havilah* the Son of *Chusſh* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the Grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Perſia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis ſitu* maketh mention; *Primum Sabæi; poſt hos ſunt Patlagarde; prope vero ſunt Tiſci: The firſt are Sabeans; after theſe be Patlagarde; and near theſe the Tiſci.* And whereas it is written: But unto the Sons of the *Conclines* which *Abraham* had, *Abraham* gave gifts, and ſent them away from *Iſaac* his Son (while he yet lived) *Edwards* to the East-Country:

Hereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furtheſt Eaſt-Country in reſpect of *Judea*; which alſo *Coid* ſetteth under the Sun-riſing. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abraham*'s ſonſ ſeated themſelves on the borders of *Judea*: I rather chooſe to leave *Saba* the Son of *Abraham* in *Arabia the Deſart*, where *Ptolemy* ſetteth a City of that name.

But *Saba*, the Son of *Joſtan*, the Son of *Heber* (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it ſelf. For *Dionysius* After in his *Periegeſis* (or Deſcription of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilis* has intermedios habitaque Sabæus; In the middleſt of theſe dwell the *Sabæi*, and the *Taxili*, ſaith *Dionysius*.

||. V.

Of Ophir one of Joſtan's Sons, and of Peru, and of that voyage of Solomon.

Ophir alſo was an inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as *St. Hieron* underſtands it) in one of the Iſlands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Joſephus* underſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Cardonſeſ*, or *Penninſule*: of which there are two very notorious; *Calicut* and *Malacon*. *Peterius* takes it rightly for an Iſland, as *St. Hieron* doth, but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccæ* farther Eaſt.

Arias Montanus, out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words, in the ſecond of the *Chronicles*, are theſe: And he over-layed the houſe with precious ſtones for beauty; and the gold was gold of *Paravaim*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: And the gold of that Land is good: finding a Town in *Characene*, a Province of *Suſiana*, called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Paravaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *David* preferred for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſius*, who alſo took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this Queſtion

tion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village or Mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards*, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſigns (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brook, or of Water in general. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the *Diurnal* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama*, had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the Jeſuite in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Joſtan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Country, but [What is that?] or [What ſay you?] For when the *Spaniards* aſk'd the meaning of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you, or What ſay you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidad*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men do) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hills aſar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hills* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledg of Mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greeneville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as, *You wear good cloaths*, or gay cloaths. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in aſking the name of the Iſland *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding

the name of that ſelf place which the *Sea* encompassed, they answered, *Cacri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places, newly diſcovered, been entitled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccæ*, whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found Gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomon*'s Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was three years in going and coming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccæ* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now go from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſs: and *Solomon*'s Ships went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſs was known, it was impoſſible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomon*'s Ships could not find *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelves (had it not been for the plenty of Gold in the Eaſt *India* Iſlands, far above the Mines of any one place of *America*) to fail every year to the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted; and inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Iſlands: wherein they built a City called *Manila*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe days, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

Toſtatus alſo gathereth a fantaſtical Opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whoſe mountains of Gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountains *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words: *Nam cum Anro & Gemmis affluant, Griffes tement univerſa, alites ferociſſime, Arimalpi cum his dimicant, &c.* For where-as theſe Countreys abound in Gold and rich Stones, the *Griffins* defend the one and the other: a kind of Fowl, the ſierceſt of all other; with which *Griffins* a Nation of people, called *Arimalpi*, make War. Theſe *Arimalpi* are ſaid to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclops* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclops*, *Herodotus*, and *Ariſtoteles* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius*

Flaccus
lib. 6.
Diodorus
Siculus
lib. 16.

Flaccus : and D. Siculus, in the Story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own Opinion) I believe none of them. And for these *Arimalphi*, I take it that this name signifying *one-eyed*, was first given them, by reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one fight in the middle to serve both eyes ; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Gysoliton*, or the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded upon some true Stories, or other things done : so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral : That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for Gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-fight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate ; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this Fable be feigned in this place, yet, if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich, and full of Gold, inhabited onely with *Tigers*, *Lions*, and other ravenous and cruel Beasts : unto which, if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same warr which the *Arimalphi* make against the *Griffins* : not that the one or other had any sense of the Gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being diquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said, that the *Alegartos* (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearls which lie in the Lakes of the In-land : for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the Pearl, yet they find favour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

¶ V I.

Of Havilah the Son of Joctan, who also passed into the East-Indies : and of Mesha and Sephar named in the bordering of the families of Joctan : with a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the plantation of the World.

OF Havilah the Son of Joctan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the gene-

ral Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East-India, in the Continent, from which *Ophir* passeth into the Islands adjoining. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the East-India, which took name of *Havilah* the Son of *Joctan* : but *Havilah* which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the Son of *Chus*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture : *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt*. But, that *Saul* ever made warr in the East-India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen Sons of *Joctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir* ; though at the first seated by their Brethren about the Hill *Mafus*, or *Mefb*, Gen. 10.30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia* ; yet, at length, either themselves, or their issues removed into the East-India, leaving the other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countreys of their first plantations, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Mefb* unto *Sephar*. And although *S. Hierome* take *Mefb* to be a Region of the East-India, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For, the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Juda*, is never farther extended than unto *Persia*. But *Mefb* is that part of the Mountain of *Mafus* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* springeth, which runneth by *Charran* : and in the same Region we also find for *Sephar* (remembered by *Moses*) *Sippah* by *Ptolemy*, standing to the East of the Mountain *Mafus* ; from whence, *Joctan* having many Sons, some of them might pass into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

The other fashion of Planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountain in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used : as in *Numbers* 23. *Balac the King of Moab* verf. 7. *bath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountain of the East* ; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia* (witness this place of *Deuteronomy* :) *Because they hired Balaam the Son of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Naharajim, to curse thee : for Aram Naharajim was* cap. 11. *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the Flood

Floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to go after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these later Times) have, by their many Volumes of untrue reports, left Honour without a Monument, and Virtue without Memory: and (in stead thereof) have erected Statues and Trophies to those, whom the

darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds first Planters after the Floud (I mean the greatest number, and most part of them) yet all the footsteps of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor over-grown: for Babylon hath to this day the sound of Babel; Phenicia hath Zidon, to which City the eldest Son of Canaan gave name; so hath Cilicia, Tharsus; and the Armenians, Medes, Hibernian, Cappadocians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumeans, Libyans, Moors, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first Founders and true Parents.



CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishment of Government.

§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of the Families to be Regal, and from Regal absolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

IT followeth now, to intreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of people) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Elderfhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was always used, both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Gravity: the same bearing one signification almost in all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of Numbers, God commanded Moses to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Governours over them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense which the Latine word *Senes*, or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly believed them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the people*. And so in the words of those false Judges and Witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the Office of an Elder*. *Demosthenes* useth the same word for the Magistrate among the Grecians. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur, Senes; Among the Lacedæmonians,*

the chief Magistrates, as they were, so they are called, Eldermen: And again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum; If reason and adjuicement were not in old men, our Ancestours had never called the highest Council by the name of Senate*.

But, though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of (Elders) for Governours, or Counsellours of State, there is a sign that the first Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard, take the word (Signor) and out of it (Seignourie) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Locke*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this Seignourie, *Seneca* makes two: The one, *Potestas aut imperium, Power or command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominum; Propriety or master-ship*: The correlative of the one is the Subject; of the other, the Slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas; Cæsar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his own*: And again, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio; Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and every*

every man possess his own. But as men and vice begin abundantly to increase: so obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth) being exceedingly over-shadowed with pride, and ill-examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of Paternal persuasions (after man-kind began to neglect, and forget the Original and first giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evil, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their own fancies, and toft to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the World, while Wildom was severed from power; and strength from charity: Necessary (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wife and foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general flood of confusion would a second time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to Order and Dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. In sum, that the licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved, upon a better trial, no less perillous than undurable bondage.

These Arguments, by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved, Sovereign power, be thought it self of certain equal rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of Laws, private affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen, measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this Balance, both good and evil.

For as wisdom in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings follows the inventions of Laws. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro le-*

gibus erant; The people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of Princes. Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good; neither did those men's Virtues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those men's Vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Love sees one while too much; another while flark nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of Royal power) Laws were established: and that Government which had this mixture of equality (holding in an even Balance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regal: the other (which had it not) was known for Tyrannical: the one, God established in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regal authority, Princes as they were chosen for their virtues only, so did they measure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore (saith Fabius Pictor) *Principes, quia iusti erant, et religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dei & dii;* Princes became they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himself by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their own safety. *The most High beareth rule over the Kingdoms of Men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth.* By me (saith Wisdom, spoken by the Son of God) *Kings reign;* By me Princes rule. And it is God (saith Daniel) *that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilate; *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath been governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Justice natural; by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephews, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called natural Piety: Again, by a Justice divine, drawn from the Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Justice civil, begotten by both

both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of the eldest times were commanded; and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident: for Adam, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.*

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government, with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

W hat other Policy was exercised, or State founded, after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot be certainly known, though it seem by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembered among their antiquities) were before the general Flood; and very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some Tyranny in Government, or from some rougher form of Rule, than the Paternal.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those days to the Gyants of Libanus, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-set to the Sun-set: But in the second Age of the World, and after such times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several sorts of Government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Laws, called Monarchy: to which Tyranny is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule; exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observation of the Laws of God, or Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrate (saith Aristotle) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Judges and Officers shall thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judge the people with righteous judgment.*

The second Government, is of divers principal Persons established by Order, and ruling by Laws, called Aristocracy, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the Decem viri, or Trium viri, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called Democracy, to which is opposed Ochlocratia, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, sedulously swaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly expressed by Tholomaeus; *unius, paucorum, & multorum; Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy since the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Laws to his own issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many households (man by nature loving society) joyined their Cottages together in one common Field or Village; which the Latins call Vicus; of the Greek *κωμ*, which signifies a House; or of the word (*Via*) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called Pagus (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the Greeks *πηγή*, which signifies a Fountain: because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drank of one Spring or Stream of Water: To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not unfaithfully.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased: so both to defend themselves from our rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyne and set together divers of their Villages, inviting them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, being so compassed, were then called Oppidas either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because walls were opposed against Enemies; or *ab opibus*, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbis*, because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith Varro) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortify. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was antiently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit, of coming together*. But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City,

City, may by turns become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest go under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same general name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chief Magistrate, if he be to be teamed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *Magistro*, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, Precepts of Art) or else from the Greek word (*Magistos*) and so the Greeks call them *Magistrai*, whom the Latines call *Magistratus*, or *Magistratus*.

ibid. s. The Office and Duty of every Magistrate, Aristotle hath written in few words. A Magistrate or Prince (saith he) is the keeper of right and equity; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together *Rom 13. 4.* with their Duties and Office. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for naught. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil. He also teacheth in the same place; That every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subject (saith he) not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments, upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandment of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himself subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. Christ commanded that all due to Cæsar should be given unto him: and he paid Tribute for himself and Peter. Hieremy commanded the Israelites (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech; and Jacob blessed the King of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous,

much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much I did Saint Chrysostom, in his Homily to the people, prefer Monarchical Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Prestat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth: Prestat (saith Tacitus in the first of his History) sub malo principe esse, quam nullo; It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est (saith Claudian) quam Domino servire bono; No liberty (saith he) more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous. And certainly, howsoever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000 Tyrants: under a wife man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as Agesilaus answered a Citizen of Sparta, that desired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.*

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as (for the reason before remembered) many Households joynd themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joynd together, and established Laws by consent, associating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joynd, were called a Common-Wealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the People themselves.

s. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased, and Families became strong, and they dispersed into several parts of the world, was by antient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blow and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territory than themselves could compas and manure: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest:

tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the Cold, the Rain and the Sun.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the fame may be attributed more to any one time than to another (I mean to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages; and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empy (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time, do not only harden and shrink the openest and most jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn estates before their eyes, and (withal) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose means are answerable unto other mens desires: yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswerd, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Ages; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our selves, and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adareth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever: Fit humane malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint; It comes to pass (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: Quod sint laudatores temporis acti; That they are praisers of fore-passed times, forgetting this advice of

Solomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former daies were better then these? For thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca; Majores nostri quæsti sunt, & nos querimus: posteri queruntur, everfos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius rei hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our ancestors have complained, we do complain, our Children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil. These are usually the Discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we add to this of Arnobius? Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus; quibus caput nova fuit & repentina. Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old: and the antientest things when they took beginning were also new and sodain. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures: Nunquam particulari bono servit omne vultus bonum; The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, Potestas humana radicitur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.

s. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain wants thereof without virtue.

And with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the fame Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which employments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age, to these daies. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Blood, but to Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient

Hierem.
29. 7.
Gen. 12.
17. 17.
10.

Tacit. in
Dial. de
Orat.

Peru. 120.
billa non
neglect
sed fit.

for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily defended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis*. But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint Jerom judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate confringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be effected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors*. For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ; Virtus, and ancient riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto Painted and Printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of ancient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertilis producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, ex terra fertilis pretiosum Aurum: Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning Herbena, and out of barren soyle precious Gold*. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publick Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being defended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Author calleth personal (the fame which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well doings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also

Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings, with the change of their Fancies, with they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is born in sin, of a Potshere body and barren mind?* For (according to the same Father) *Dele scum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronate nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly: for thou canest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Canest thou hence with thy Astrye, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration, as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is born, and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.*

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: *which if thou dost not believe (saith St. Chrysostom) look into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversity of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.*

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line: For blood is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the fame in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil (saith he) that I have seen under the Sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

§. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Sovereign Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

The first of all that reigned as Sovereign Lord, after the Flood, was *Nimrod*, the Son of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to *S. Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of fame, and took on him to command others: or else, in that he was begotten by *Chush*, after is other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in express words, calleth *Nimrod* the Son of *Chush*, other mens conjectures to the contrary, ought to have no respect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers, and many later Writers call tyrannical: the fame beginning in *Babel* (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me, that *Melanithon* conceived not amiss hereof: the fame exposition being also made by the Author of that Work, called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirms that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, A bitter, or severe Governour, because his form of Rule seemed, at first, far more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore is he in this respect also called A mighty Hunter: because he took and destroyed both beasts and thieves. But *S. Augustine* understands it otherwise, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum: So is that Giant to be understood, a Hunter against the Lord.*

But howsoever this word (A mighty Hunter) be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those which went with him from the East into *Shinar*: so, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himself, or any of the Sons of his own body, came with this troop into

Babylon: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the Hebrews; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The fame is also confirmed by divers Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Saphne*, and *Joctan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himself so far as *Shinar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Son's Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the Hebrews (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southernmost parts of *Chaldea*, about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in the unbelieving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia Heber remansit hæ lingua; In the family of Heber this language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*) and this Language *Abraham* used yea, it was anciently, and before the Flood, the general speech: and therefore first called (*saith Cælestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue*.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely, but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority, than violence of usurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct Persons.

BEnzo, and out of him Nancernus, with others, make many Nimrods; Eusebius confounds him with Belus, and so doth Saint Hierom upon Ose; and these words of Saint Augustine seem to make him of the same Opinion: *Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos; There did Ninus reign after the death of his father Belus, who governed in Babylon sixty five years.* But it could not be unknown to Saint Augustine, that Nimrod was the Establisher of that Empire: Moses being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of Nimrods Kingdom (saith he) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar; wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by Clement) supposed: for in Ninus his time, the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. Augustine had undoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authours. And for those words of S. Augustine (*qui primus illic regnaverat; Who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by Belus: those words do not disprove that Nimrod was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Julius Cæsar overthrow the liberty of the Romans Common-wealth, making himself perpetual Dictator; yet Augustus was the first established Emperor, and the first that reigned absolutely by foreign Authority over the Romans, as an Emperor.

The like may be said of Nimrod, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of sovereign rule, as Cæsar did; and yet Belus was the first, who peaceably, and with general allowance, exercised such a power. Pererius is of opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the same, because many things are said of them, both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. years after the Flood (as they account) that Belus reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For, so Edward the third, and his Grand-child, Richard the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died in the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that Nimrod and Belus were one) is far more probable than that of Mercator; who makes Ninus and

Nimrod to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of Nimrod's Kingdom was Babel, and the Towns adjoining: but the first, and most famous work of Ninus, was the City of Ninive.

Now, whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that Ninus overcame and suppresseth the Babylonians, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that Ninus and Nimrod were one Person. For Ninus established the seat of his Empire at Ninive in Assyria, whence the Babylonians might (perchance) in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

—Dicitur altam

Coëdificibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Urbem.

Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did inclose.

Further, where it is alleged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mighty; so Justine hath the fame of Ninus, which is one of Mercator's Arguments; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For, if we may believe Justine; then were Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, mighty Kings before Ninus was born. And if we may compare the words of Moses (touching Nimrod) with the undertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference between them.

For, whereas Mercator conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from Babel, namely, Erech, Accad, and Chalne: which work he therefore ascribeth to Ninus, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have Nimrod to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of Nimrod and Ninus to belong to one Person, to wit, to Ninus: to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true. That ever Nimrod invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the Flood, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hand.

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand far away from Babylon, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of Accad, which the Septuagint calls Archard; and Epiphanius, Arphal; Junius takes it to be Nisibis in Mesopotamia; for

for the Region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he) call Accabene for Accadene. Others understand Nisibis and Ninive, to be one City: so do Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran; but all mistaken. For Nisibis, Accad, and Charran, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny Accadene to be a Region of Mesopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus, out of S. Hierom, calls Accad; and so do the Hebrews also call Nisibis; which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of Erech, which the Septuagint call Orech; S. Augustine, Oreg; and Pagninus, Erec; this place Junius understands for Aracca in Susiana; but there is also a City in Camagena, called Arace; and indeed, likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called Chalne) some take it for Calinis: of which Am. Mercellinus. S. Hierom takes it for Seleucia; Hieronymianus, for Ctesiphon: others do think it to be the Agrani upon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Persians. But let Moses be the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diverse and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdom (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shinaar: so as in the Valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldaea (being all one) we must find them.* And therefore I could (rather of the two) think, with Viterbiensis, that these four made but one Babylon, than that they were Cities far removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precisely distinguishing Chalne from Babylon. *Go you (saith Amos) to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistines.* The Geneva Translation, favouring the former Opinion, to set these Cities out of Shinaar, hath a marginal note expressing that Shinaar was here named, not that all these cities were therein seated, but to distinguish Babylon of Chalde, from Babylon in Egypt: but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrod's Empire, there was no such Babylon, nor any City at all to be found in Egypt: Babylon of Egypt being all one with the great City of Cairo, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood Memphis the ancient City, but not so ancient as Babylon upon Euphrates. Now, that Chalne is situate in the valley of Shinaar, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of Paradise. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from Babylon, we may con-

tinue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, were distinct and successive Kings.

§. III.

That Nimrod, not Assur, built Ninive; and that it is probable, out of Esay 23. 13. that Assur built Ur of the Chaldees.

NOW, as of Nimrod; so are the Opinions of Writers different touching Assur, and touching the beginning of that great State of Babylon and Assyria: a controverfie warisomly disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the Interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not disjoin the fence of the Scriptures thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalne, in terra Shinaaris: è terra hac processit in Assyriam, ubi edificavit Niniven (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar: and he went forth of this Land into Assyria, and built Ninive.* So as Junius takes Assur in this place, not for any Person, but for the Region of Assyria; the Land being so called in Moses time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction (where the word Assur is taken for Assur the Son of Shem) doth not answer the order which Moses serveth through all the Books of Genesis, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginning of the tenth Chapter, he setteth down the Sons of Noah, in these words: *Now these are the generations of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, unto whom Sons were born after the Flood: then it followeth immediately; The Sons of Japheth were Gomer, &c. so as Japheth is last named among Noah's Sons, be he eldest or youngest, because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets down his Issue, and then the Issue of his Sons: first, the Issue of Gomer, Japheth's eldest Son; and then speaks of Javan and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is silent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of Ham, of which Chush was the eldest; and then the Sons of Chush and Mizraim; and afterwards of Canaan; leaving Shem for the last, because he would not disjoin the Story of the Hebrews. But after he beginneth with Shem, he continueth from thence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, unto*

unto *Abraham*, and so to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the Son of *Shem*, in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been against order; neither would *Moses* have past over so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire in one of the Sons of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the Story of *Shem's* Sons which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the Sons of *Chubb*; because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire; and in the eleventh Chapter, he returns to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the Issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Isaac*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive *P. Comestor*, in *historia scholastica*, gave an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in some other fence, he useth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de Assur, filio Sem, &c. sed Assur (id est, Regnum Assyriorum) inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum est;* (which is) Or else it is not to be understood of *Assur* the Son of *Sem*, &c. but *Assur* (that is, the Kingdom of the Assyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of *Sarug* the great Grand-father of *Abraham*. After which he reconcilith the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erector of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium;* Respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem;* Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may add the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenius*, who takes *Assur* to be the Son of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, *Saint Hierom*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly, *Tornielus*: who (saith he) took upon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psal. 81. Esay 10. Of. 5. &c.* But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the Son of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbishop of *Mentz* in the year of *Christ* 854. an an-

cient and Learned Writer, understands this place with *Comestor*, or *Comestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that Translation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moses* he giveth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c.* Out of this Land grew the Empire of the Assyrians, who built *Ninus* the great City, so named of *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*. On the contrary, *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Esay*: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this was no People, *Assur* founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderness; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversity in the Translation and Understanding; inasmuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But *Calvin* seemeth hereby to infer, that because *Assur* founded the State of the Chaldeans, therefore also *Assur*, rather than *Nimrod*, established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nineve*: contrary to the former translation of *Junius*, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hierom's* Translation) it may be gathered, that *Assur* both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the Chaldeans, by *Esay* remembered: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians*, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of Chaldaea, and that Estate, an example unto those *Phenicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: in which City of Chaldaea, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soon after be overturned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nebuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierom*: *Ecce terra Chaldaeorum, talis populus non fuit, Assur fundavit eam, in captivitate tradiderunt robustos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, posuerunt eam in ruinam* (which is) Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, such a People there were not (or, this was no People, after the *Geneva*) *Assur* (or the Assyrians) founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their Houses, and ruined their City. The *Septuagint* express it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et intra Chaldaeorum, & hac desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the fence perfect by the preceding verse, which altogether may be thus understood: If thou go over to Chittim (which is *Macedon*, or *Greece*) yet

yet thou shalt not rest (speaking to the *Tyrians*) neither in the Land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground. *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra Chaldaim, ipse populus non erat illic olim; nam Assur fundavit eam navibus, excreverunt avces illius; contriverunt ades ejus, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this People was not once therein inhabiting: for *Assur* built it a harbour for Ships, they crested the Towers thereof, and again brake down the houses thereof, and ruined it. *Junius*, in the place of Ships, sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, for the Barbarians: and the *Geneva*, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubted, that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the fence of the Chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terror) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose trade the state and greatness of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*, from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians*, under the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our Discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of other chief merchandize came in by the City *Tyre*, or *Orchoa* in Chaldaea, where the body or chief stream of *Euphrates* (even that stream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otrix*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his passage into the *Persian* Gulf: though now it be stopped up. For, as we have heretofore noted, the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sebea* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian* Gulf, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charan*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; and of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Tyre*, or *Orchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land, they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*; as they do this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Tyre* of the Chaldees was a Port Town, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, trade, and exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of Chaldaea, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stoppt up. *Ejus cursum vestigia abolevit* (saith *Niger*). And *Pliny*: *Locus ubi Euphratis osium fuit, flumen salsum*; Time hath worn away the channel of *Euphrates*: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound

the City of the Chaldees, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Tyre*; and by *Hecataeus*, *Caverina*; by *Ptolemy*, *Orchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldeaopolis*, the City of Chaldaea: which the Sons of *Shem*, until *Abraham's* time, inhabited. And whereas, in all the Translations, it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that *Assur* the Founder was the Son of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Tyre* of Chaldaea, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the Hebrew word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (by Ships) do bear that sense, the same may be the better approved, because it was a Port Town: and the River so far up as this City of *Tyre* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For Chaldaea is now called *Archabdar*, which signifieth Desert Lands, because it joinech to that part of Arabia so called; and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Inuantes*) addeth, that they are, of all other People, the most Salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary Opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former Translation of *Junius*, nor the Interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Assur* is in this place diversly taken (as for the Son of *Shem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Tyre*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seem to enforce it. And so this Founding of the City of the Chaldees by *Assur* (into which the most of the Posterity of *Shem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatry of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove the same *Assur* built *Nineve*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the Son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the Son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now, if *Assur* must be of that Race,

Race, and not of the Family of *Shem*, as he must be, if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur*, whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the Son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainly, he was very unworthy, and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire, and such a City, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to Posterity his expulſion thence, and how he lost that Empire again, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these works being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of *Ninus*, lying near unto the same stream that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his Grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus*'s wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to pass, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundress of the City which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidam Babylonem potuit instaurare; She might repair or renew Babylon*, saith *S. Augustine*. For so did *Nebuchodonosor* vaunt himself to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up again some part of the wall, over-born by the fury of the River: which work of his flood till *Alexander*'s time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

Dem. q. 17. *Is not this great Babel which I have built?*

§. IV.

Of the Aits of *Nimrod* and *Belus*, as far as now they are known.

BUT to return to the Story, it is plain in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transjugium*, and *Julius Africanus* furnished *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchy*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those four Cities before remembered; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*; and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Affrya*, and in

Affrya built four more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celab*, and *Refen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* itself, and those adjoining; and that his travels were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that work of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Affrya* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of People; and the examples and patterns of his beginning, so great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Merope*, a *sermonis linguarum terreaque divisio*; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firm ground of all those great Fens and overflown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For any of his Wars or Conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia*, which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose Son and Successor *Barzanes* became subject and Tributary to *Ninus*, that followed the War to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanaïs* of *Scythia*.

THAT so many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod* (as by the Story of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity. For Opportunity, being a Prince's liberal and powerfull, betwixt on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troop (after the division of Tongues, and dispersion of People) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possess, and

and governed by discretion all those People, whom they conducted to their destined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were Peopled in *Ninus* his time, would not have been peopled in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the example of *Nimrod*, with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own Travels; nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the Son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he first took on him Sovereignty and sole commandment of all those the Children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his Son and Successor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts, which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanaïs*; and should conjecture, that *Misraim* had been his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*; who by many circumstances seems to me, rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesoftris*, that lived certain Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. years, according to the common account.

§. VI.

Of the name of *Belus*, and other names affines unto it.

WHENCE this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath been made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himself.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus*, *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldean* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldean* Princes and *Babylonian* *Satrapae*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chief of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphegor*, *Beelzebub*, and *Beelseph*. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and *Chaldean*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Principis militie*, Chief in the War; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum; In honor of his expounding secrets. Saint Hierom makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: and saith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memory of his Father set up to be worshipped: to which, that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyth*) *Semiramis* came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Ildore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old, or ancient; adding, that as among the *Affryans* it is taken for *Saturn*, and the Sun: so, in the *Phenician* or *Carthaginian* Language, it signifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Affryan* name properly; and *Josephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth, that the Idol which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phogor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the Opinion of Saint Hierom. But, that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, &c. was as much to say, as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* foundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies)

See more of this, &c. of this first Part, q. 2. s. 6.

Hieron. in Ols. c. 4. s. 9.

(Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithstanding) the Jews express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet of teachers us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me Ithi, and shalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths. For, although the name of Baal, or Bahal, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbid it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the Chaldeans for the Sun, was not, because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as God: as also the Fire was; *tantum solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembered) as *Belphegor*, and *Belphebor*; *Belphebor* is expounded out of *Faciens*, *Dominus speculæ*, *vel custodie*: The Lord of the Watch-tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is written *Belpheor*, or *Baalpheor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Demadavir*; and therefore the word joined, expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the Son of *Saturn*: for it was used among the Ancients, to name the Father *Saturn*, the Son *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum Joves & Junones; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi*. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called *Saturni*; their first-born, *Jupiters* and *Junones*; their valiant Nephews, *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vroes*) was famous by reason of his Warlike Son, *Nimrus*, who caused his Father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter-Babylonius*, whom the Egyptians (transported by Dreams of their Antiquities) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Ephapsus*, begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was Father to *Aegyptus*. They add, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a City, in which he ordained Priests after the Egyptian manner. But, were there any *Belus* the Son of *Ephapsus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis* (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speak, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the Egyptians: so much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images, begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

AS for the *Babylonians Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomy*, if *Pliny* say true: from whence the Egyptians might borrow both the name and doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth, that it did remain in his time.

thus of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: Over the River, saith he, there are Gardens, where they say the ruins of *Belus* his Tomb, which *Xerxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by *Cyril* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*). *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogant, primus hominum dicitur a subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseveravit igitur Aflyrii, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei*. *Arbelus*, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with title of Deity; (or with the name of God) the Assyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have persecuted, sacrificing to him. Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thurars*, who succeeded next after *Nimrus*, was made an Idol-God among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Nimrus* (that is, after *Nimias*) *Thurars* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharp and fierce disposition, who bidding battle to *Caucasus*, of the stock of *Japheth*, slew him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that any among Idolatrous Nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I deny not, but that the most of their Images and Statues were first erected without divine worship, only in memory of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept into those wooden and brazen carcases, when Posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos affirmant, homines fuerunt, & pro universisque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, aia sua post mortem ceperunt: sed (Demoniis persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimabant: ad ipsa vero magis excolenda acceperunt Poetarum fignenta*. They

They were men (saith he) whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence, began after his death to be honoured of his own: But, at length (the Devils persuading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the Opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.

And, that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory*: *Gentilitas* (saith he) inventrix: & caput est Imaginum; Gentilismus is the inventress and ground of Images: and *Ambrose*: *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God. *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of images, a custom borrowed of the Heathen. The like saith *S. Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verenter* (saith *Laëtantius*) *ne Religio vana sit, si nihil vident quod adorent*; They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see what they worship.

And (out of doubt) the Scholemen shift this fearful custom very strangely. For, seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian satisfy it self with the distinction of *Doulia*, and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practitioners thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither express the Commandment of God himself. *Thou shalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatening of *Moses* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions lead the hearts of men from it. For, where shall we find words of greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Female.

And, besides the express Commandment, *Thou shalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; so it is written in the Book of *Wisdom*, That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for

they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.

And whereas the Scholemen affirm, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest, that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of Baal, and the rest of that nature, For you saw no Image (saith *Moses*) that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*: *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas enim mentes tua*: Do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume, that put him under the greafic Pencil of a Painter, or the rusty Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God, began in *Babel*: so did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The Romans, for a while, resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. years; observing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But, *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the Grecians (a Nation of all others under the Sun most deluded by Satan) set up the Images of their gods; which (as *S. Augustine* witnesseth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth: *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicat, gens postea illa adorant; & cum hec suspicant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemunt*; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray unto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemn the Handicraftsmen that made them: which also *Sedulius* the Poet in this sort scoffed at:

Hæu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sensu pro Religiosa sibi sculptunt simulachra, summaque Faciorem fugiunt, & qua fecere, venerunt! Quis furor est? qua tanta animos dementia ludit?
Ut volucrum, turpemque bovem, torumque Draconem, Semi-hominemque-canem supplex homo pro-nus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And consecrate dumb Idols in their heart, Who their own Maker (God on high) despise, And fear the work of their own hands & Art!

What fury? what great madness doth beguile
Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes
adore
Of Birds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid im-
plore.

And though this device was barbarous, and first, and many years practised by Heathen Nations only, till the Jews were corrupted in Egypt, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant stupidity of his Nation: but *Justin Martyr* remembereth how the *Sybil* imagined against Images: and *Hosian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the souls of men to erect and adore those bables. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witness, that the *Persians* did not erect or set up any Statue of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*; but thought it impious to represent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Enschius* also witnesseth, in his Sixth Book, of preparatione Evangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brackmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same do *Tacitus* and *Crispianus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembered, that witness the disdain which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatry: of which *Hosian* hath written at large in his Tract, de origine imaginum. And it was truly said, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt. All ill examples have sprung from good beginnings.* The Heathen, at first, made these Statues and Images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) non solebant exprimi, nisi aliqua illis causa perpetuam merentium: Men are not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to be perpetually remembered. And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Laſtantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulacra* are pro elementis literarum, ut per ea different homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images say they, (and so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God: in which understanding, perhaps, they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Balaſor*, or *Bel*, set up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the most revered Idol of the world, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himself) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones, and painted can-

vases (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. On these stocks we call (saith the Book of Wisdom) when we pass through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the ship that carries us.

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes*, seu majorum gentium, scilicet, *Patritii*, inferiores, *dii medi*: Consenting gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobility, scilicet gods, *Patritii*, gods of mark, and *Common* gods, which the *Romans* called *Medioximi*, *dii infimi*, and terrestrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which *S. Augustine* hath made large mention, in his Book, de Civitate Dei. But (saith *Laſtantius*) among all those miserable souls, and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides* *Cretensis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication, even to the times of *S. Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athen*, *Minerva*, in *Samos*, *Juno*, in *Paphos*, *Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every City, and almost every Family, had a god apart. For as it is written in the second of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth* Benoth, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Ashima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepharvaim* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which, how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heart from understanding.* It is therefore lateſt for a *Christian*, to believe the Commandments of God, to direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe *S. Paul*, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flee from Idolatry; I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the Warrs of *Ninus*: and lastly, of his Warr against *Zoroaster*.

UNTO this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that, without shame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For, although that piece of *Berosus*, set out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chryseus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnassus*, and others: yet, *Lodovicus Vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly, that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander's* time, cited by *Athenus* and *Josephus*: and whose Statue the *Athenians* erected, saith *Pliny*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod*, to the eighteenth King *Aſatades*, and to the times of *Josua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the *Chaldean* and *Aſſyrian* Monarchies: but he afterwards, in the collection of the *Persian* Kings, is not without his errors.

Cteſar, or *Cnidus* (a City joining to *Halicarnassus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and, though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenus*, *Pausanias*, and *Tertulian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his Works, saving some very few excerpts lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men

of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. *S. Augustine* affirms, that *Ninus* mastered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wan it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia*, the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entered into a freight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chaste*, and the nearest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprise was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sudden, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their King *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The King of *Armenia*, *Barzaner*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia*, he bent himself that way toward the East; but, that ever he commanded the lesser *Aſia*, I do not believe, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third Warr was against *Pharnus*, King of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seven Children, though others affirm, that they all died in one battle against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nirru*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said, that he made two Expeditions into *Bactria*: and, that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of *Nirru* forward: and then a second time entered *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horse, and 100000 six hundred Chariots; being encountered by *Zoroaster* with four hundred thousand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, he entered farther into the Country, and besieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra*, or *Bactrian* (saith *Stephanus*) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the Wife of *Menon*) he entered and possessed. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he took her from her Husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out, if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of love in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the Water, and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick Arts : and of the divers kinds of Magick.

§. I.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first inventor of Astrologie, or of Magick : and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

Zoroaster, King of the *Babylonians* Vincentius supposeth to be Cham the Son of Noah : a fancy of little probability. For Cham was the Paternal Ancestor of Nimrod, the Father of Chus, the Grand-father of Nimrod, whose Son was Belus, the Father of Nimus. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturae Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so entituled ; of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of Magick to Cham the Son of Noah : so did *Comestor* in his Scholastical History ; which Art (saith he) with the seven Liberal Sciences he writ in fourteen Pillars : seven of which were made of Brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Flood ; and seven of Brick, against the injury of fire. There was also another devised Discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words : Cham (*Silvius Pliny* finds a later time. And if Zoroaster Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegiis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre Iusto, &c.* Cham the (the Son of Noah) who was infected with these

superstitions and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any Book or memorial of that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, and hard Stone.

Saint *Augustine* noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laugh at his birth, when all other children weep ; which prefiged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto ; being taken for the Inventor of natural Magick and other Arts ; for the Corrupter, saith *Pliny* and *Justine*. But I do not think that Zoroaster invented the doctrine of the *Hermetic*, or *Naturalities* : or first found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and

Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipathetical workings ; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldaea* is also made the Inventor. I rather think that these knowledge were far more ancient, and left by Noah to his Sons. For *Abraham*, who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living : differing from the wisdom of after-times in that, he knew, and acknowledged, the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, and all natural things ; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universal power) admired the Instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdom, *Which being one, and remaining in it self, can do all things, and reneweth all.*

Now, whether this Zoroaster (overthrown by Nimus) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the Magician, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Pliny* finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a Spirit (being in the midst of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoroaster, slain by Nimus, was not the Magician : which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Josephus*, and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Stars, and other motions of the Heavens : for if this Art had been invented by Zoroaster, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time ; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to Posterity.

But of this Zoroaster, there is much dispute : and no less jangling about the word and Art of Magick. *Arnobius* remembereth four, to whom the name of Zoroaster, or Zoroastres was given : which by *Hermodorus* and *Dionon* seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and

and was as much to say, as *Astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* call the *Babylonian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew : the second, a *Chaldean*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus* : the third was Zoroaster *Pamphilius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and his familiar : the fourth, Zoroaster *Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hofstanes*, which followed *Xerxes* into Greece : between whom and *Cyrus*, there past three score and eighteen years. *Suidas* remembereth a fifth, called *Perfomedus sapiens* : and *Plato* speaketh of Zoroaster the Son of *Oromasdes* ; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now, of what Nation the first and chief Zoroaster was, it is doubted. *Pliny* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemistheus*, or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Stenobius*, make him a *Chaldean*. But by those Books of one Zoroaster, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a *Chaldean* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldean*) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishing of Nations. *Forphyrus* makes the *Chaldei* and *Magi* divers ; *Picus*, the same. But that this Zoroaster was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldean* Tongue ; and the Comment in the same Language. Now, that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those Books of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula*.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia ; and thereof was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.

Now, for Magick it self ; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) *Pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendant ; Few understand, and many reprehend ; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant : As Dogs bark at those they know not : so they condemn and hate the things they understand not : I think it not amiss (leaving Nimus for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.*

It is true, that many men abhor the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but goes (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, usurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are far different Arts, whereof *Pliny* being ignorant, scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Pliny*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East, sent him by *Tyridates* King of *Armenia*, who held that King-

dom by his grace, found the Art, after long study and labour, altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a *Persian* word primitively, where- by is exprest such a one as is altogether conversant in things Divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (*μαγικός*) saith, that the *Persians* called their gods *μαγείας* : whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either *μαγείων δαίμων*, or *δαιμονίου δαίμων* (that is) that *Magus* is a namesometimes of him that is a God by nature ; sometimes of him that is in the service of God : in which latter sense it is taken, *Mat. 2. v. 1.* And this is the first and highest kind : which *Piccolomine* calleth divine Magick : and these did the *Latines* newly entitle *Sapientes*, or *Wisemen* : For, the feast and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These *Wisemen* the *Greeks* call *Philosophers* : the *Indians*, *Branchmans* ; which name they somewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Priests *Bramines* ; among the *Egyptians* they were termed *Priests* ; with the *Hebrews* they were called *Cabalists*, *Prophets*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees* : amongst the *Babylonians* they were differed by the name of *Chaldeans* : and among the *Persians*, *Magicians* : of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hofstanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) useth these words : *Et verum Deum meritis majestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri ejus venerationi potius assidue. Idem demonum prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos ; Sostene* (for so *M. Felix* called him, not *Hofstanes*) *scribitur the duo Majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers, and messengers which attend the Worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devils earthly, and wandering, and enemies to man-kind.*

His Majesty also, in his first Book of *Demonologie*, ch. 3. acknowledged, that in the *Persian* Tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenly science ; but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldeans* were ignorant of the true Divinity. And it is also right which *His Majesty* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick*, all other unlawful Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majesty* distinguish it from Necromancy, Witchcraft, and the rest : of all which he hath written largely, and most learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majesty* commendeth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his second Chapter nameth four kinds of those *Wisemen* : *Arioli, Magi, Malefici, and Chaldei*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* Translation calleth *Sophistas ; Fatalibus and Paganis Genethliacos, or Physicos, or Philosophers,*

Philosophers, or (according to the note of Vatablus) Naturalists: *Nempe sunt Magi apud Babaros, quod Philosophi apud Grecos* (scilicet) *divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam proficiterentur*; For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Grecians (that is) men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and humane. The Greek and the English call them *Incantators*; Junius, *Magicians*; Caltation, *Conjurers*: in the Syrian, they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; The *Wisemen of Babel*.

The second sort *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our English, call *Astrologers*; *Hierom* and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici* or *Venefici*; in *Hierom*, *Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*: in *Junius*, *Praestigiatores*, or *Sorcerers*, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*: and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any Art of Magic or Necromancy, use the help of the Devil to do mischief, His Majesty confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Devil prepared; and at other times to make Pictures of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things which the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldeans*: who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well natural as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars, by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are, the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of *Magick*, was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Stars into those lower Elements.

Philo Judeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick*, or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Stars, and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem* (saith *Jo. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the*

creature. *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he instructed the Egyptians in *Aritmetic* and *Astronomie*, who before *Abraham's* coming unto them knew none of these Sciences.

And to doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Gaspar*: *Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt*, quod *Abraham sanctitate & sapientia omnium praestantissimus, Chaldaeos primum, deinde Phoenices, deinde Aegyptios Sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*; *Alexander* (saith he, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *Eupolemon* affirm, that *Abraham*, the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the Chaldaeans, then the Phoenicians; lastly, the Egyptian Priests, *Astrologie*, and divine Knowledge.

The third kind of *Magick*, containeth the whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of Nature's hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centraliter*; *Virtues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these, in elder-times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of; *Apollonius Tyaneus*, remembered by *S. Hierom* to *Paulinus*; in some mens Opinion, *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*; among the *Indians*, *Thestian*; among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*; the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*; the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*; and the *Italians*, *Petrus Apollonius*. The *Magick*, which these men professed, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio ad viro sapientie agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera procedant, non sine eorum sine admiratione qui causam ignorant*: *Magick is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderful to those that know not their causes*. In all these three kinds, which other men divide into four, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned; especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the Universal: he believeth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of Paradise: approveth the immortality of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi*: which Oracles of his, *Esseus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others, have gathered and translated.

See upon his Comment, in Arg. de creat. Dei, l. 18. c. 3.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Euseb.* in the *Theologie* of the *Phenicians*, using *Zoroaster's* own words: *Hac ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, sempiternus, ingentis, expertus partium, sibi-ipsi similis, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdocus, naturae perfectus, sapiens, sacra naturae institutor, &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaster*, word for word, *God, the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inventor thereof*.

Sixtus Senensis, speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldeans*, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldeans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Charvumim* (which he translates *Ariolic*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasaphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poisoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Auriges*, or *Aurifices*, or *Drainers*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldeans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hic color motus diligentissime spectantur*; These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens: whom *Philo*, in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint*, and of *Hierom*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the Son of *Beor*) to be the first; but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this Art to *Zoroaster* the Persian.

Charvumim, or *Incantators*, the Disciples (saith *S. Augustine*, *Pliny*, and *Justine*) of another *Zoroaster*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancesters.

Mechasaphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we have spoken already out of His Majesty's Book of *Demonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aurifices* (after *S. Hierom*) which divine from the intrails of Beasts slain for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim*, others understand *Auriges*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of Birds.

By this distinction, we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the Kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient Persians was most honest. For as *Peucer* truly observeth, *Præstant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studisque vocis Philosphie dedit erant*: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum

disciplinam scientiamque percepisset; The *Magi* (saith he) were the chief Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the studies of true Philosophy: neither could any be King of the Persians, who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *Magi*. *Sixtus Senensis*, in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his own words are these: *Et ne quem moveant præmissa Polychronii & Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam*; alteram ubique ab Origine damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum demonibus inita, aut verè, aut apparenter, operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quæ ad præctice naturalis virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium; That the testimonies of *Theophilus* and *Polychronius* (saith he) may not move any man, it is to be understood that *Magick* is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with devils; the other commended by *Origen*, which appertaineth to the præctick part of natural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.

This Partition *Hierom* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, where considering the difference which *Daniel* makes between these four kinds of wise Men formerly remembered, he useth this distinction: *Quos nos barolos; ceteri sancti* (id est) *incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis remperantur; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; Malefici, qui sanguine mutantur, & victimis, & sæpe contrigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldaei Genetiliacis significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consecuto autem communis Magos pro malefici accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaeorum: Et ad artis hujus scientiam, Reges quoque Principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem, adoraverunt puerum, stellæ desuper ostendente; They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Incantators, seem to me, such as perform things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead; further, among the Chaldeans, I take them to be signified by the name of Conjurers: upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custom taketh Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they*

lib. l. 6. fol. 414.

De vit. sancti Greg. Annot. fol. 180.

Peucer de Divinitat. in c. de mag. fol. 137. 136.

they are the Philosophers of the Chaldeans; yea, King and princes of that Nation do all that they do, according to the knowledge of this Art: whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy Bethlehem, did worship the Child: the Starr from above shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a Magician, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirm, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere factò utitur diaboli opera ad rem quancunque; That he is called a Magician now-a-days, who having entred league with the Devil, useth his help to any matter:* yet (as our Saviour said of Divorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of Magic is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which undergo that title, were invented by the fallhood, subtilty, and envie of the Devil. In the latter, there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, *Per malam fidem; By an evil faith:* in the former, no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work to things that suffer. And though by the Jews those excellent Magicians, Philosophers, and Divines, which came to worship our Saviour Christ, were tearmed *Mechaphsephim, or Mecephim;* yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custom (saith S. Hierom.) understandeth Witches, under the name of Magicians: And antiquity (saith Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) understood good and wise men, Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fearful one (saith Ficinus) why doubtest thou to use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch, or a Conjuror, but a wise man, and a Priest? For what brought this slander to that Study and Profession, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of causeless admiration? Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratore demonum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentiam, vel consensum, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facta sunt, opera demoni credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est Magia naturalis quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The marvellousness of some works, which (indeed) are natural, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of devils, joining the natures together, or mingling them,*

or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural Magic, which men call very improperly, Necromancy.

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: For by understanding (saith he) the uttermost activity of natural agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ: for otherwise (to use his own words) Ignorantia terminis potentie & virtutis rerum naturalium, fiat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt, whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means: after which he goeth on in this sort: Ideo non hereticæ, non superstitiosæ dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I said not heretically, nor superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically, that by such Magic we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ. And seeing the Jews and others, the enemies of Christian Religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which Christ wrought, were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula, a man for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Nature's works being known, the works which Christ did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testify of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Supreme and Divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted, or put to silence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magic is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other than, Divinorum Cultor, & Interpret: A studious Observer and Expounder of Divino things: and the Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural Magic) no other, Quàm naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatior; than the absolute perfection of natural Philosophy: Certainly then, it proceeds from ignorance, and no way forth with

with wife and learned men, promiscue, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. Paul's words) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Devil hath shuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befoteeth graceless men. For, if we condemn natural Magic, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poisoners the harmful parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we, by the same rule, condemn the Physician, and the Art of Healing. For the Devil also in the Oracles of Amphiarau, Amphilocheus, Trophonius, and the like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for such and such Diseases. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, that the Devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same employment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrology, by giving a divine power to the Stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as Bunting observeth) it is true, that judicial Astrology is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art, considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have, and exercise their operation upon the inferior. For the Sun and the Starr of Mars do drie; the Moon doth moisten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper virtues: the Stars do also differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names. But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestial influences, the Devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of Charactres, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of Words and Letters (which, without Faith in God, are but Ink or common breath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glory of God's creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that

both the wife and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the shores, and flee into the Land, that commonly some great storm followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken fair weather; that the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, forebode Rain: for they feel the air moistned in their quils. And it is written in Hieremy the Prophet, *Foen the Stork, in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the swallow.* Hereupon, this enemy of Man-kind, working upon these as upon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen, by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the Warr: and (withall) to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreams, not only to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to reprove *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by a Dream informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Job*: *In Dreams and Visions of the night, when sleep falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprises;* therefore, I say, doth the Devil also practise his Divinations by dreams, or (after *Parisienſis*) divinitatis imitationes, his mock-divinity. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own Dreams: *Mithridates* of those of his Concubines. Yea, the Romans, finding the inconvenience hereof, because all Dreams (without distinction of causes) were drawn to Divination, forbade the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandi somnii oculum aliquam artem divinandis*) it may appear. Likewise by the Law of God, in *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 13, seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diseases that oppress him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolemie's* poisoned wound; nor that which *Saint Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoſe* whose Son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to discharge it: not that of *Alyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for as much as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

X

§. IV.

§. IV.

That Daniel's mistaking Nebuchodonosor's condemning of the Magicians, doth not justify all their practices.

But it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the *Heathens* commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to pass, that Daniel both condemned the haughty sentence of Nebuchodonosor against the Magicians of Chaldea, and in a sort forbade it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain. To this, divers answers may be given. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the Dream of the King, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any Art, either Natural or Diabolical: For there is none other (saith the *Chaldeans*) that can declare it before the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but were merely Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the King commanded to kill all, Daniel persuaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniel's instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Enchanters: of which some were termed *Sooth-sayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi*, or *Wife-men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, Daniel mistooked and forbade the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the King's thought, which the Devil himself could not know. So then, in Daniel's dislike, and hindring of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

Notwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of fallshood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbore to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Devil, in the Image of Baal, Ashtaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologic* terrifie Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Stars and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned Physician or Magician from the using of them to the help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreams; so far as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as signs of good or evil success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemn all honest Trades and interchange amongst men (for there are that deceive in all Professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Pliny* teacheth) we should shew our selves, *Ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull towards those, who with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.*

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the *Mathematicks* also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned

CHAP. XI.

of the History of the World.

wise men learned, judge of it in this sort: *In Speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili queritur, elucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glasse of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscuring, but in a clear and manifest representation.*

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

It is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name *Magick*: and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy*, or *Goetia*: and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to whom the Devil himself gives answer in stead of those that seem to appear. For certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul: and therefore the soul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring, or raising up Devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distrustful, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep to a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearful Word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seat, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour *Christ*, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the Devil out of Hell, and terrifie with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Devils seem to use, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up: as *His Majesty* in his Book aforesaid hath excellently taught: *That the Devils obedience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectively, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant Devils, which inhabit *Tamblicum* imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and al-

ways attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such enforcement.

Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardani* mortal Devils, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Devils lived not above a thousand years: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise of *Graculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great God *Pan*. For, were it true, that the Devils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus*, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, were done by *S. Peter's* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same pranks at other times, upon his own accord, the Devil played with *Theodotus*; who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have been) had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had *Budas*, a principal Pillar of the *Manichean* Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth: and for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think: For those that received not the truth (saith *S. Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions*: Of these their supposed transpositions (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majesty* in the 2d Book, & the 4th Chap. of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include spirits in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Celsanus*: *Fatu sunt Incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauduntur corpore*: They are foolish Enchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nails, or in Glasses: for a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another art besides the aforesaid mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the Devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven

by threats. Wherefore let the Professours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Divinities, as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the air, called *Ma-teotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, is *Fascination* or *Witchcraft*: the Practicers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful and bloody, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures, having sold their souls to the Devil, work two ways; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poisoning: The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, His Majesty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a fort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of petty *Witchery* (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet's* Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his breakfast: *Mahomet* perfwading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly, if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the *Incantations* of the World; for whosever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any Beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Incantments (which the *Marysians*, a people of Italy, practised: *Colobrus disrupit Maria cantu*: incantant *Maria* makes the Snakes to burst.) That it hath been used, it appears, *Psalm* 58. 6, though I doubt not, but that many impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are many fumes that will either draw them out, or destroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them; and therein I find no other *Magick*, or Incantments than to draw out a Moule with a piece of roasted Cheese.

§. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUT to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we do not give to the Devil any other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways. The first is, by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second, by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And, that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens* *Sist. poif.* *cap. 70.* *Jo p. 2.* *de murt.* *manissimas bellinas.* *S. Augustine* was of opinion, that the Frogs which *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers produced, were not natural, but that the Devil (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For, as *Varinus* observeth, those Frogs of the Incantments were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof, saith *Saint Augustine*: *Nec sanè Dæmones naturæ creati, sed quæ à Deo creati sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Devils create not any creatures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. Question he giveth the reason. *Demon quibusdam melibis insipit omnes meatus intelligentie, per quos aperire lumen rationis radus mentis solet (that is) The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.**

And, as *Tertullian* in his Book of *Adversus* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazzle those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth but, the Devil entrench in, beginning with the fantasy, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul; for the fantasy is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions. *Aquinas*, on the contrary, held, that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magice* *arte* *Indutrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam*

neam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and *S. Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per aditum cum passivis*, inclinet rather to this opinion: though I am not perfwaded that *S. Augustine* doth believe that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural *Magick*, he useth these words: *De hismodi autem operibus, & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiutoribus, ipsa seminaturæ confortant, & accunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus nature videatur (que tardius alia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such works (saith he) the sudden generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strenghtening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise, that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working, but glorify the Creator. Now, by these two ways the Devils do most frequently work (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.*

For, shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, & tempests; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder Ages he stole his knowledge out of the Predictions of the Prophets: and foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every counsel: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the air, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the earth: if he should not

sometimes, yea, if he should not very oftentimes guess rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see, that wife and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes, conceive rightly of like effects before they happen: and yet, where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as

Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:
If *Cræsus* over Halys go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is in *Esay*: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times, and certainly what it is to come.* *Solus enim divine intelligentia est, occulta Goli. Paris.* *cap. 16.* *sub. c. 16.* *hidden things.*

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

TO conclude, It may be objected, that the Devil hath raised from the dead; and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel*, raised by the Witch of *Endor*; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions: *Justin Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was in *collig.* *Ambrase, Lyra, and Euzegensis*; from which Authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did *S. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detectable to think it was *Samuel* which appeared; and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt anime piorum de corpore separate, impiorum autem purnas lunt, donec istarum ad vitam eternam, illarum vero ad eternam mortem que secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The souls of the godly separated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.*

And (besides S. Augustine) Justin Martyr, Helarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men, being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith Cyril) *quoniam à corporibus sanctorum anime abierint, tanquam in manus clarissimi patris bonitatis divina commendari; We must believe, when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodness, as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From Hell there is no redemption.* For, there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (saith Augustine) *in igne eterno; alterum in regno eterno; The one in eternal fire; the other in Gods eternal Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe, that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the Gloss upon the same Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Gloss) *They believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but Phantasmes, or apparitions.* For, whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the Soul of such a one: *Hec oratio à fraude atque deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil, saith Chrysostom.* Likewise of the same, saith Tertullian: *Abstine animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Prophete, à demonio credamus extrahi; God forbid that we should think that the Soul of any holy man, much less of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

It is true, that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Sammel*; so do they the wooden Images, *Cherubims*: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas there of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of Ecclesiasticus (a Book not numbred among the Canonical Scriptures, as S. Augustine himself in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet Syracider, following the literal sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly

perswade, that the souls (yea, even of just men) were in his power; yet so farr is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as S. Augustine (or whosoever wrote that Book before cited) might rightly term it a detestable opinion to think. For, if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him, either by *Dreams*, by *Orim*, or by his Prophets: it were foolish to conceive, that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Saul's* respect; it being also contrary to his divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead: as in *Dent. 18.* and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because Helias and Helizeus had raised some from the dead by the power of God, those Devils which Saint Augustine calleth *Ladificatores animantium sibi subiectorum; Mockers of their own vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their ears, like the voices of men, do also perswade their graccels and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over, the souls of men. *Eldit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium, saith L. Vives; The Devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devil's power, whom, if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For, when he is not the instrument of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: *Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere, saith S. Augustine; He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil.* Such as think otherwise, may go into the number remembered by Lucretius:

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis In tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.



CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other her Acts.

S. I.

Of the magnificent building of Ninive by Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

S. II.

Of the end of Ninus; and the beginning of Semiramis Reign.

But to come back to *Ninus*, the amplifier and finisher of *Ninive*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it self, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth, as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no less admirable for the nature of those times.

But this City (built in the Plains of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately, *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campfor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Ninive* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Ninive*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: wherein she fought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed, in the first Age, when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages, for the use of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: and purposing to follow the Conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

This she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*; who, after he had mastered *Bactria*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea* and *Hellefont* (Asia the less excepted) and finished the work of *Ninive*; he left the world in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 25. years. *Plutarch* reporteth, that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute sovereign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus*, out of *Athenaus*, and others, speaks of five days. In which time (moved either with desire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Alexon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her, after his death, the sole Rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which *Ninus* was laid to be the first Monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, to *Ninive* in *Assyria*. *Justine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her self to the people in person of her Son *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as the ruled long, so she performed all those memorable Acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that Letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son *Ninias* had such a stature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very

Justin. l. i.
Diod. l. i.
Sabel. l. i.
c. 1.

Hered. l. i.
Justin. l. i.
Diod. l. i.
c. 5.

Ellen. lib. 7. ex Di. one.

very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that the could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any such subtilty (for so long he reigned after the death of her husband :) but it may be true, that *Ninias*, or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis Parentage and Education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

SOME Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one,) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Herodotus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, *Semiramis Afcalonitis*, of *Afcalon*, the ancient City and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the Daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curizian* of *Afcalon*, exceeding beautiful. Others say, that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Relye, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a Lake adjoining to *Afcalon*; and afterward falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which (for fear of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high Reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beasts) the same was fed by certain Birds, which used to feed upon, or near those Waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this child, who being per chance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding which, she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and humane shape. It is thought, that from this *Derceta*, the invention of that Idol of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose Temple when the Ark of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground; and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *S. Hierom* hath converted that place. *Vata-*

blas, *Paginnus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a Fish, and so it only appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my self, I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims*, was an Idol representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritime (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phanicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after disfigurement with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BUT for her Pedigree, I leave it to *Affyrian Herald*; and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy & ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazzard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princess more worthy of Fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works she did at *Babylon*, and elsewhere, and for the Wars she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report, that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army, there survived but only twenty persons; the rest, being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the Famine, or slain by the Sword of *Staurobates*. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbered; so were those that returned, less than could have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of four Millions and upwards. For these numbers, which she levied by her Lieutenant *Dercetens* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three Millions; of Horse-men one Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thousand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three thousand, by which she might transport over *Indus* at once, three hundred thousand soldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phanicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. The incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every Man and Beast but fed on grass) are taken from the Auth-

zaid. f. 8.
15. 16. 5.

city of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himself hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* Expedition into *Greece* and afterwards; whose Army (though the same was far inferior to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to over-load the belief of any reasonable man. For all Authours consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece*, an army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to pass the *Hellepont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the several Provinces whence those Gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted, the same being broken, and overthrown by *Staurobates*, upon the banks of *Indus*, *Canticum cantavit extremum*; she sang her last song; and (as *Antiquity* hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the Bird of *Venus*) whence it came, that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their Ensigns.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis; and of the Pyramides of Egypt.

AMONG all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried four square of great height and beauty, having on each square, certain brazen Gates curiously engraven. In the Core of the square, she raised a Tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a Basis of a less circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one above ano-

ther, upon the top whereof the *Chaldean* Priests made the Observation of the Starrs; because this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this Tower, have many Travellers been deceived; who suppose that they have seen a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel* (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple, one hundred thousand talents of Frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Neluchodonosor* adorn with the spoils of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the soil; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired, by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any such work. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the Starrs that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were conspicious undique navigantibus, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Belonius*, a carefull observer of Rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommeite, & tirant une fleche in l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa base q' elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these *Pyramides*, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air, as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Procl. in
Timeo
lib. 1.

Belon. l. 1.

Finis Libri primi.

Y.

THE

THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of
Abraham, to the Destruction of Solomon's Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: and the use of this Question, for the ordering
of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

*Of some of the Successors of Semiramis: with a brief transition to the Question, about the
time of the Birth of Abraham.*

After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Be-rosus Annianus* bestows the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of Warr at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now, because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousy he every year changed his Provincial Governours, and built Colleges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successour, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successour of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuousity, invented Jewels of Gold and

Stone, and some Engines for the Warr: I will, for this present, pass them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose ways are warrantable (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this Story) by whom, and by whose issues, we shall best give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Balanus*. For, otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us down without error, by the reigns of the *Assyrian* Princes; we shall but patch up the Story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which, to this day, it hath remained. For, where the Scriptures do not help us, *Mirum non est rebus antiquis, Historiam non constare*; No marvel if then in things very antient, History in These.

The better therefore to find out, in what Age of the World, and how long, these *Assyrian* Kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's*

Abraham's Birth, and in what year the same happened after the Flood. Now, since all agree that the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what year after the Flood, the birth of *Abraham* happened, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the *Hebrew* account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. years; others 352. years between *Abraham's* Birth and the Flood: a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annens*) makes but 250. years from the Flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was born in the three and fourtieth year of *Ninus*, according to *Engelins* and *Saint Augustine*, it followeth, by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of *Abraham's* Birth, was in the year after the Flood 293. or, as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resolved Question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reason for my own Opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which *Envie* casteth at Novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easy ways of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

§. II.

A Proposal of Reasons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292. after the Flood, and not in year 352.

Those who seek to prove this account of 292. years, between the general Flood and *Abraham's* Birth, ground themselves; first, on these words of the Scripture: So *Terah* lived 70. years, and begat *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*: Secondly, upon the Opinion of *Josephus*, *Saint Augustine*, *Ebede*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient *Hebrews*: before them: Authorities (while they are slightly looked over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remem-

bered, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First, out of the words as they lie; That *Terah*, at 70. years begot *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the Son of the Promise, ought in this respect to be counted the eldest Son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter, was to set down the Genealogie of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest Son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. *Moses* having no where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100. years.

§. III.

The Answer to the Objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; and it, after his fathers death.

TO answer all which Objections, it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the state of the Question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abraham's* journey into *Canaan* be first considered off; before I descend unto the particular examination of these Arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground, for this Opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*: the later after his fathers death, the former presently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, where it is written,

Gen. 11. 8. *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to go out into a place which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the Supposition it self.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charan*, or *Haran*, after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of *Saint Stephen*: *And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell*, that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perverting, that *Abraham* made two journeys into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability or reason to induce it? For, if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* pass into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But, that he performed the Commandment of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* & *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead (*faith Martyr Stephen*) God brought him into this Land. And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembered the other: and whence had *Stephen*, *faith Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* coming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For, if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jews*, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of *Christ*. Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us think, that *Abraham* passed and re-passed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promises: In which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to flee into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no Son to inherit the Promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he com-

manded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the ways themselves, which *Abraham* had to pass over; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great River of *Euphrates*, to travel through the dangerous & barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermom*, or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walks for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For, if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proof (that he had not *animus revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him, *Then Abraham took Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers Son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now, if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more like, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and press with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer stranger, both in Religion and Nation.

What the cause might be of *Abrahams* return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his fathers death: so they, perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say, that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his fathers death, or some time after, being then, by their account, 125. years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within

Gen. 11. 7.

four or five years after that time, his greatest, or (as may seem) his only care? Did not he bind with a very solemn oath, his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a Wife for *Isaac* his Son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely, if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only Son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age, most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten children; rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any, in that Countrey. But, let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that something happened, which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to lay open the whole Story of his Masters prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had born to him a Son in her old age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain Author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would, perhaps, be a question hardly answerable; considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even though a Wife of his own kinsred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his own lineage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a servant, suffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himself from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written Examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's Wife*, contains much matter. Let us consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the Posterity of the

Gen. 14. 31, 32, 33.

Gen. 24. 6. or 8.

Gen. 28.

Hebrews. When *Heczechias* was visited with an honourable Embassage from *Babel*, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the Waters of *Babylon* they sat down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Sesac* and *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours, was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt*, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But, because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur*, or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran*, or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither again, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to *Mamre*, neer *Hebron*: and thence, having pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea* under *Abimelec*: and after, neer unto it at *Ber-sabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his Son *Isaac* on the mountain *Moriab*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran*, or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one Story, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levitic* his *Cabala* hath feined, it should in reason be therewithall be believed, that he would in those his first

Pfal. 137.
1 King. 14.
2. and
2 King. 23.
v. 29.

Deut. 17.
v. 16.

first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding: nor had he come a second time with his Wife, kinsmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But *Abraham*, when he came from *Charran*, passed through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the plain of *Morab*; where, finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence again, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journeying towards the South*: and always unsettled. By reason of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebraei*.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came into *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this Land*, shewing it him, as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, *Abraham*, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the Word of the living God: neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second Promise from God, that he would give those Countreys unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, what should move any man to think, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham's*, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated between *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles; and when he left *Mamre*, and sat down at *Gerar*, being less than six miles; No, *Moses* past over all the times of the first Age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the Story of *Abraham*: shutting up all between the Creation and the Flood in six Chapters; which Age lasted 1656. years: but he bestoweth on the Story of *Abraham*, fourteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham's* travels, or other actions: or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have minished some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham's* Story.

§. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections proposed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year.

NOW, touching the Objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth year, seeing *Abraham* himself thought it a wonder to have a Son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect only to *Sarah's* Wife, when he spake of their many years. For, when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent door at *Mamre*; *Loe, Sarah thy Wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next Verse, *Now, Abraham and Sarah were old, and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is said it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second Wife *Keturah*, had many Sons after *Sarah's* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockthan*, *Medan*, *Isbak*, and *Snuab*: and the eldest of these was born 37. years after *Isaac*: and the youngest 40. years after. What strangeness then, that *Terah*, being 130. years old, should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of *Abraham* at 100. years? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the year 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years old; it is not strange, that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obad*, and *Jesse*, who lived for many years and Ages after *Abraham*, begat Sons at 100. years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age, and seven years after.

§. V.

The Answer to two more of the Objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest Son; and that there was great cause why in the Story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

IT follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether

together in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abraham's* age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this Proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abraham's* his age, unless we make him the eldest Son, is false. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death; then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, That *S. Stephen* hath told us, that *Abraham's* departure followed the death of his father *Terah*; and *Terah* died at 205. so as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*; which know, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now, to come to the Objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nabor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, That *Moses*, for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nabor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nabor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters, or otherwise. For *Nabor* was the father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Isaac*; and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milchah*; and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and Grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milchah* also, the wife of *Nabor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great Grandmother; and the age of *Sarah*, the Daughter of *Haran*, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet, because both *Nabor* and *Abraham* married the Daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-child of *Nabor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the Daughters of *Laban*, the grand-child also of *Terah*; it was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of those mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is, *Jos. 24. 2.* yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their natural Countrey and City of *Ur in Chaldaea*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldaea*; but *Lot*, his Son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*,

the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nabor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his Sons daughters to *Isaac*, & *Jacob*, his own kinsmen: he himself having also married in his own Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God, to mix themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For, when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner, *Come in, thou blessed of Jehovah, &c.* And when this servant of *Abraham's* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said, *This thing is proceeded of Jehovah*: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse, it is written; *Take, go, that she may be thy Masters sons wife, even as Jehovah hath said*. This their often using of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now, although it be the opinion of *Crysolostom*, and some late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaster*, *Mysculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because he retained certain Idols, or household-gods, which *Rachel* stole from him; yet, that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nabor*, and he called *Abrahams* servant, blessed of *Jehovah*, as aforesaid. So as, for my self, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the Faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reasons, proving that Abraham was not the eldest Son of Terah.

TO the main Objection; which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldest Son of *Terah*, and born in the 70. year of *Terah's* life; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nabor, and Haran*: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequent, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest

Origin.
Iom. 11.
in Gen.
Age of
Terah, Dei.
11.6. c. 34.
Cajet. O.
Mercer. in
Gen.

Gen. 14.

31.

Gen. 14.

10.

Gen. 11. 26

eldest in blood and birth; neither doth it appear, that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first Sons in nature and time: for Seth was not the first-born of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor Judah and Joseph of Jacob; nor David the eldest of Jesse; nor Solomon of David; as is formerly remembered.

But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth: shewing, that at the 500. year of his age, he began to beget the first of those three Sons. For, according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio future dignitatis: in qua excellit Abraham: The order of nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity; in which Abraham was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of Noah, so is it here; where it is said, That Terah lived 70. years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was late ere Terah began to beget Sons, himself being begotten by his father Nahor, at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also hapned to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 133. Enosh Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalalel at 70. Mahalalel Jared at 60. Noah was yet 500. years old when he began to beget the first of his three Sons, as aforesaid. And Saint Augustine, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the Opinion, that Abraham was the youngest of Terah's Sons, than otherwise: though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Fieri enim ut potuit posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentia, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that Abraham was begotten later; but was first named, in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born; either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing; for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipsa potius electio divina, que comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timore, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare: Piety, saith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it, Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.*

For the rest, it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. year of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ishmael,

when Abraham had lived 86. years. It was at Gerar (the fourth border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100. years. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he refused Lot, & overthrew Amraphel, and he had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifest, that he parted from Haran after his father Terah was dead. But, if Terah begat Abraham at 70. years old, then must Abraham have been 135. years when he first left his foot in Canaan, seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of Terah; which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembered. For he entred at 75. he refused Lot at 83. he had Ishmael at 86. he had Isaac at 100. proved by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest Son of Terah, and born in the 70. year of his age: then had Terah lived till Isaac had been 35. years old, and Ishmael 49. both which must then have been born in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to S. Stephen, who saith, that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his fathers death: or else believe the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrotor, who in his *Cronologia antioptica*, saith it was about his fathers death; because the Greek word *απο* may be translated by the Latine *sub*, as well as by *post*: which, though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say, that those things were done about Terah's death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore, supposing Abraham to have been born in the 70. year of Terah; we must give those times and places of birth to Abraham's children, which no Authority will warrant; For Abraham had no children in Ur of Chaldaea, nor in Haran, nor in ten years after his arrival into Canaan. For the year of Terah's death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the World, 2083. and the year of Ishmael's birth was the Worlds year, 2094. which maketh ten years difference. And that Isaac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the mountain Moriah therein, 39. miles from Bersabee, where Abraham then inhabited: and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the vally of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be, that any of Abraham's Sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah lived; nor in less than ten years after Terah's death; and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest Son of Terah, nor born in the 70. year of Terah's age.

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Canaan at 75. if Terah had begotten him at 70. then

then had Terah lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also have been the full age of Terah; but Terah lived 205. years, and therefore was not Abraham born in the 70. year of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah, or Iscrah, wanted but ten years of Abraham's age: Isaac being born when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. years old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had been the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at nine years old: for granting that Haran was born but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had lived but nine years, which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And, that Iscrah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word Iscrah of Iscrah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For, to speak of any thing superfluous, it is not used in Gods Book: and if Iscrah had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpose remembered.

Now, if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that Moses had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the Parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Iscrah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of Lot disproveth the elder-ship of Abraham; for Lot was called an old man, when Abraham was but 83. years old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; Abraham marrying one of Haran's Daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham; it may appear to every reasonable man (not obtinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham; who also died first, and before his father left Ur in Chaldaea. Also Lyra reasoneth against this opinion of Abraham's elder-ship, upon the same place of Genesis; drawing arguments from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himself. Lyra his words are these: *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipsa Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimus na-*

tus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendis erat caput stirpis, & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei re promissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If therefore (saith Lyra) Haran was younger than Abraham himself, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat Sarah: And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham was the last born of the three Sons of Thare, nevertheless, he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the stock and generation following, and because the Promise of Christ was first made unto him, as before it is said of Sem.

§. VII.

A Conclusion of this Dispute, noting the Authors; on both sides; with an Admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

I therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was born in the 130. year of Terah's life, and not in the 70. year. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, according to S. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed, when he was 75. years old; these two numbers added, make 205. years, the full age of Terah: seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For my self, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the Worlds story. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtful, and could not determine this controverfie. For, whatsoever is borrowed out of his sixteenth Book de Civitate Dei, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth Question upon Genesis. But S. Augustine herein followed Josephus and Isidor; and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first born: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Jewish Nation) make Abraham a King, entitling Sarah by the name of Queen Sarah; and said, that Abraham was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; trecentos & octodecim prefectos habuit, quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharaoh invading him with a great Army, took from him his Wife Sarah: Such Fables argue

that *Josephus* is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. years from the Flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the *Perſian* Kings under whom they lived, whose History was not so far remote in time, as these Antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confusion treading on the heels of it. They of the *Roman* Religion, are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more antient, *Theodoret*, and some following him; of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Pencer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Dod*, *Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Protestants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130. year of his father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion, and those, nevertheless, good Authors, as *Enchirerius*, *Chitreaus*, *Fundus* and others, are very averse herein, especially *Josephus Scaliger* with his *Setbus Calvisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an arch-hetic in *Chronology*, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Tornellius*, a Priest of the Congregation of *S. Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose *Annals* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; so not alleging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling to owe thanks to Hereticks. For my self, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this later account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* Writers have approved it; but for the truth it self. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved Historians, divine, and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby, to approve the Stories, and fore-past actions of the World; and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judg-

ment to our selves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the Story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the Flood and Birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which make 352. years between the one and the other: the one making *Abraham* to be the first-born of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life; the other a younger Son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. years. And, if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfy our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some Editions, make it above 1072. years between the Flood and *Abraham*'s Birth; than to take away any part of those 352. years given. For, if we advisedly consider the state and continuance of the World, such as it was in *Abraham*'s time, yea, before *Abraham* was born, we shall find, that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole Story might, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of *S. Augustine*, That whereforever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is, by ignorance of interpretation, misunderstood. For, in *Abraham*'s time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities; and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*; and those not built with sticks, but of hewn stone, and defended with walls and rampires; which magnificence needed a Parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters, in the Story of the World and Man-kind.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the Story of Abraham.

IN this sort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were consumed; and taking the *Assyrian* History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Flood to the 43. year of *Ninus*; in which 43. year of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born; which hapned in the year of the World, 2009.

Now, of this time of 352. years, we must give one part as well to the increafe of those people which came into *Shinar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*; of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet, because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* Regu at 30. *Regu* Serug at 32. Now, after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havilah*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*; and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth, *Gen. 10*, which *S. Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered, that 65. years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himself was born; and that *Raama* had that age before any of his Sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raama* was, begat *Ren* in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*; for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinar*, whereof there are fix years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East; because they were pestered with women, children and cattel: and, as some ancient Writers have conceived, and *Becamus* of later times, they kept always the mountain sides, for fear of a second flood. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number, *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which, *S. Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from

the Flood to *Abraham*'s birth; which number of 114. necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected, that this time given to *Nimrod* is over-long; sure, if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas *Sale*, who was the Son of *Arphaxad*, the Son of *Sem*, lived 403. years: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the Son of *Chus*, the Son of *Cham*.

Now, after *Abraham* was born, *Ninus* reigned 9. years, which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successour.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. years, and died in the 52. year complete of *Abraham*'s life.

Ninias, or *Lameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years; in the second year of whose reign, *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he rescued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel*, King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. years; and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. year of his age; so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias*, the Son of *Ninus*; and *Semiramis*, whose 23. years, as aforesaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set down, according to the times noted by *Moses* in the Story of *Abraham*, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole History of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all antient Historians for Fableers.

§. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the four Kings whom *Abraham* overthroweth, *Gen. 14*. may probably be thought to have been *Ninias* the Son of *Ninus*.

And now, touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, in the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, that is,

in the 33. year of the reign of *Ninias Zameis* the King of the *Affrians*, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt, the answer which first offereth it self as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*; who invaded *Tracanis*, or *Babylon*, and overthrew those five Kings of *Pentapolis*, or the Valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinar*, which is *Babylonia*; and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abraham*'s life, wherein he rescu'd *Lot*, *Jehorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch*, for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the Valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*; as it is written, *Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the Kings that were with him; and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of Elam which is Persia*: Now, *Persia* being seated over *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphel*'s Country; and the other two Kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it self, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large Dominion. For, had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis*, whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three or four Kings for this Expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings (as it is manifest that he was: For these little Kings of *Sodome*, *Gomora*, &c. were his vassals, and not *Amraphel*) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Affria* had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this War: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between *India* and the *Phenician Sea*; to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of *Arioch*, another of the four Kings, and that *Ellas*, whereof he is said to have been King, lies between *Cælofrya* and *Arabia Petrea*.

NOW, the two other Kings joined with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one King of *Ellas*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellas*, *Aquila*, and *Hieronymus*, write *Pontus*: so *Iohannes* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Peregrinus* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the *Latine* translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* far distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petrea*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these four Kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, that the *Affrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the less. For at such time as the *Affrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the less as Commanders; but used all the art they had, to invite *Craesus* to their assistance, perswading him, that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the *Medes* against the *Affrians*. But examine the enterprise, what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made war with *Bera*, Kingdome of *Sodom*, *Birsha* King of *Gomora*, *Shinab* King of *Admath*, and *Shembar* King of *Zeboim*, and the King of *Bela*, which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*; being such a kind of *Reguli*, as *Joshua* found in the Land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoining; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all slain or handed by *Joshua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus*, or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no less doubtfull than fearful: But the whole Countrey by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of *Manasse*.

Manasse, *Gad*, and *Reuben*; a narrow Valley of ground, lying between *Jordan* and the Mountains of *Seir*; inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of two small Provinces of *Tracanis*, or *Babylon*, and the Region of the *Moabites*; a conquest farr unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Affrian* Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellepont*, or any other part of *Asia* the less. But as the *Vulgar*, and *Aquila*, convert *Ellas* by *Pontus*: So *Symmachus* makes *Arioch*, a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to join with the *Affrians* in this War, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellas* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the Mountains whereof the Ark did rest; so do they in this place retain the word *Ellas*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Peregrinus* himself remembereth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus*, or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the *Latine* Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the City of *Ellas* in the border of *Cælofrya*: and *Saint Hieronymus* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now, although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælofrya*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was King; who formerly joined with *Ninus* in all his Conquests, being of the same Family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*; and afterward again *Arctas*; as in the *Machabees*: the Kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of *S. Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Arctas*, commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes, for the most part, confederate and depending upon the *Affrian* Empire. It is true that we find in *Daniel*; that in the time of *Nebuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his Army, and the principal Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the Son of that *Arioch*, Confederate of *Ninus*, was no King of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*, Regions far removed from the *Affrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of

Arioch, who commanded under *Nebuchodonosor*, is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*; who are a Nation of *Persians*, bordering *Affria*, according to *Stephanus*, though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian* Kings, or other of that House (known by the name of *Arctas*, *Arioch*, *Arctas*, or *Arctas*) had the Government of that *Persian* Province, called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had, by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*): yet the same was in *Nebuchodonosor*'s time: But this *Arioch* here spoken of, may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the Son of *Arius*, the Confederate of *Ninus*, whose Sons held league, as their fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West, unto *Babylonia*; and *Chaldea*; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House and Blood; which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Diod. Siculus
lib. 2. c. 11.

§. XI.

Of *Tidal*, another of the four Kings.

THE fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown, was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt People; *Calvin* of Runnagates without habitation. *Peregrinus* out of *Strabo*, lib. 1. fol. 533. finds that *Galilee* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt People: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*. Nam tales sunt qui Galileam habitant; Such are the Inhabitants of *Galilee*, saith *Strabo*; and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And so it may be; but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this Question. For *Galilee* was not Peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For, when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicea*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cafsois*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also join themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East: And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

§. XII.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four kings, was not of Assyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.

Lastly, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provincial Governour of Babylonia, and that the other Kings named, were such also, I cannot agree with *Perrin* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinar*, to call the Assyrian a King of *Elam*: those Kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldaea*, *Shinar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*; but never by *Elam*: and Chedorlaomer, or Kedarlaomer was so called of *Kidar*, from *Cidarim*, which in the Hebrew signifieth *Regale*: for so *Christus* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings wear on their heads.

Neither do I believe, that the Assyrian, or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it self had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. *Tambrlain* conquered *Asia* and *India*, with a storm-like, and terrible success: but to prevalent fury, God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her self worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his Victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruel. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her *Paramour*; enlarged the Babylonian Empire, and beautified many places therein, with buildings un-exampled. But her Son, having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore

the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a success. For, *in regno Babylonicobis parum respiciendum*; this king joined little (saith *Nanclerius* of *Ninias*) in the Babylonian Kingdom. And likewise it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the Assyrian with a right; nor any other title being for him pretended, than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerless mauling, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign 42. years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the Story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinar* was rather an inferior to the King of *Persia*, than either his superior, or equal; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon *Abraham*, from *Ur in Chaldaea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was the 23. year of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis* consumed of four millions, with her self, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her armies and engines of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls and weakest hearted of the World, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and antientest Historians, that *Arius* the Son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians*, and *Cassians*, and again subjected them: which

which needed not, if they had not been revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baluc*, or *Balanus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*; and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor* & *triumphator*. A conqueror and triumpher; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subjection. Now, if we shall make any doubt thereof, that is, of the conquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well think the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but feined; but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the Assyrian Empire was torn asunder, according to that which had been gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembered.

§. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came; which if so, we need not say, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

The consent of all Writers, whose works I have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and their fellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are, or seem intitled; doth almost enforce us to think, that the history must so be understood, as I have delivered. But, if in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for People of those Lands, or if (as *Hierom* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was King of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of People, either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry Regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby some difficulties; which men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For, as it had been a strange conjecture, to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian* against the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pomus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was known, and almost impossible, that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation, it is a thing of great improbability, that *Chedor-*

laomer, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should pass through so great a part of the World, as the countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldaea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*; to subdue those five Towns, whose very names how they should come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great Nations of different Languages, a wife man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia*, together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea, the Kingdom of *Elafar* and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependences; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrath*? and when he should have fought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great City *Damafco*, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it self. For first, what madness had it been in that small Province, to rebel against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them; was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible Army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations between *Eufrates*, yea, between themselves and the *River Indus*? Likewise, on the part of *Chedorlaomer*, we should find no great wisdom, if he, knowing the weakness of this People, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any Lievtenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Country, was not sufficient to countervail one Month's charges of so huge an Army. How final then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities standing; taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Country, although he had broken their Army in the field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearful matter:

matter; but compose the two Armies as equally matcht, laying they were four Kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these Kings; of which great slaughter no History makes mention: Neither will the reign of *Nimias*, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these four Kings were not the same that they are commonly thought; nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these Kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title; Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a Colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troop of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might conjoin together, and make the weakest of the Country which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many Kings as several Armies; or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*; may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted; nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel*, and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the florid quality of *Nimias* then reigning in *Affria*; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilst others, more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the content of the whole stream of Writers upon this place, make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture,

Amraphel was *Nimias*; and that the power of his Ancestors being by his loth decayed, he might well be inferior to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that *Amraphel* was an under-king, or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Nimias*; who may be supposed to have had his Imperial seat in his fathers City, *Ninive*; and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But, if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre; then can I think that the opinion, that those four Kings were Leaders of Colonies, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant, both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian King*, than King of *Persia*: And that *Arioch* (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy mans Son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these Captains or petty Kings. These, and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it, especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people forever these four were Kings, this Expedition is the only publick action that we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to this Story, and of his Sons, and of his Nephews, *Ejan* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand upon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath been else where already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in the Story of *Abraham* and his Posterity, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears, that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing Kingdom; it will not be amiss in the next place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities and first Kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from the first Peopling of it after the Flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A Brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

Soon after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham*, with many of his issue and followers (having doubtless known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Flood) came thither and took possession of the Country; in which they built many Cities; and began the Kingdom one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this Kingdom, till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the Table following.

An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
1847.	191.	<i>Cham.</i>
2008.	352.	<i>Osiris.</i>
2269.	613.	<i>Typhon</i>
		<i>Hercules.</i> }
2276.	620.	<i>Orus.</i>
2391.	735.	<i>Sesostris</i> the great.
2424.	768.	<i>Sesostris</i> the blind.
2438.	782.	<i>Bufris</i> , or <i>Osiris</i> the second.
2476.	820.	<i>Acenibere</i> , or <i>Thermutis</i> , or <i>Meris.</i>
2488.	832.	<i>Rathoris</i> , or <i>Athoris.</i>
2497.	841.	<i>Cheneres</i> drowned in the Red Sea.

The Table, and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity, manifest and restless truth cannot be found. For *Saint Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all Antiquities, and had read the Books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Syrianians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests; who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leavings, and recounted unto strangers

the names of many Kings, that never reigned. [What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent Works, and royal Buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found but in States that have greatly flourished, witness that their Princes were of marvelous greatness, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own names such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and as it were, enforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cause of more than *Egyptian* darkness in all antient Histories, is the Edition of many Authors, by *John Annins*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that *Annins* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie*, or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different ways. The *Christian* Writers, such as are antient, for the most part, follow *Eusebius*: Many late Writers follow the Edition of *Annins* his Authors; The profane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the *Egyptian Dynasties*, and otherwise, it appears that *Cham's* reign in *Egypt* began in the year after the Flood, 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about whom is most controverted, the best mean is by

by help of the *Dynasties*; of whose continuance, there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, it not altogether, with the Histories of the *Agyptians, Trojans, Italians, &c.* and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dynastie*, is joined by general consent, with 43. year of *Ninus*; in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve which were call'd the greater gods: so that all the years of their continuance were 84. The 13. *Dynastie* endured 14. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. These three last, are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted 161. years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dynasties*, was such as hath been mentioned, because *Annus* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this one reason, that *Annus* hath it so; considering, that both hitherto, it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the year of *Abraham's* birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161. years, which, according to our account, were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. years, which were between the Flood and *Abraham's* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Cham's* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into *Shinar*, arrived at *Babel*, Anno à Diluvio 131. In building the Tower were consumed 40. years, as *Glycas* recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and Substance through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forests, and Briers (which the Deluge, and want of culture, in one hundred seventy one years had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow twenty years; and these summs being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Flood, before they arrive at *Babel*, forty years for their stay there, and twenty for *Cham's* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the sum of 191. years; at which time we find that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*.

And to this sum of 191. years, if we add the 161. years of the 15. first *Dynastie*, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the year of *Abraham's* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above 161. years; Let it suffice, that had they lasted longer, then either must *Egypt* have been peopled as soon as *Babel* after the Flood, or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinks) must have been before the Flood. That the arrival at *Babel*, was many years before the plantation of *Egypt* after the Flood, enough hath been said to prove; and that the *Dynasties* were not before the Flood, the number of the long-lived generations between *Adam* and the Flood, which was less than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witness. Or, if we will think, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynasties*, then may this have been as well after the Flood, as before; considering that the Sons of *Noah* did not in every Countree erect such form of Policy, as had been used in the same ere the Deluge; but such as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the Conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reiterations of decayed Antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Counsellor, onely reserving the Sovereignty to themselves, as the old Kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the *Turks* doth to the chief *Vizier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Osiris*, or *Mizraim*; and must therefore have been successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsellors, and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such Princes

Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistin*, in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol*, Captain of his Host; though in taking *Abraham's* Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech*, the Son of *Gideon*, it was said: *Is not he the Son of Jerubbaal?* and *Zebul* is his Officer? Also *Isisoboth*, the Son of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captain of the Host. Yea, *David* himself hating *Joab* for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of *Hadaad* the *Edomite*, living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of the Government upon others; and upon jealousy, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of *Joseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to *Joseph*: *Only in the Kings Throne will I be above thee: behold, I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt.* *William Archbishop* of *Tyre*, who flourished about the year of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms that the like, or very same, form of Government by *Viceroy*s, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, having there been in use (as he believed) ever since the time of *Joseph*. He plainly shews, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Country, however they have been so deemed; but that they acknowledged & humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the *Caliphe*; who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making War and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall read in *William* of *Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Ebdadech*, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Joseph* was, though far inferior in Wildom.

To think that many names of such *Regents*, or Lieutenants, as *Joseph* was, have crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Joseph's* brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countree*; besides it is not unlikely, that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the State

had passed, whilest that the King himself, intending his quiet, had given his Office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of *Joseph's* brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of Priests do appear in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*; each of whom, citing their relations, as good Authority, say; *Diodorus*, and *Scopitris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*; which could not have been, if *Menas* had been *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many Races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry Linages or sorts of men. Now, by whatsoever means a *Dynastie*, or *Regencie* continued; whether in one Family, as being made an hereditary Office; or in one order of men, as held by faction; sure it is, that was the Kings gift and free choice, that gave the Office. But the Crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which (besides consent of Antours) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the Land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crown had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children hereby, either have been intrahled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or enjoying their fathers Land, though not his Estate, have been more mighty than the King: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the King himself their Tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God smote the first-born of Pharaoh*, that was to sit on his Throne. And in *Ejy*, it is said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Son of 24. 19. the antient King.*

§. IV.

Of Cham, and his Son Mizraim, or Ofiris.

That the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chentres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture the Land of *Ham*. That this name is not given to it, because the Posterity of *Cham* did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no where found, that the Countries of *Chus*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Ofiris* calleth himself the eldest Son of *Cham*, saying, *Mithi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior: alio, Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso orum*; which must needs be understood of *Cham*; for this *Saturnus* *Egyptius* was *Cham*:
A a 2

Will. Tyr.
de bell. sac.
ra. l. 19.
c. 15. 18.
19. & 20.

Lil. 19.
c. 22.

Gen. 41.
30. & 33.

p. 78. 52.
105. 23.
106. 22.

Diod. Sic.
l. 1.

as it is said, that on the Monument of *Ninus* was an Inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturus Aegyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not far from *Egypt*, doth testify, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And *S. Hieron*, in quodammodo *Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians*: themselves did in his days, call their Country *Ham*; as in four several places in the *Palm*: this Country is called the Land of *Cham*. And *Orelus*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Ofride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians*: this Country of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Cham*, ut puto (saith he) a *Chamo* Noes filio, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Egyptum usque bodie Aegyptium lingua Kam vocari*; that *Egypt* unto this day in the tongue of the *Egyptians* is called *Kam*. For the beginning and continuance of *Cham's* reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange, that the reign of *Cham* should last so long as 161. years; considering that *Sem* lived 600. *Arphachad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had been, if one *salis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. years, and with *Baon*, *Apachna*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Ofiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesoftris*. *Reimeccius* in *Histor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Ofiris*, according to *Diodorus*; who, saith he, was the Son of *Hammon*: *Krentzabemius* saith, that *Mizraim* and *Ofiris*, are words of near affinity and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the Son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reimeccius*, citing good authority in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their own language, *Mezre*. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether *Ofiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim*, or *Ofiris*, reigned. For whereas the year of his death is no where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebes* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*, who avoucheth as much; next, by *Diodorus*, who saith, that he inhabited *Thebes*; which habitation of *Ofiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well believe; assenting so far to *Reimeccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named only, according to the several feats of the Kings.

§. V.

of the time when *Ofiris* reign ended; and that *Jacob* came into *Egypt* in the time of *Orus* the Son of *Ofiris*.

The death of *Ofiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lebabim* the Son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his fathers death on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41. year of *Baleus* King of *Affrica*; before which year he had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Tyris*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, & *Spain*; and having ended his Egyptian Wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Berosus*, or Authours following *Berosus*. That *Orus*, last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdom of *Isir*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith; and *Plutarch* as much, to which all Historians agree. *Krentzabemius* hereupon infers, that six years may be allowed to the Wars, which *Hercules* made in so many countries, after the Egyptian Wars were ended: so should the death of *Ofiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himself had reigned 297. years. I think that *Krentzabemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For surely, in those days, when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Ofiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israël* have come into *Egypt* but 7. years before the death of *Ofiris*; and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*: A thing not easily believed. For it was the same King who advanced *Joseph*, bad him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his fathers Funeral; as may easily be gathered out of the Book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Ofiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the 7. year of *Israël's* coming into *Egypt*, we must needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzabemius* conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, seven which he should have lived after *Jacob's* coming into *Egypt*; nine, in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming; and other seven, in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Ofiris*, yet before *Joseph's* advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his Wars. For the War which

Diod. Sic.
l. 2. c. 1.
Plut. l. 1.
Ofir.
Ofir.

Hercules made in *Italy*, is said to have indured ten years: After which proportion, we may well give not only fix years, as *Krentzabemius* doth, but 23. more to so many Wars, in so many, and so far distant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which passed between the time of *Joseph's* being sold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, considering that *Potiphar*, who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the while in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Authour, I should confidently say, that *Potiphar*, for his faithfulness to *Orus* the Son of *Ofiris*, was by him, in the beginning of his reign, made his chief Steward; at which time, buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Joseph's* hands, than unto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either falf-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of *Typhon*). I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and say, That when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his servants; then *Potiphar*, Priest of *On*, being chief Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joseph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his Daughter to Wife; and being old, resigned his Office of chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Priests, when he bought the Lands of all other Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale not unlike the Friarly book of *Aenath*, *Potiphar's* Daughter; but, unto such as consider that God works usually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died; it would seem a matter more probable, had it an Authour of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the Wars of *Hercules*, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent 42. years after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian Wars considered, and his former enterprises and achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or, if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the indubitable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant, that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authours, not well

agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of *Typhon*, *Hercules*, *Aegyptus*, *Orus*, and the two *Sesotres*, successively reigning after *Mizraim*; and of divers Errors about the former *Sesotres*.

Concerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrotor* giveth three years to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alleging no witnesses, but as it were, saying, *Telle me ipso*; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, for as much as the learned *Krentzabemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other Wars in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzabemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*; yet, seeing *Acontinus*, a follower of *Berosus*, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, 7. years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzabemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven years after the death of *Ofiris*; forgetting to set down his reasons, which in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth 90. years of the 18. *Dynastie* to *Ofiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*; it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted 115. years. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Israël* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. years by our account; who (according to *Berosus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130. year of *Terab*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* 352

From that *Evocation* of *Abraham* 75
time to the departure out of *Egypt* 430

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which summe divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there do remain (as is aforesaid) onely 122. years from the death of *Orus*; we are now to consider, how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesoftris*, or *Sesenchosis*, who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholias* *Apollonius*; not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour,

querour, is by many Histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*; to have built a fleet of Ships on the Red Sea: and so to have entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justine*, erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*; For *Justine* placeth *Vexoris* in Ages before *Ninus*; whereby it would follow that *Sejoftris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient then was *Ofiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the father-in-law of *Solomon*, *Pharaoh* *Vaphres*, took *Gera*, and gave it to his Daughter (as we may read more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time, *Sejac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* fought passage through the Land of *Israel*, when he made his Expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres*, and *Necho*, it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sejoftris*. Of *Sejac*, it is doubted by some, for as much as he came into *Judea* with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth *Sejoftris* next to *Orus*, following the *Scolias* of *Apolonius*. But further answer may be made, to shew that they were not one. For, as *Justine* witnesseth, *Sejoftris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made War on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sejac* came up purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sejoftris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. Horse, *Sejac* had 60000. *Sejoftris* had 8020. Chariots, *Sejac* 1200. *Sejoftris* made his Expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sejac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even against *Solomon*: therefore *Sejoftris* must needs have reigned whilst *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzheimius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*; because those Historians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Ofiris* did succeed those fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three lesser; himself also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Menas*, and *Menis*, were titles of Dignity; though mistaken by some, as proper names. *Krentzheimius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*, the Hebrew

word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*; which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Ofiris*, who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great undertakings, *Sejoftris* was no whit inferior to *Ofiris*: For he fought victory not for gain, but honour only; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was being by his own brother purposely fired; which nevertheless, he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all 30. years after which time, he chose rather to die than to live; because he fell blind. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Sejoftris* left a Son, whose name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*; who afterwards took the name of *Sejoftris*, but was nothing like to his father in glory; for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness, *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River *Nilus* with a Javelin; which tale *Diodorus* having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expressed; yet, for as much as *Orus* the second (otherwise *Busiris*) who succeeded him, began 14. years after that this *Sejoftris* had been King, it must needs be that this reigned 14. years at least. That *Busiris* began not until these 14. years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon, to have been 75. years. That none came between *Sejoftris* the second, and *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, it stands only upon probabilities, which are these: After *Sejoftris* had reigned some while, he fell blind; after certain years, he recovered his sight, as is said, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. years: so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that

which

which his father had begun, about the channels and sluices of *Nilus*; whom, I think, he rather frightened (as his father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples love; whom his father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of *Busiris*, the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor, *Queen Thermutis* that took up Moles out of the Water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the Son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sejoftris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterward with the people, by incensing them against their new King, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at others; unless he have either an equal spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of public works from the Egyptians to the Israelites; he surely did that to his own people which was very plausible; who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now, that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the King that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the Hebrew children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten Months; it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers; who also think that hereupon grew the Fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod. i.* that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a King of a new Family. That *Busiris* was of a new Family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinks him an Author of the bloody *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign five years after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. years, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the

blindness of *Sejoftris* the second, how great the power of the Regents or Vice-roys in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the Egyptians for bread; giving at the same time, the best of the Land to his own father and brethren for nothing; seeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread, *Pharaoh* said to all the Egyptians, Go to *Joseph*, what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetched out of prison, a King well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and sovereign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done) resign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of *Sejoftris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King resigned it, keeping the Title; or whether *Busiris* were only Regent whilst the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) King himself; it might well be said that *Pharaoh*'s Daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was King in effect, and shortly after, King in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind King *Sejoftris* the second oppressed *Israel*. But, for as much as it may seem that the wicked Tyrant shewed his evil nature, even when he first arose; I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a King, and shortly after the title. Thus of the 122. years which passed between the beginning of *Sejoftris* his reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himself reigned 30. years, according to *Ensebius*; whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moses* out of the Water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was *Thermutis* *Pharis*, or *Amthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Ensebius* calls her *Aecenis*; and out of *Artabanus* his History, *Meris*: *Joseph* calls her both *Aecenis*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in *Panario*, saith, that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Amenoph*, the Son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but *Pharaoh's* Daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Bufiris*, or *Orus* the second, by *Eusebius* and others; but whether he were a King, or only a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians, name the Son of *Sesoftris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*; and his Daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Nece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesoftris*, and the dis-reputation of his Son. If so, and if that *Bufiris*, or *Orus* the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was the both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto *Pharaoh's* and surviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if he were Daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate; or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queen Thermutis*; and what King it was, under whom *Moses* was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

HE had two brethren; the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is only named by *Eusebius*; but his lineage and offspring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris*, after his sisters death, reigned nine years; after whom *Chencher*, thought to be his Son, reigned ten years, and then perished in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencher*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* unto; of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencher* (whom some call *Achercher*, but all, or most do stile *Sihur*, a fighter against God) *Achercher* reigned 8. years; and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Son. In the 11. year of *Cherres*, it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Mamphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely; viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea; else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from *Cherres*, the Grand-child of *Chencher*. For whereas *Armais* is said to have reigned four years after *Cherres*; and *Amefis* one after

Armais: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others, accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called *Armeus*; otherwise *Danaus*; and his Pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Histor. Julia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had
Agenor, Belus, and Bufiris.

T

Egyptus or *Rameffes*, who gave name to the Country, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lyncus*, married to *Hypermnestra*.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the Kingdom after *Cherres*, it is hard to say; considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius*, to have been born in the time of *Chencher*. But for as much as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversely related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Rameffes*, was equally distant from *Bufiris*, or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the Grand-child of *Chencher*. And that the Posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danaus* and *Egyptus*; of whom the former had fifty Daughters, the latter fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women; yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the general consent of Writers is, that *Armeus*, or *Danaus*, did succeed *Cherres*; and (according to *Eusebius*, and good Authors approving him) reigned five years. *Rameffes* followed, who reigned 68. years. This *Rameffes*, or *Egyptus*, is that *Armeffemianum*, or *Armeffemianus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born; and the cruel *Edict* made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of *Mercator's* opinion. For, whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, Go, return to *Egypt*, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same King under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. year of his age; and fled into the wilderness,

nefs, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameffes*, who reigned so long; wherefore, delirious rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common Errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the List of *Egyptian* Kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an Age 112. or 113. years, more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his Successors from *Telemos* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amefis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reign than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he finds *Moses* born under *Armeffemianum*, and *Israel* delivered in the days of his Son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to found like *Phararates*, of which name one was thought to have flourished, either as a King, or a wife Man, about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Phararates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent

Learning and Industry; and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable Works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him by these Reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Chencher* was King, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. All are dead*, &c. may better be understood of *Bufiris*, and all his children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, *S. Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian* the *Apostate*, saith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. years old; which was this *Armeffemianum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameffes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. years; who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the Red Sea; of which our Opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the Kings ensuing to their own times (which a *Chronological Table* shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-pass.



CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

§. I.

Of the time of *Moses* Birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.

TRUE it is, that the History it self is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of *Moses* his Birth, who was the excellent and famous Instrument of this, and other great Works of the *High*ness, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives, in his Annotations upon *S. Augustine*, cites very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanboniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But, if he did mean the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit; for besides, that the same is contrary to all Stories, divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts the parts thereof absolutely; neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edonites*, while she ruled, in *verum natura*.

A second Opinion he remembreth out of

Apion, taken from *Ptolemy*, a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith, that *Moses* was born while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amefis* in *Egypt*.

The third Opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greek History*, the first Book; that *Moses* was born while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Affyrinus*, who, though he cite some Authorities, that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himself of opinion, that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of *Numinus* the Philosopher, who took *Moses* and *Moses* to be one; confirming the same out of *Arctapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Myslaw* by the *Grecians*; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by *Chencher*, or *Thermutis* the Daughter of *Egypt*; the same which *Eusebius* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermuthen*.

Enph. de
prop. E.
vau. l. 3.
c. 3.

Thermotes. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolenus*, in his first Book, *de Bono*, *Moses*, *vir Deo conjungissimus*, is called *Museus*. *Judeorum*. *Eusebius*, in his Chronologie, finds that *Moses* was born while *Amenophis* ruled Egypt. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharaoh*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis*, or *Thmose*; the same, perchance, which *Apion* the Grammarian will have to be *Anofis*, and else-where *Amenophis*, the father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Hyppomachus*, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, gave the name of *Pocchoris*. To me it seems most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus*, or *Splerus*, governed *Affria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*, and *Crisius* the *Argives*; that then (*Seiosiris* the second ruling in Egypt) *Moses* was born. For, if we believe *Saint Augusine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of Egypt. *Eduxi* *Moses* ex *Aegypti* populum Dei novissimo tempore *Cecrops* *Atheniensium* Regis; *Moses* (saith he) led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of *Cecrops* time, King of the Athenians. In this fort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of Egypt best proved, *Saint Augusine* affirms (as before remembred) that *Moses* was born, *Saphrus* governing *Affria*; and that he left Egypt about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now, *Saphrus* ruled twenty years; his successour *Mamelus* thirty years; *Sparetus* after him forty years: in whose fourth year *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Alcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire one and forty years. So as *Moses* being born while *Saphrus* ruled *Affria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*, and *Crisius* *Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith *Saint Augusine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed Egypt) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Affrian* *Saphrus*; for take one year remaining of twenty (for so long *saphrus* reigned) to which add the thirty years of *Mamelus*, and the forty years of *Sparetus*, these make seventy one, which with there were wasted three years of *Cecrops* his fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of *Alcatades*, who was *Sparetus* successour, those nine years added to seventy one, make eighty, at which age *Moses* left Egypt; and add these nine years to the three years of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remain but four years of *Cecrops* his fifty, and so it falleth right with *S. Augusine*'s words, affirming, that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of Egypt.

Now, the time in which the Hebrews were oppressed in Egypt, seemeth to have been

ginning some eight or nine years, before the birth of *Moses*, and fifty four years, or rather more, after *Joseph*; between whose death, and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed sixty four years, some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in *Exo. Exal. l. d. 1*: *They set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burthens; and they built the Cities, Pithom and Rameses, &c. And by cruelty, they caused the children of Israel to serve, and made them weary of their lives, by force labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid upon them by a mastering power, and strong hand, they endured to the time by the will of dome of God appointed; even from fifty four years, or not much more, after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. to the twentieth year of *Moses*, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codemian*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of Egypt, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal place therein named in this Discourse.*

§. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or else-where in the Scriptures.

His City, which the Hebrews call *Zaan*, was built seven years after *Hebron*. *Ezekiel* calleth it *Taphnes*, and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanaeis*; *Josephus*, *Protaitis*; after the name of an Egyptian Queen; *Antoninus* gives it the name of *Thans*; *Heggesius*, *Thannus*; and *William Tyrris*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the Land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was flogged to death, for preaching against the Egyptian and Jewish Idolatry.

Zaan, or *Taphnes*, was, in *Moses* time, the Metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artepanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharaotes* King of Egypt. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolenus*, hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the Egyptian Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint* and the Vulgar Edition,

Enph. de
prop. E.
vau. l. 3.
c. 4.
c. 11. 15.
16. 17.

Edition, for *Zaan*, write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our English call it *On*; and *Ptolemy*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower Egypt, toward the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus*, falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be, that *Heliopolis*, to the South of the River *Trojan*, was the same which *Vatablus* and our English call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the same which *Pomp. Mela* and *Plinie* call *Solk oppidum*; *Tyrris* in the Holy Warr, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Babalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose Daughter *Joseph* married. In the Territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the High Priest of the Jews, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferior to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolemy Philopater*, then governing in Egypt) which stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333. years after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Josephus* fully reporteth herein, to have fulfilled a Prophecie of *Esay*, Chap. 19. In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terre Egypti; In that day shall the Altar of the Lord be in the midst of the Land of Egypt. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the time of the building tyrannizing over the Jews, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in Egypt. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ *Jesus* remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: near which (saith *Brochard*) the Fountain is still found, called *Jesus Wells*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in Egypt. And here of fee more in *Brochard*, in his Description of Egypt.

There is also in that City of *Noph*, remembred by *Esay* and *Ezekiel*, the same which *Mosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*, which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, fo called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Maszar*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenis Mixaim*.

Pelufium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our English, write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrris* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrris*) que olim dicta est *Pelufium*; *Belbeis* that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The City of *Noe*, the *Septuagint* call *Diof*. *Ench. 30. 15. 16.* Of which name there are two or three in Egypt. *Hierom* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubafus (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the fame which the Hebrews call *Pibestib*.

To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Description of the Land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes*, or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis*, or *Bethemes*, *Balsaphon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Deserts of Arabia the Story. For all Story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these Pictures and Descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who, in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words: Si enim absque locorum observatione res geste narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione Historia legatur, adeo consula atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex eis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; If narration (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done; or if Historiæ be read without Topographical knowledge; all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the *Israelites* young children in Egypt; and of *Moses* his preservation and Education.

But to return to the Story itself. It appeareth, that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreed not in numbers: In so much as *Pharaoh*, considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as soon as they

they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *Quæ præcrant* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudini obsecrantes, who had command given them over all Mid-wives*; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his *Edict*. For, to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange Parliament. Now, whether these two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversely disputed. *S. Augustine* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus 1. The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Josephus*, *Abulenst*, and *Plerius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the World might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these Women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his Dominions.

Now, besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed, or sent away, at his pleasure; *Josephus* giveth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a child, who growing to man's estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which (and presuming that he could resist the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spiritual Kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verse of the fifth of *Exodus*: Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to pass, that if there be War, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told us from the beginning, how God derideth the wif-

dom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened, understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nile*, being therein turned off, in an Ark of Reeds, a sucking and powerless Infant. And this Princeess having beheld the child his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the Son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child *Moses*, as it were, *extrañus*, or *erectus*, taken out, to wit, out of the Water; or after *Josephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing Water, and *Hijer*, as much as to say, as that which is drawn out of Water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised before he was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge, of *Pharaohs* Daughter, and by men of the most understanding, taught and instructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præstitit ei sapientibus Egyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith *Basil*; unto whom she gave Princely education, appointing over him wife Masters of the *Egyptians* for his instructors. Thereby (say *Josephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. Which Wisdom or Sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Six. Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses*, and the reign of *Josiah*.

§. IV.

Of *Moses* his flying out of *Egypt*; and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his war in *Æthiopia*; and of his marriage there: *Philo* his judgment of his Pastoral life; and that of *Pererius* of the Books of *Genesis* and *Job*.

When *Moses* was grown to man's estate, *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Ariapantus*, tell us of ten years War that he made against the *Æthiopians*; of the besieging of *Seba*, afterward, by *Cambyses*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered the City by the favour

of *Tharbis*, a Daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to Wife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, how after the end of that War, *Tharbis* resuming his return into *Egypt*, *Moses*, most skillful in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness: These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself; which Ring of forgetfulness, after he had a while worn, he began to neglect the love the bare her Husband: and so *Moses*, without danger, returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the fortieth year of *Moses* age, when he beheld an *Egyptian* offering violence to one of the the oppressed *Hebrews*, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence, he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petrea*, the next bordering Country to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times, were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the Daughter of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country nearest *Egypt*, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judaea*, through which he was to lead the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great *Pharaohs* Daughter, but as a meek and humble Shepherd, sitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of those poor Beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia* near *Madian*, he continued 40. years; and though (as *Philo* in the Story of *Moses* life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all

others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desert, he enjoyed himself; and being separate from the preals of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Plato*) *ars Pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quæ admodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia, & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbenilius materiam exercitii, tam bellicam pacis tempore. At verò præfectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis: ideoque Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumelie, sed honoris gratia. The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the most gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to train themselves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over subjects; therefore Kings are styled Shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in the time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses*, while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrews*; and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in assurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plenty, promised.

Of his calling back into *Egypt* by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade *Pharaoh*, that he was the messenger of the most High, that the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught of God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he

Joseph. ant.
l. 2. c. 6.
Abul. in
Perer. in
Exod.

Joseph. ant.
l. 2. c. 6.

Exod. c. 10

Exod. c. 3:
c. 13, 14
& 15.

he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being Nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his Answer, a name to be considered of by the wife; and in his second, to be understood by all. For, there is nothing that is, or hath being of it self, but the Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same, in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Una est Dei, & sola natura que vere est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed sum est. Cetera que creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & postea rursus non esse, quod non fuit: It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine Nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: Totarum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax: The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull: in comparison of whom (saith Esay) all Nations are nothing, less than nothing, and meer vanity.*

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the Egyptians were stricken, the first was by changing the Rivers into blood; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the Hebrews. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applied: And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.

The rest of the Plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wafps; by the death of their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darkness; after which, Pharaoh forbade Moses his presence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer than the pain and peril lasted; till such time as his own first-born, and the first-born of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life (a time wherein we remember God per-

force) stood upon no condition; whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reserving their bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels of his own people: of which (the fear being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For, when every one of the Hebrews had (according to direction from Moses received) slain a Lamb, without spot or blemish, for the Passover (a Sacrament of the most clean and unspotted Saviour) and with the blood thereof coloured the post and lintern of the doors; the Angel of God in the night smote every first-born of Egypt, from the Son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the Israelites excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, Pharaoh being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The Egyptians (saith Epiphanius) did, in after-times, imitate this colouring with blood, which the Israelites used after the Passover; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only mark their Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning, and other harms.

§. V.

Of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites; and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so far as Succoth.

Now, when the people were removed, and on their way (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the flame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despite of himself. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the Philistines. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and (in all probability) of his Allies, he suspected that Moses meant to find some other out-let, to wit, through the Desert of Etham; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, he thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape him that

that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the Chariots of Egypt, and six hundred of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of Gosen, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Britains used against the Romans, while they made the War for the conquest of this Land. Of this Army of Pharaoh, Josephus affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that Pharaoh intended long before to assail the Hebrews at their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things, either that the Hebrews might join themselves to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforced him, at this time, to give an assent to their departure; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and Josephus partial in this affair; yet, by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Egypt, which could not be done in haste. For Moses made but three days march, ere Pharaoh was at his heels; and yet the last day, he went on 16. miles: which in so hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes; so he lay not still in the ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wife man, and a valiant and skillfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsels, from this day to his death, well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his

presence: after that he had warned Israel of the Passover, he appointed a general Assembly, or Rendez-vous of all the Hebrews at Ramses, in the Territory of Gosen; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey, the dispersed Hebrews; and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dough, and Paste, not staying to make it into Bread; knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of Pharaoh's Horse-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence Moses was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the Israelites went up armed) he marched from Ramses East-ward, towards the Desarts of Etham; and encamped at Succoth; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Month Abib; which Month, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Month of the year. Whence, in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other Month, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now re-called by Moses to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their Politick year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, middle, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred and the Politick year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every Month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that Moses himself in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their Kalender was made publick, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the Hebrew year; with the difference between them and other Nations, in ordering the account of time.

The Territory of Gosen was afterward called Ramses after the name of this City, as supererch in Gen. 47. c. 11. Numb. 33. Exod. 13.

Exod. 13. 16. c. 34. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Solar and Lunar years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Months are thus named.

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|---|---------------|
| The First Moneth, Nisan, or Abib. | 1. March. |
| II. Jar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zim. | 2. April. |
| III. Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban. | 3. May. |
| IV. Tamuz. | 4. June. |
| V. Ab. | 5. July. |
| VI. Ebul. | 6. August. |
| VII. Tifri, or Eshavin, or Eshanim. | 7. September. |
| VIII. Marheshuan, or Mechashuan, or Bul, or with Josephus, Marjomonane. | 8. October. |
| IX. Chisleu, or Casfeu. | 9. November. |
| X. Tebeth, or Thebeth. | 10. December. |
| XI. Sebeth, or Sabath. | 11. January. |
| XII. Adar, and Ve Adar. | 12. February. |

VE Adar, was an intercalary Moneth, added some years unto the other twelve, to make the Solar and Lunar year agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrews; because of the divine Precept. For God appointed special Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the year, and withall on a set day, both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as the Feast of the First-fruits, the new Moons, and the like; which could not have so been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the year.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances (which is the principal commodity of time that is, the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding, sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of days made up a complete year. For though by the continual course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most savage of all people, when a year hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the Monethly conspicuous revoluti-

on of the Moon, by which they divided the year into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29 days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensibly and easily discerned; so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing less time by 11 days, or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sun through the Zodiac, in the space of sixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to consist of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days; neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule.

Here lay much Wisdom, and deep Art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an estimate at random, the Athenians held the year to contain three hundred and sixty days; wherein most of the Greeks concurred with them. That three hundred and sixty days filled up the Grecian year (besides many collateral proofs) it is manifest by that which Pliny directly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erected in the honour of Demetrius Phalerus, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many years in their own places; but must needs be shifted by little and little, from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the Almanack by men, but not forgotten by the superior bodies in their courses, should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall, on the fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombæon (which answereth in a manner to our June) they were careful to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding some two days to the last Moneth of every year; those games being held once in four years. This intercalation sufficed not

to make the matter even; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the Moneth *Ebedromion* (agreeing nearly with our August) (sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunar year, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of June would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth year, one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Posideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one Month of 29 days, another of 30 days, & so successively through the whole year. Thus, with much labour, they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the Planets; but these marks, which they observed, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth years intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11 hours and 18 minutes at the least, or some ways in 34 hours and 10 minutes, or 36, and 41 minutes; which differences, would in few Ages, have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton the Athenian*, who, not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth years intercalation, devised a Cycle of 19 years, wherein the Moon, having 235 times ran out her circuit, met with the Sun in the same place, & on the same day of the year; as in the 19 years before past she had done. This invention of *Meton*, was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of seven Months, in the 19 years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found: Yet that error which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moons anticipating in one Cycle 7 hours, and some minutes, of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new Cycle, containing four of *Metons*, that is to say, 76 years; and afterwards, *Hipparchus*, a noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former Observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar, was that which *Julius Cæsar* made, who, by advice of the best Mathematicians, then to be found,

examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365 days and 6 hours, which hours in four years, make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24 of February. The correction of the Julian year by *Pope Gregory* the 13. Anno Dom. 1582. is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed but as a Note added unto the Work of *Cæsar*; yet a Note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sun, which at the time of the Nicene Council, Anno Dom. 324. entered the *Equinoctial* on the 21. day of March, was in the year 1583. ten days sooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* strook out of the Kalendar ten days, following the 4. of October; so that in stead of the fifth day, was written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feasts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in such time, as at the Nicene Council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the Council of Trent ordained, that from thence forward, in every hundred year, the Leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred; because the Sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365 days; but fiftieth so many minutes, as in 400. years make about three whole days.

But the Cycle of 29 years, which the Hebrews used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the Moon, confounding one Month with another. For with them it fell out, that always the Kalends, or first day of the Moneth, was at the new Moon; and because that day was Festival, they were very careful, as well to observe the first year of the Moon, passing through all the 12. Signs in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave it to *Nisan*, their first Moneth, which is about our March, or April, 30. days; to *Jar*, their second Moneth 29 days; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two Moneths of theirs contain'd somewhat even two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous, or *Epact* days; which made up seven Moneths in 19. years; to fix of which seven were commonly given 30. days, to one of them 29. days, or otherwise, as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several

days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, which fill of the year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. years, were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of the *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the same day of the year, Moneth, and week, yea, commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it, 19. years before.

Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. cap. 1. Divers have diversly set down the form of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every second year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But here in *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. days; and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that every third year,

Genebr. Chron. l. 2.

or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end unto the other 12. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness, until the very last of the 19. years. For (to omit such as erre grossly) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in 36. courses of the Moon, 33. days are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each year; then did the *Hebrews* add a Moneth of 30. days; keeping three days, as it were, in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary Moneth, remained six days, namely three summounting that Month, and the *Epaß* of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. days in hand: all which, with the *Epaß* of the 19. year, make up a Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his own place by the distance of 48. days, that is, half a quarter of a year and more; which inconvenience, by such a reckoning, was una-

voidable. Wherefore I preferre the common opinion, which prevents such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and sixth years, added unto the 22. days, arising out of the *Epaß*s of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly serve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the year ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every Moneth. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

From *Succoth*, in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horse-men and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia*, being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects: the first two, natural; the third, divine. For, *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* took, perswaded himself, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a Million, if not of two Millions of Souls (for it is written, *Exod.* the 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them) could not possibly pass over those Desert and high Mountains with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattel, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest number of them. For these his own words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by God, following another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way,

It is probable that all those Egyptians, and others brought by the Israelites, of the true God, followed him as his departing way,

[illegible]

A Description of the
Land of Gosen, and
Moses passage thro-
ugh the Deserts



way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the All-powerfull God was such, by whose Spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, sixteen miles distant; and fate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoining to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Domini specula, seu custodia*; Lord of the watch-tower. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. *Egyptii diis secundi*; The *Egyptians* were fruitful in gods, saith *S. Hierom*. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now, these two passages, leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm Land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the Sea; in so much as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaoh's* sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behooved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to

Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, which, saith the Book of *Wisdom*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despair in God's former Promises, and to be forgetfull of their own strength and multitudes.

§. VIII.

Of their passage over the *Red Sea*; and of the *Red Sea* itself.

BUT *Moses*, who feared nothing but God himself, persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trusted in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not*, &c. for the *Egyptians* whom ye have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you. After which, *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on, in these words; *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea*. *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the sands uncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*; two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by *Moses* Rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behind them; also the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein, either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmful speed. But in the morning-watch, *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side; and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the Sea's return, halted himself towards his own Coast: But *Moses* stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the Land with irresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For, it is written, that God took off their Chariot wheels,

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Exod. 13. 17.

chap. 17. 11.

Exod. 14. 13.

Exod. 14. 16.

Isaia 24. 7.

Exod. 14. 27.

that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the Egyptians being stricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and mistaking the path by which they had past on after the Hebrews, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out; the Sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyrans, upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the Opinions or old Traditions of the Hebrews, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearful to enter it, *Aminadab*, Prince, or Leader of the Tribe of Judah, first made the adventure; and that therefore was that Tribe, ever after, honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 8. *Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome*, upon *Hosea* 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that Judah had the first place in all their miracles in the Desert, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet, that *Moses* himself was the Conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. Psalm; *Thou didst lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The Hebrews have also another fancy, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Psalm, according to the vulgar: *Divisti Mare Rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrosius*, and *Genebrand*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the Egyptians. It is written, *Psalm* 77. v. 16. *Thy way is in the Sea; not thy ways:* and in the last Book of *Wisdom*, verif. 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now, this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Cherces*, perished, in the 16. year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other Waters. But, as *Philostrophus* in his third Book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entrench at a narrow strait, between *Arabia the Happy*, and *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolemy* calleth *Pogodum*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every

where with Islands, but afterwards it extendeth itself 58. leagues from coast to coast; and it runneth up between *Arabia the Happy*, and *Arabia Petraea* on one side, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Suez*, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea; where the *Turk* now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The *Cosmographers* commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulf; but the North part towards *Suez*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*, sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Suez*. *Pliny* calls it *Cambijus*, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called *Hero*, many years. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North, *Apocopia*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Elentiticum*; King *Juba*, *Leniticum*; others more properly, *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*, which the Septuagint call *Elath*; *Ptolemy*, *Elana*; *Pliny*, *Lena*; *Josephus*, *Ilana*; and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalab* in *Affrica*, to which *Salmanasser* carried the *Israelites* captive, 2 *King* 8. 11. which *Ilalab* in *Affrica*, the Septuagint call *Elana*; and in the first of *Chro.* 5. *Ala*. But, as for the Red Sea, on the parts thereof, thus diversely named, the *Moors*, and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulf of Mecca, after the name of *Mahomet's* Town Mecca. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythraeus*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythraeus*: and because *Erythraei* in the *Greek* signifyeth Red; hence it is, that, being denominated of this *Erythras*, it took the name of the Red Sea, as *Qu. Curtius* conjectureth, which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it seems to me, by the view of a Discove-ry of that Sea, in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East-India for the King of Portugal, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of a redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Islands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For, I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal Commander under *Gama* (which Discourse I gave Mr. *Richard Hachitt* to publish) that there is an Island called *Dalagana*, sometime *Lequer*, containing in length, 25. leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, sands, and cliffs, of which Island, being of a redish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; to make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of Septentrional latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying, as it doth, Northerly & Southerly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beams, give a kind of redish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and

Plin. l. 6.
c. 23.

2 King. 19.
Jof. ch. 1.
8. cap. 2.

Arian. de
glo. lib. 1.
Aug. l. 8.
Strabo. l. 6.

we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea, towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corral grows, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the Islands of this Sea, many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, and those, growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadow of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such; which *Johannes Barros* in his second Decade, eighth Book, and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea, from *Elana*, or *Exion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient *Cosmographers*, *Sinus Elaniticus*, which walleth the banks of *Madian*, or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. leagues together, along Northward toward *Suez*, some 3. leagues, or 9. English miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Suez*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which, the first 26. have 9. miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and strengthen it so fast, as for 6. miles together, it is not above 3. miles over; from thence, upward the Land on *Egypt* side, falleth away, and makes a kind of Bay, or Cove, for some 10. miles together, after which, the Land grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, or there about, in which Tract it was that *Moses* past it over, though others would have it to be over against *Elana*, or *Toro*, but without judgment; for from *Rameses* to *Pihaberoth*, and *Baalzepon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past over in three days; and between the Land of *Egypt*, opposite to *Elana*, or *Toro*, the distance is above 80. miles. For *Rameses*, to which City *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zaan*, and took his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees 5. minutes of Septentrional latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihaberoth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzepon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty English miles, the way lying, in effect, North and South.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

The Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who,

in hatred of the Hebrews, have objected that *Moses* past over the Red Sea at a low ebb, upon a great Spring-tide, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place, with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that believe not therein, perfwadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fastened themselves, it is made manifest, that had there bin no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses* and the children of Israel, than ordinary and casual, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land, as far as the Sea can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, *Moses* entering the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzepon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Suez*, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water 10. or 12. miles farther into the Sea than *Suez*, and between it and where *Moses* past, who entered the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve, or Strait, had been by the ebb of a Spring-tide discovered, when *Pharaoh* found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand; and so taken ground again at the end of the Sea, at *Suez* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, *Pharaoh*, by any return of waters, could not have perished, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have bin a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to return back by a strong East-wind, do rather prove the miracle, than that there-

by was cauled an ebb more than ordinary; for that Sea did not lie East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have been a West and North west wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East-wind blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknown to *Pharaoh*; while he was checkt by that Sea, which used in times before to ebb away, the flood prest him, and over-whelm'd him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent judgment, generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Ethiopian*s in battels, being employed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities, seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness, and distraction: that rather then he would have endured the hardness of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded to take that way, and fore-told him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed, as when it ebb'd, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaoh*'s approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despair'd altogether of their safety; and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by Gods *Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward, and lift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at that time of *Pharaoh*'s approach any ebb at all, but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the Waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the Waters do defended them on both sides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the same path, not that the Waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the Scholers men have fancied. For, had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of *Israel*. Further-

more, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his own Countrey, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any fore-known or natural accident, but by God's powerfull hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when, looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood, which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast a-shore on the coast of *Arabia*, where *Moses* landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* side; where it was that the *Israelites* saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them; Which flood doth not any where cross the Channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from *Egypt* side to *Arabia*, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that Sea; and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. *Apollonius*, in the lives of the Fathers, affirmeth, that those of the *Egyptians* which stayed in the country, did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of *Israel*, did ever after honor those beasts, birds, plants or other creatures, about which they were buied at the time of *Pharaoh*'s destruction; as he that was then labouring in his Garden, made a god of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied, and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given else-where. *Orsius*, in his first Book and tenth Chapter against the *Pagans*, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400. years after *Christ*, the prints of *Pharaoh*'s Chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water, on the *Egyptian* sands; and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.



CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the *Israelites* from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them; with a discourse of Laws.

§. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie; with a continuati-on of the story, untill the Amalekites met with the *Israelites*.

BUt to go on with the Story of *Israel*, in this fort I collect the times. *Moses* was born in the year of the World, 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Affria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycio-nia*, or *Peloponnesus*; *Crisus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Dencalion*, *Thessaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived forty years, in the year of the World, 2474. and two years after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the year, 2514. the last Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the first *Hebrew* Moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-setting, in the year of the World, 2514. was the celebration of the *Passover*; & in the dead of the night of the same day, were all the first born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. day of the first Month of the *Hebrews*, called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the year of the World, 2514. *Moses*, with the children of *Israel* removed from the general Assem-bly at *Ramefes*, and marched to *Succoth*. And departing thence, they made their third station at *Etham*; and journeying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pibacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the Mountain *Baalzephon*; and in the same night, after midnight, they past the *Red Sea*; *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their return about the first dawn of the day. *Moses* having recovered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of *Israel*; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of *Arabia Petrea*, called *Sur*. But finding no water in that passage, he encamped at *Marah*, in the Desert of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea; where the children of *Israel*, prest with extreme thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first, at *Pharaoh*'s approach at *Pibacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses*

taking the branches of a Tree, growing near a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the Tree of the Cross, changed the bitterness of everlasting death, into the sweetness of eternal life. *Pliny* remembers these bitter Fountains in his sixth Book, 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Sesoftris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly, *Ptolemy* the second, began to cut an artificial River, thereby by Boats and small Shipping to Trade and Na-vigate the *Red Sea*, from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelve Fountains of sweet water, and threecore and ten Palm-trees, he rested divers days. Whether this *Elim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moses* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Re-gion was such, as *Elim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his History of the Holy Warr, found at *Elim*, the ruins of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into *Egypt*, *Ingresius* (saith he) *Helim Civitatem antiquissimam, populo Israelitico aliquando fami-liaarem; ad quem cum pervenisset, loci illius incolae, Regis adventum praecognito, naviculas ingredientis, in Mare vicinum se contulerunt*; Entering *Elim*, a very ancient City, well known sometime to the people of *Israel*; whither, when he came, the *Inhabitants*, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boat, and shifted themselves into the Sea lying near them. From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and sat down by the banks of the *Red Sea*; the seventh Mansion. For it seemeth, that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to resist his passage through part of *Arabia*. And *Moses*, who had not as yet trained the *He-brews*, appointed to bear Arms; nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the

Cap. 14. v. 31.

Ab. 7. Josue 14. 2474.

2514.

Exod. 11. 254.

Exod. 11. 254.

Exod. 13.

Numb. 33. Exod. 14. Numb. 33. Exod. 14.

Exod. 15. Numb. 33.

Exod. 15.

Numb. 33.

William Tyre, lib. 1. cap. 16.

the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every way accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion, until the fifteenth of this second Month, called *Zim*, or *Jar*; and made the eighth Mansion in the Desert of *Zin*: where the children of *Israel* mutinied against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the 16. Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send for many flights of Quails, as the Country about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following, it also rained Manna, being the 16. of their Month, which served them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among them, yet it seemeth, that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but reserved them, both for the Milk to relieve the Children withall, and for Breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim*, they made two removes of 20. miles; the one to, *Daphca*, the other to *Alur*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here, being again pressed with want of Water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of Beasts, than to suffer a casual, and sometime necessary want, and to undergo the hazzard and travels which every manly mind seeks after, for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses*, with the same Rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the Rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battel with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming; who, being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

And while *Moses* encamped in this place, the Amalekites, who had knowledge of his approach, and ghesied that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* through their Country (which being barren of it self,

would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of People and Cattel) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*, where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, enfeebled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Joshua*, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Israel* the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day; the *Hebrews* and the *Amalekites* contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* Prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent than all resistance & attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despairing in their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this Victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his Wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbore to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod.* 18. 1. When *Jethro*, the Priest of *Madian*, *Moses* Father-in-law, heard all that God had done for *Moses*, &c. of which, the last deed to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his Son-in-law, *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where, among other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint *Judges*, and other Officers over *Israel*, being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and private controversy.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongst the Madianites, yet he was by Nation a Kenite, as in the fourth of *Judges*, Vers. 11. 17. it is manifest: where it is written, Now *Heber* the Kenite, which was of the children of *Hobab*, to wit, the Son of *Jethro*, the Father-in-law of *Moses*, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tent until the Plain of *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh*. Likewise, in the first of *Sammel*, *Saul* commanded the Kenite to depart from among the Amalekites, lest he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of *Sin* *Kadesh*; and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the Kenites: Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock. And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth

giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the Ishites of *Madian*, one of the six Sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of Kenites from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the Daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro's* Daughter the mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chur*. For, in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, vers. 19. these Kenites, or Chusites, are listed with the Hittites and Perizzites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Jebusites, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembered, *Heber* the Kenite, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the Kenites; that is to say, from those Kenites of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh*, or *Cadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before *Midian*, or any of *Abraham's* other Sons were born; which he did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the Madianites, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the Madianites, near the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his Wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these Madianites, with the Kenites, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Deserts. But the Madianites in *Moab*, and to the North of the Metropolis of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether

those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his Wives kindred inhabited; seeing himself coming with 60000. able men, was encountered by *Amalech* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Deserts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandered forty years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jethor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar*, and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English*, *Reuel*, *Exod.* 2. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jethor*, *Exod.* 3. 1. and 4. 18. & 18. 1. & 6. 9. 10. 12. & in *Numb.* 10. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

The rest of the Moneths of this year 2515. were spent in the Desert of *Sinai*, near the mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Enchirion* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were distinct Mountains: *Hierom*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*; and in *Exodus* 24. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. Psalm, vers. 19. *Horeb*; in *Exodus* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. vers. 24. And again, *Dent.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Dent.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so it is in the first of *Kings* 8. 6. and the second of *Chronicles* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus*, 48. 7. they are named as one. Which *Beard* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the judgment of the vengeance. Somewhat they are disjoined at the top, by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who, in the year 1588, past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of France, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there fallth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Maronites, containing some hundred Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent Wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

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Now, that there was some such Torrent of water near *Sinai*, in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written, *Exod. 32.20.* that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he stayed a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve days: for he removed not till the twentieth day of the second Month of the second year; and he arrived about the five and fortieth day after the egression; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that Book; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof: whereby, if the Reader find the Story any way disjointed, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, level, and square of Laws: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfulllest man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For, as the North Starr is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the Guide and Conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life: the Law of Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous Men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every Estate in the World, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Antient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Laws were honoured as gods, or, as the Sons

of gods: and the rest, that made either additions, or corrections, were commended to all Posterity for men of no less vertue, and no less liberally beneficial to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerors that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one; as the *Israelites*, from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solon*; the *Romans*, sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: other from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law and Right.

The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversely, and in an indifferent fence used. For, if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the Rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or; it is taken for any private Ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their Decrees do also usurp that Title, according to the general acceptance of the word *Law*: of which *Ejy*, *Wo unto them that decree wicked Decrees, and write grievous things*. Like *Ejy* 10. wife, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the People. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Laws, though evil and insufficient: *Malæ lex est, que tumultuariè posita est: It is an evil Law, that is made tumultuously*. So as all Ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws.

The word *Law* is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it self, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the Law of the flesh, which the Divines call *legem sensus*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which sense, as elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart, is called the frame, or *figmentum* of the heart: so in *S. Paul*

to the *Romans* it is called a Law; But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures, are sometime called (a) laws, so far as they agree with the reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a Lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants, and other Trade-men, do often put on the name of Laws. But law, commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a Commonwealth, or Civil Community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; rather compulsions than laws: And whatsoever is not just, *S. Augustine* doth not allow for laws, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, que nec jura dicenda, neque putanda sunt*; The unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be learned nor thought laws. For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia iusta sunt, iustitia, & conservativa felicitatis*; Just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to *Cicero*: Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God, and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus*. *Lex*, or the Law, is so called by the Latines, à *legendo*, or, à *ligando*, of reading, or binding: *Leges quia lætæ & ad populum lætæ*, saith *Varro*; For, after Laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymologie*, à *ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a

Arif. E. hic s. c. s.

Plato in Dial. 1. de leg.

Hier. s. 5.

Id. 2.

yoak, and a band: as *confrugerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*; they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands. And in the second Psalm, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; Let us break their bands asunder, and let us cast away their cords from us.

The Covenant it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it; for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle* to the Hebrews, use the word *diathesis*, a Testament, or last Will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as *Heb. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The Hebrews call the Law *Thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The Greeks call it *Nómos*, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the Law is the power of God; Justice being an attribute proper unto God himself. *Imperium legis, imperium Dei est*; The reign of the Law, is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the *Philosophers*; *Lex est vite regula, præscripta que sunt sequenda, & que fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or, *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queen, or Princess of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called, *Index sui, & curvi*, the demonstration of it self, and of the crooked; so is the Law, the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though Law, as touching the substance & essence, consists in understanding: *Concludit tamen ædum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *jus* is also diversely taken, sometime for the matter of the Law, and for common right: sometime for the Law it self, as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. *Isidore* distinguisheth the two general words, *jus* and *fas*; whereof *jus*, saith he, hath reference to men; *Fas* to God, *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana*. *Isid. Etym.* To go over another man's field, is permitted by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversy, *Virgil* used both these words: as *Fas & jura sunt*, God and men permit.

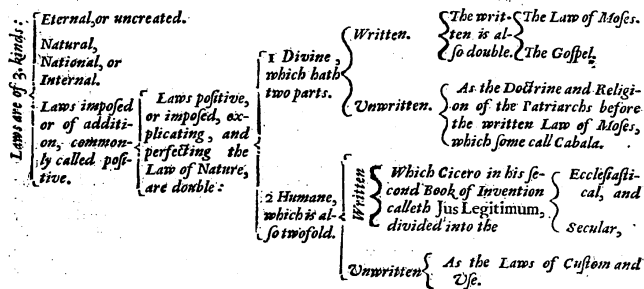
The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old Sufstantive Noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment: or, perhaps, from the Greek *zui*, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the Latine Genitive case *Jovis*; because, as the Scripture speaks, the judgment is God's. For, as it is certain that *jusjurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum* (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the *antient*, in which fence the Scripture calls it *juramentum* *Exod. 22. tum Joveus*) so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis*, quia *Jovis est*; because as God is the Author, and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerent, the Magistrate, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of right. Of this *Jus*, the just are denominated, *Justus à jure*, and *Justitia à justo*; The Right gives name to the Righteous; and Justice takes her name from the Just.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternal.

BUT, because Laws are manifold, and that Every kind hath a proper and peculiar

definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean, those sorts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



P. 1. q. 1. art. 1.

Th. 1. q. 36. art. 1.

The Law Eternal is thus defined by Thomas. *Lex eterna est eternum divine sapientie conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso precognitarum*; The eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himself. Or, *Lex eterna est summa atque eterna ratio divine sapientie: quatenus res omnes ad destinatas fines ita dirigat, ut illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; It is high and eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity, according to their several natures, or conditions. Now, the difference lies in this: That as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called Providence: but, as it imposeth a necessity, according to the nature of all things which it directs, so it is called a Law.

Of this eternal Law, Cicero took knowledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Est ratio perfecta rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a diletis advocans: quod non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recte summi Jovis*; That perfect reason and nature of things, encouraging as impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written; but when it had been Being and beginning it had together with

divine understanding, and therefore a true Law, and a fit Prince to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, for the reason of man finds it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal Law, all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God: from this Law, all laws are derived, as from the rule universal, and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and natural ends, as it doth Man to his supernatural: but the divine Law to a supernatural end only: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal: as it were a stream from the fountain.

The Law Humane or temporal is also thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reason; from which if it differ, it is then impossible iniqua, a wicked imposition; and onely borrowed the name of a law.

To this eternal Law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

Job. 14. 8.

creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and humane. For the Law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the Law alone of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: Heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deep; fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy winds which execute his word: mountains and hills, fruitful trees, and all Cedars; Beasts and all Cattel, &c.* Now, as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal Law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so aliother natural things and creatures have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For Beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct: thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heave to fall downward; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is applied. This kind of working, the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature; others to fate; a difference used in terms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived, there-under subjected, thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws; and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal Law. But, as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetitions, so conduct them: so is the object and matter of the Law, the whole creature. For, according to S. Augustine, *Lex eterna est, qua iustum est, ut omnia sint ordinatissima*; The Law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of Free-will, the sixth Chapter. For the law of Moses, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until

the time of the Paedagogie of God's people, or Introduction to Christ, should be expired; which time of expiration, some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Cross he said, *Consummatus est*. But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the Prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so S. John expounds it, when he saith, *v. 28. That Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the Law of the New Testament and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable Law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed, in it self; but the things prescribed change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the Wisdom of Solomon, and being one, he can do all things, and remaining in her self, reneweth all.

John 12. 30. Jnl. 69. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the Law of Nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the School-men; only as it is considered in Man, it is called *The impression of divine Light*, and a participation of the eternal Law in the reasonable creature. *Lex Naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis eterne in rationali creatura*. Urban defines the natural Law to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures: *Jus naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit: et he afterward addeth, Jus ipsum non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium que terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est*; The Law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well Birds, as to those the Land and Sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things of life.

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instilling, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightning our formal reason; so it is more than sense in Beasts; and more than vegetation in Plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them, at first sight, and without experience

Aug. in Ep. ad Pil. 99. & in Enchir. Joh. nat. vlt. de jus. Nat. & iur. 1. 1.

L. 1. de iur. nat. & iur. 1. 1.

perience or instruction, to flee from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and Horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and fleeth from the other; yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it sense, which hath taught other Beasts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India, to make their Nests on the smallest twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the Tree, or elsewhere, to save their Eggs and young ones from the Monkeys, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear, and which would fear to fall into the Water. The instances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unsearchable Wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reason of Man hath made its self subject, and a Vassal to Passions, and Affections Brutal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which *S. Augustine* calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did antiently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrain'd to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to use one another's Wife, and to the women, to choose them others besides their Husband, to beget them with child: which Law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The *Scythians*, and the People of both *Indies*, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved Wives: as also they have many other customs remembered by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Laws some men avow to be natural: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithless among the faithless: to provide for our selves by another man's destruction: that Injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of *S. Augustine*, or

Aquinas (the one calling it *The impression of divine light*; the other, the *dislate*, or sentence of *practique reason*) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of Justice and uprightness: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind, as the Eye is to the Body; and that which, according to *David*, sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end; which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the Law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increased and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the *Gentiles* (*saith S. Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themselves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason; in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of Conscience hath made her resting place and habitation; *in arce altissima rationis quietus habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (*saith S. Paul*) *which show the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for a witness of those effects: and the reprobate bear their thoughts to accuse them.*

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the World by the advantage of hypocrisy) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some *Garlands* we may gather in this May-game of the World, *sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit; Those flowers wither, while we discourse of their colour, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearful Witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden Precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque*

neque tecum; maxime omnium vereciter sumus; Commit nothing foul or dishonest, saith he, neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men, reverence thine own Conscience. And this may be a Precept of Nature and right Reason; by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as Fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of Man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him; to wit, that which right Reason offereth; and the Acts of right Reason, are the acts of Virtue; and in the breach of the rules of this Reason, is a man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which feedeth seed, &c. and the Beast, which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the Thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs, and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as Man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the Law of their natures and forms; the whole World would then perish, and all return to their first *Chaos*, darkness, and confusion.

By this natural Law, or law of humane Reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickedness and offence, in the murder of *Abel*: for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal Law, before the Law written, *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The *School-men* are large also in this Question of the natural Law; the same being opened amply by *Reimerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this Subject.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *An act of Reason taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reason; they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration

(as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be defined as good, or to be avoided as evil (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, as also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father, after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of Nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as Man is a Being, *Ens* or *Rer*; so he doth desire good, and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* upon the 44. *Palm* approveth: *Recte quidem bonum definitur, quod omnia expetunt: Rightly have some men defined good, or goodness, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kind of appetite, is of those things which appertain unto us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as Sense itself is for the preservation of life and being; so it is meet, even by the law of Nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which sense the *Civilians* define natural Right, or *Jus naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the *School-men* admit not, that the instincts of Beasts can properly be called a law, but only a *Jus*, or Right, which is the matter, and aim of every law. For so they distinguish it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (*saith Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken

Supra scilicet.
de cap. 1.
Inco. ad
Rom. 7. 23

Theol. 1. 9.
de curandis
afflict. Gra.
corum.

Acclio.

Non solum
autem
divinitus
imprimatur
sed etiam
per rationem
naturalem
facile dicitur.

Psal. 4.

Rom. 1. 11.

Rom. 1. 11.

7. 10. q. 96.
art. 1.

Enchiridion.
l. 1. c. 1.

for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus Naturæ*, the other *Jus Gentium*: the Divines understand the law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in Beasts and Men; and restrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to Man; as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of Nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided; and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifest; and chiefly Man; because he is endued with reason: in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of Nature increaseth; *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, adveniente mandato peccatum revoxit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by S. Paul,*

Rom 1. 18. *When the commandment came, sin reviveth.*

Neither is it a small warrant for this law of Nature, when those that break the same, are said by S. Paul, *To be delivered over into a reprobate sense* (or mind) *to do those things which are not convenient: And again, that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of Nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore said *Damasceus*, *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *inadequately evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature: And S. Augustine, Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of Nature so strait, but that they suffer

exceptions in some particulars. For, whereas by this law, all men are born Lords of the Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of Justice and Equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases, this law he suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the Universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who, according to S. Paul, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

1 Tim. 7.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of God.

AFTER the Eternal, and Natural, the law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather an explication of the former, hath two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, the Divine positive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, at such time as the World had stood 2513. whole years: and in the 67. day of this year, when as *Ascalades*, or *Ascalades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Acheres* *Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. years. And this, it seems, was the first written law which the World received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the *Græcians*; no, not in *Homer's* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. years at least; and *Troy* it self was cast down 335. years, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that it might remain a lasting Book of his expressed Will in the Church: and that the Priests and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that to these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous People in *Egypt*, might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us, why this law was not written before, is, that when the People were few, and their lives long, the Elders of Families might easily, without any written law, instruct their own Children; and yet, as they increased, so doubtless they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God

Ang. de Civ. Dei. lib. 1.

before the law written. But now at length, for as much as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders; nor to expound divine Worship, as for those ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law; In these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men; which before, they might, but would not, read in their own consciences. The *School-men*, and the Fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written; whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting Souls: The testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the humane law, saith *S. Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore, by *David*, it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our Souls*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*, *Adiones hominum nulla essent, nisi prius in mente decerneretur; The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without error; and therefore also said *David*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithful, giving wisdom to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of Time, between the Creation and the written Law, the World and People of God were left altogether to the law of Reason and Nature, it doth not appear. For the Patriarchs of the first Age received many Precepts from

God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*; from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particular commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the Jews afterward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*; Precepts received from the mouth of their Priests and Elders; to which the Jews after the law written, added the interpretation of secret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the People. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine Law revealed to the Patriarchs, and from them delivered to the Posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all Beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding, they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adanah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to Beasts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his illness imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain; and *Enosh* signifieth Man, or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the Ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was Marriage first instituted, all men there-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the Law written, and before the Flood it self, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of Mankind by the general Flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* * from the Earth. That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to that perished: God's Mercy and Justice interposing between the untaught and Revenge. This Commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the Waters were dried up from the Earth: *Whoso sheddeth Man's blood, by Man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God hath He made Man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverence

* The common reading is: *is cum rer. re: but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this? Preposition in this place have the same force, which it hath, according to Gen. 1. 1. Item 4. 4. 34. 1. especially, for these words are but a repetition of that which is said, ver. 7. *Delicta hominum de superficie terre.* Gen. 2. 6. Gen. 24. 15. Gen. 35. 16.*

E c i g

ing our Parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the Father's curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren*. Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the *Sodomite* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from Heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the Law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the judgment which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That the should be burnt; and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's Wife*. To these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, of Circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother that left a Widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written Law were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called, *The Old Testament*, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance to have been given in Precept to the Patriarchs. For, as *S. Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the Law*; so ever the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law: the Angels intuitively; Men, by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

§. IX.

Of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture speaketh not away in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

Now, as the word (Law) in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which both prescribe and refrain; so the Law, called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by *S. Paul* diversly: as sometime for the Old Testament; as, *Now we know, that whatsoever the Law saith, it saith to them which are under the Law*.

When it is opposed, or differed from the Prophets and Psalms, it is there taken for the five Books of Moses. For so *S. Luke* hath

distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms*.

When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by Faith, without the works of the Law*.

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the Law, and summum Jus: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under grace*.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for the things signified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, *The Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christ's coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the Jews Common-wealth; as, *Before Faith came, we were kept under the Law, &c.* Or the law of the Order and Institution of the Aaronical Priesthood; as, *All the Prophets & the Law, or the Priests, prophesied unto John*. And if the Priesthood be changed, the Law also, wit, of the Priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the Law of the force of sin and death, the enforcements of conscience, &c.*

But the Written Law of Moses, or the law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatening Death to those which break the Law in the least. For, according to *S. James*, *Whoever shall keep the whole, and fail in one point, is guilty of all*. The definition used by the Scholastic-men, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium, ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, que est ultimum humane vite finis; the divine Law (say they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of man's life*.

The Law of Moses hath three parts: Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particu-

particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of Nature commands it but in general. Again, the Moral law encreaseth of virtue and goodness; the Ceremonial of divine service, and of holiness; (for external worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God, is called Ceremony) and the Judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of *S. Paul*, *The Commandment is just, holy, and good*: just, or justice being referred to the Judicial: holy, or holiness to the Ceremonial; good, or honest to the Moral. The Judicial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong Beasts, and the Fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of Beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix'd Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough, an Ox and an Ass, or cast mingled seed in one field*. It also exhorteth to natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty, even to Beasts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some refer these Precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the Bird sitting on her Nest, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox, and the like*, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respect the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the Moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away; saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God: and to use charity one towards another; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done; which power of directing by special Rules and Precepts of life, it

retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial also lived in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it self is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; although in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of justification, the Ceremonial as touching the use and external observation (because Christ himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies were signs and shadows) and the Judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews Common-wealth and Policy.

§. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in general consideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
4. The convenience of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the Law.
8. The fence and understanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by *S. Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and just, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial.

2. The Majesty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, so he only gave the Law, who could only give

Gal. 3. 19. the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator: And in the Acts, He gave the Law by the Ordinance of Angels.*

Gal. 3. 6. 3. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the People receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and delivered. Thirdly, in that they were the Children of the Promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the Promise they were, for the Promise was made by God unto *Abraham* and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to *Elsam* and *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. Now, to *Abraham* and his seed was the Promise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speaking of many, but, to thy seed, as of one, which is *Christ*.

4. The convenience of the time, in which it was given, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the commandments received by *Moses* in the Worlds year. 2514, continued to the Baptism of *John*; from which time, began the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the convenience are formerly given.

Gal. 4. 5. 5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our Justification; but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the Passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the World: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the Rudiments of the Law, *beggarly and weak*; beggarly, as containing no Grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justify. The blood of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an Heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* blood, which doth cleanse the inward Soul. For if the Law could justify, then *Christ* died in vain.

§. XI.

Of the sixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

The old and new Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way pro-

posed for attaining to salvation; as the old by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, mans happiness and salvation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesses of Gods Will, was called the old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate, the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith, the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old Law, though greatly extolled by the Prophets, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalypse*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

The old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is of the Law of *Moses*, of which the Prophets and *Isaias* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the Apostles, and the Acts or Story of the Apostles, are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelium*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in *Ezay* 52. v. 7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signify that most joyful message of Salvation, as in *Luke* 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*; and so we understand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the Doctrine of *Christ*, as *1 Cor.* 9. 14. and *2 Cor.* 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) is by *Danews* comprised in these four.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.

In the Effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament

ment and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant and Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*; the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our Souls; which, according to *S. Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*; according to this place of the Hebrews; *All these died in faith, and received not the promise, but saw them afar off, and believed them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also *S. Augustine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena, eterna promitti; Few (saith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly, eternal are promised. And S. Hierom; Noluit Deus pascere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judæi somniant; God would not feed the Jews as beasts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream. And this may be gathered out of God's own words, *Ego sum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the future; to wit, the safety of their Souls. For as God created both Body and Soul, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.*

The agreement between the old and new Testament in substance, infers also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law laid by the Apostles and Prophets; in whom all the promises of God in the old and new, are assured: the Fathers having eaten the same spiritual food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation; to which the law serving as an in-

troduction (for to those which acknowledged their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different; the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the Gospel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth; *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The old restrained the hand, the new, the mind. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith *S. Augustine*) *sed quæ agrotantes pararet; The law was given, not to help, but to discover sickness; and S. Chrysostom; Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaeretur; The law was given, that man might find and know his own imperfection; not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seek out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to save the World, which the Law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a Servant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was referred to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith *Cyril*; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

The seventh Consideration is of the end, and use of the Law; which is, to bring us to *Christ*; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end; the next and proper end of the Law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Cursed is he that continueth not in all the things of this Law.*

The second end of the Law, is, to render us inexcusable before God; who knowing to perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chief end of the law, is, as hath been said, to lead us to *Christ*, and his Grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design, and preserve, the place of the Church and true People of God; and to hold men in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*;

Christ; after whom the Church was to be dispersed over the whole World.

These be the ends of the Moral Law. The end and use of the Ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The use of the Judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform our selves.

The fence and understanding of the law is double, literal, and spiritual; by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God; by the spiritual, the figures and mythical fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being until the Passion of *Christ*; before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the World, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Cross, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were Types and Figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the Body of those shadows) ceased to bind the conscience any longer; the myserie of our Redemption being now by *Christ*, and in him, finished. In token whercof the veil of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all; otherwise that it had not power to condemn according to the Jewish doctrine, as afore said. For the observing of the law was by *Christ* himself severely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observance of the law before all that the World could yield.

In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches: And again, The law of thy mouth is good for us above thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God (saith S. John) that we keep his commandments. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself in Deuteronomy witnesseth. This Commandment (saith he) which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us? &c. but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold (saith *Moses*) I have test before thee this day life and death, good and evil; in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his Command-

ments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou mayst live, &c. Neither is it laid in vain in S. Matthew: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments; and in S. John, Scio quia mandatum ejus vita eterna est; I know that his Commandment is life everlasting. And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments; certainly, he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confess it not in mans ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet, if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his Commandments, we shall find in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chains of obedience, to which the Word of God, and Divine Reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) propoeth to it self. For, this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous, 1 John 5. 12. and if we examine every Precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the balance of our consciences; it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easie persuasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII.

Of the several Commandments of the Decalogue; and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.

For by the first, we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this Precept? seeing every reasonable power may conceive and know, that an Infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities; and that it is of necessity, that by this Almighty Unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute Beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his Providence he hath all provided for every of them, Which giveth to Beasts their food, &c. there is no doubt, but they would also serve and love him only.

The second Precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images; the making whercof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this

ghost in
verb. Ca-
lun.

is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis oriantur*; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first creation was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue; until (saith *Laërtius*) the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant Souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baser, than the basest of Beasts, who have sense and estimation? For what do we thereby (saith the Wisdom of Solomon) but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more senseless, *David* maketh a doubt. For (saith he) they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.

Wisd. 13.
v. 19.

Ysa. 35.
18.

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither persuaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit; the two greatest inchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For, as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfy no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and Hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all subtilty of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft gives satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetousness; but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most salvage Nations of the World do not use it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And, that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in Exod. 23. 12. And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox, and thine Ass may rest, and the Son of thy Maid, and the Stranger may be refreshed.

The first of the second Table, to honor our

Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which Nature it self hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordinances, cursing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou shalt not Murther, that is, Thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God, and after it, our own laws, and in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Eraclon*) *imponit nomen operi tuo*; It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is. And certainly, whosoever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second Table, commands us from Adultery. Now, if the preservation of Virginity have been possible for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to their Grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing Marriage is permitted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill, did not himself give suck to this Infant, and nourish warmth, till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second Table, is, That we shall not steal. And, if that kind of violent robbery had been used in *Moses* time, which many Russians practise now a-days in England, and, to the dishonour of our Nation, more in England, than in any Region of the World among Christians; out of doubt, he would have centured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For, I speak not of the poor and miserable Souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity interceeth; but of those detested Thieves, who, to maintain themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Bravery, Drunkenness and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men have sometime laboured for, all their lives; impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this Commandment

scripta v-
dilem ter-
ram, Vir-
ginibus Pa-
radisum.

Gen. 49. 10.
The Sco-
per shall
not depart
from Ju-
dah, nor a
Law-giver
from be-
tween his
feet, until
Shila
come.

1 John 5.

Deut. 30
11, 12, 13
v. 14.
Rom 10.
v. 6, 7, 8.

Ysa. 49.

Commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if Princes would resolve, but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these Hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Commonwealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witness: from which, if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detect a false witness, and a false accuser, especially, in matters criminal, that the Law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments, forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this Precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections; and yet, if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be not easy to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word *Coveting*, reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For, *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est offensus habendi appetitus*; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having: And, as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error; But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscentia* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort; which is, *Adus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, que est principium proprium adus boni aut vitiosi*; Such passions, or inclinations are imperfect adus, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper Principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragmur, nihil nocet: nocent autem cum eos dominari permittimus*; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some, that they hurt us not; and that then only they hurt, when we suffer them to bear sway. But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth Precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Command-

ment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held; that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For, even so the Moral Philosopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason); as, on the other side, the incontinent hath good desires but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet, such a man according to the Heathen Philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For Aristotle himself makes *Continencia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it; confessing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true Divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here; that we are able out of Divinity, to give the true reason of this doctrine; which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his Commandments, we witness our love toward himself; we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is Justice it self) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accused (saith Saint Hierom) that avows that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui*

qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcipisse, Accusatus est he that saith, that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakness also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them: which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, David witnesseth: *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight, no flesh that liveth shall be justified*. And in the first of Kings, *There is no man that sinneth not*; And again, *Who can say, I have made my heart clean*? But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service: if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his sovereign with flinishing excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be decided therein.

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

And if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his People, it will appear, that such was his merciful Providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every State and Commonwealth in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore these Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right might be done to all men, from all men: that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of Beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, let

us see the inconveniences in this life, which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Laws.

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of Ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead Stones, and rotten Wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his Holy Name.

The observing the Sabbath Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature herself requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could say unto himself; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to Posterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raise Families; murders and poisonings between Man and Wife would be daily committed; and every man subject to most filthy and unclean Diseases.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and Acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of Robbery, as where Moses for lesser crimes, appointed restitution fourfold, policy of State, and necessity, hath made it death.

To permit false Witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption; the wicked would swear against the virtuous; the waster against the wealthy; the idle Beggar and Loyerer, against the careful and painful Labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and Justice thereby banished out of the World.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of mind, with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the Wives, or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute Beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

§. X V.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

Humane law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two (*viz.*) Written, and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time; which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatae*; to be customs approved by antiquity, or unwritten laws. Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect; in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law; but yet there, where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars: the first are written customs, received and exercised by Nations, as the customs of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the ancient general custom of *England*, and the customs of *Castile*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are these petty customs, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The general or National customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitation. The custom of the *Duchie of Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannary of Devon*, as touching *Tinn*, and *Tinn* causes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever, use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every cu-

tom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescriptus*. *Non firmatur ratio temporis, quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And (saith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio viciosum est, non potest trans temporis consuetudine*; Cause of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law Divine, and Natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance; it being manifest, that every custom which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature, were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have been since continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex tolerantia*. And it is in this sort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the Prince.

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick reason; by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the advice of wise men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the law, a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for government and common profit; And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit; All that stands with reason*.

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. *Greg. de Humane Law* is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal; made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publick authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying, *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quæ iusta non fuerit*; It seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just; and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternal. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum esse, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverunt*.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse

discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, demonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *Violentie*, or *iniquæ constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutions*. Of humane law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawn out of the law of Nature; so every particular of the humane law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect, the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth and directeth all humane actions. And so is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For, according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Julia de Adulteriis, alia Cornelii de Sicariis*; The law of *Julian* against *Adultery*, is one, the *Cornelian* against *Ruffians*, is another. Now, the humane law generally taken, is in respect of these considerations, divided into the law of Nations, and the Civil.

The law of Nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of it self, but from other higher principles deduced; and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understandeth it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is only common amongst men, as Religion, and the Worship of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations, but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted between enemies, &c. which National law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the humane law, may be sometime taken for a species of the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

Jus civile, or the civil Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all

Nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and do not fit all Estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile neque in totum à Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit*; itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est, Civile efficitur; The civil Law (saith he) doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points: obey it; therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the Civil Law.

The law now commonly called the *Civil Law*, had its birth in *Rome*; and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. years after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Albenian* and other *Grecian* laws, as out of the ancient *Roman* customs and laws *Regal*. The *Regal* laws were devised by the first Kings, and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papirianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For, though to many of the former laws as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished with the name; yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common Utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws of the twelve Tables, were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plæbei-scita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*; and the Edicts of the Annual Magistracy; which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, and made perpetual laws, and the *Volume* styled, *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the Constitutions made or confirmed by Sovereign Authority (be the sovereignty in the People, in a few, or in one) and are withall general and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Justinian* Magistratus, unless by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuit, legem annum esse dicunt*; They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that it is a law for one year: Though *Isidore* doth also express by the word *constitutiones* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts* of *Prærogatives*; as, *Constitutio*, vel *Edictum* est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which

a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.

Lastly, the humane Law is divided into the Secular, and into the Ecclesiastical, or Canon. The Secular commanding temporal good, to wit, the Peace and tranquillity of the Common-weal; the Ecclesiastical, the spiritual good, and right government of the Ecclesiastical Common-wealth, or Church: *Unde natura legem, hoc divinum spectat; That respecteth the law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And so may *Jus Civile* be taken two ways; First, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the Secular, and diverse from the Ecclesiastical. But this division of the School-men is obscure. For although the Civil be the same with the Secular, as the Civil is a law, yet the Secular is more general, and comprehendeth both the Civil, and all other laws not Ecclesiastical. For, of Secular laws in use among Christian Princes, and in Christian Common-wealths, there are three kinds; the Civil, which hath every where a voice, and is in all Christian Estates (England excepted) most powerful; the laws of England, called Common, and the laws of custom, or Provincial. In Spain, besides the law Civil, they have the customs of Castile, and other Provinces. In France, besides the Civil, the customs of Burgundy, Blois, Berry, Nivernois, and Lodunois, &c. *Tous lieux situes & affis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez, selon les costumes dudit pays; All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall be governed according to the customs of that place.* There are also in France the customs of Normandy, and these of two kinds; General, and Local; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The Charters of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation have these words: *Nos ante Registram predictam, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & autoritate Regia confirmamus; The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customs, we praise, approve, and by our Kingly Authority confirm.* The Common Law of England is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain Maxims by those customs of the Realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those Courts of Record, of the Chancery, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small Courts.

These ancient customs of England have been approved by the Kings thereof from Age to Age: as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was con-

firmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custom of England, that the eldest Sons should inherit without partition. In Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland, it is the custom of all Lands (that have not been resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his own life; and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heir in lineal descent; this is called the custom of Tanistry. For example, if a Lord of Land have four Sons, and the eldest of those four have also a Son, the three brothers of the eldest Son shall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the grandchild: the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the Irish in former times, having always lived in a subdivided civil War, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every Baron and Gentleman one against another, were enforced to leave successors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now, as in Normandy, Burgundy, and other Provinces of France, there are certain peculiar and petty Customs, besides the great and general custom of the Land, so are there in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the Acts of Parliament; Laws propounded and approved by the three Estates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, because they are Acts of choice, and self-desire. *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi recepte sunt; The Laws do therefore bind the Subjects, because they are received by the judgment of the Subject.* Tum demum humane leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmate approbatione communis; It is then that humane laws have their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the People confirmed.

If I dare fasteneth these properties to every Christian Law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custom of the Country; also for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifest; and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the later encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem,*

tricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It behooveth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a commander of Vertue. The part obligatory, or binding us to the observation of things commanded, or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is two-fold: the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the Law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or encouragement to Vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the Law, to make men virtuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evil, and do good.*

§. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from humane laws, and in what sort.

NOW, whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well *Divines* as *Lamyers*; and namely, whether Sovereign Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the Law, as aforesaid; the one *Directive* the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For, as touching violence, or punishments, no man is bound to give a pre-judicial judgment against himself; and, if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of Laws, simply then is the Prince so much above the laws, as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and senseless Carcase. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivens, & lex animata: An animate, and living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it; and therefore was it said of *Braddon* out of *Justinian*; *Merito debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam*

lex facit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.

But whereas *Braddon* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. For Kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by humane laws only, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembered by the *Divines* and *Lamyers*, which infer a kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of virtuous Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

Thi soli peccavi, faith David; against thee only have I sinned; therefore the Prince cannot be said to be subject to the law; Principes non subjiciuntur legi. For seeing, according to the School-men, the law humane, is but quoddam organum, & instrumentum potestatis gubernative: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humane non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humane non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo, neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsam conditorem. Omnis enim potentia alicuius, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane law (say they) is but a kind of organ, or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it self to bind any one, whom no humane power can controul, or lay hold of: but the Governour himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power, be controulled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot bind the Law-maker himself: for every active ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it self resides. And seeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; Ergo, etiam potestatem Principes, sive Legislator sua sponte voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis. Principes vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis; The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.*

Now, concerning the politick laws, given by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no civil Institutions of other People should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a questi-

on for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws for righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect People to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar Languages; which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly, one and the same law very hardly were able. The Roman civil laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued persuasion; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heavens; or, peradventure, some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sylbarites* luxurious; want, and opportunity to steal, makes the *Arabians* to be Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after, with great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more conscientiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks it were not amiss to consider, that the high God himself permitted some thing to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient Rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the law, given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the virtue opposing it would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparel in *Turkie*; there may be a wife and upright Law-giver, without presumption, omit somewhat that

the rigour of *Moses* law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter merely *Ecclesiastical*, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Mr. Doctor *Willett*, that the moral Judicials of *Moses* do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively, that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is given by *Moses*; Christian Magistrates ruling under *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burthen more heave: for to fiew more rigour than *Moses*, becometh not the Gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy *Divines*. Thus much (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and onely law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, wheron the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equal satisfaction in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have been witnesses, of whom *Fortescue*, that notable Bulwark of our laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a year after, being convict for the same offence, confessed that his Mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented; but this Judge, faith the same Author, *Sapius ipse mihi falsus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear his*

Chm.
30.18, 19.

141.9.

cap. 5.

his conscience of that fact. Wherefore, that acknowledgment which other Sciences yield unto the *Metaphysicks*, that from thence are drawn Propositions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politick institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysicks* which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; Being as it is being, is infinitely inferior to the *Ens Entium*; The Being of beings, the onely good, the fountain of Truth, whose

fear is the beginning of Wisdom. To which purpose, well faith Saint *Augustine*, *Consolator legum temporalium si vir bonus est, & sapiens, illam ipsam consilium eternam, de qua multi anime judicare datum est; The Author of temporal Laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternal, to determine of which, there is no power given to any soul. And as well Prince Edward, in Fortescue his Discourse, Nemo potest melius, aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.*



CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

§. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness; with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their troops.

When *Moses* had received the Law from God, and published it among the People, and finished the Tabernacle of the Ark, and Sanctuary; he mustered all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*; and having seen what number of Men fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, from twenty years of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the Wars, besides Women and Children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moses* into four grots and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able Men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their number, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naasson*; in *Issachar*, 54400. led by *Nathaniel*; in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vant-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their

general encamping on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures, the host of *Reuben*, had joyced unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number, 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*; in *Simeon*, 59300. under *Schemuel*; in *Gad*, 45650. under *Elisaph*: These had the second place, and encamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiment of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Elisabana*; *Manasse* 32200. under *Garniel*; *Benjamin* 35400. under *Ahidan*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asier*. And these had the Rere-ward, and moved last, encamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. under *Abiezzer*; *Asier* 41500. under *Tageel*; *Nephthali* 53400. under *Abira*.

Besides these Princes of the several Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over

over Tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against *Moses*, *Numb. 16. verse 1* and 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250. Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown; of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principal Mutineers, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Numb. 1*. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the Land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in forcing them under their several Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence, and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacob's* Wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simoon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the Son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joseph*, who, in temporal blessings, had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments; the younger (according to *Jacob's* prophecy) taking place before the elder, he was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacob's* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacob's* prophecy. He had with him under his Standard, none of the children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but only the sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these four Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Near unto which, as the *Heathens* and *Pagans* could not approach, by reason of these four powerful Armies which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come near it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the movable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which, 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the People observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gershonites* on the West, within the Army, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom

Elisaph commanded, in number, 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side, guided by *Elisaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third Company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zurriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*. On the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, led *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of the People; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eleazar*, the son of *Aaron*, his successor in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their encamping and marching; the Tabernacle being always set in the middle and center thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and other *Scismatic*s, as all cost and care bestowed and owed of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of *Popey*, and as proceeding from an Idolatrous disposition; inasmuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, and under the Hedges, and the offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newnels of Opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish Churches within *England*; every contentions and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; inasmuch, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than

than contrary to it self, the Faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this Answer to those that persuaded him to become a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjoin myself to you, I am condemned by others; If I join with others, I am condemned by you: what I should avoid I see, but I see not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passover of the second year: the departing of Jethro.

Now, when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbered his Army, and divided them into the battels and troops before remembered, and appointed them Leaders of all forts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the Sanctuary excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the Sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service; namely, to the sons of *Gershon* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. shekels; a silver Bowl of 70. shekels, after the shekel of the Sanctuary; and an Incense-Cup of Gold, of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*; and before they marched from *Sinai* towards their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver Chargers, and twelve silver Bowls, amounted unto 2400. shekels of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-

Cups, to 1200. shekels of gold; which makes of shekels of silver, 1200. every shekel of gold valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the Passover, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second Moneth of the second year; and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a sign of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their encamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Nathanson*, taking the Vant-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliah*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*; after whom the rest marched, as in the Figure express'd. And because the passage through so many Deserts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father-in-law, whom, in the tenth of *Numbers*, he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understanding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of Judges over the People) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian* or *Adrian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Adrian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. years before this request made. And though *Moses* himself had lived 40. years in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seem by the places, *Exod. 18. 27.* and *Numb. 10. 30.* that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not; for it is evident, that he went back from *Moses* into his own Country. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the Posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his return to his own Country, was

G g rather

The Hebrew general weight (fretum) grains: so a Gerah of Silver is about three half pence sterling: the Size of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod. 30. 13*) containeth 30 Gerahs, so a Sanctuary Size of Silver is about 7. Grains, the common Size is but half as much, to wit, 10 Gerahs: as it is usually expounded; though *Pillanadus* labours to prove that the common, and the Sanctuary Size were all one, *Numb. 9. 5.* *Numb. 10. 11.* *Exod. ult. 34.* *Numb. 9. 17.*

Julie 1. 16. & 4. 11. Alto 1 Sam. 17. 6. And 2 Reg. 10. 15. 1 Chron. 5. 5. Jer. 33.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

§. III.

The Voyage from Horeb to Kades; the Mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.

AFTER this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the deserts of *Paran*; and after three days wandering, they fate down at the *Sepulchres* of lust, afterward called *Tabera*, or *Incenso*; by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutineers and Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, which hapned about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-wind to cast upon them) to the 24. day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the Moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*; whereof surfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence in the following Moneth, called *Thamm*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Haze-roth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery *Israel* removed toward the border of *Idumaea*, and encamped at *Rithma*, near *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the Country; as also to take knowledge of the ways, passages, rivers, fords and Mountains. For *Arad*, King of the *Canaanites*, surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush near those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the return of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderness* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preserved them, but to bring them, their Wives and Children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoile to the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*. For, it was reported unto them by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and

defended with many strong Towers and Castles, that many of the people were *Giant-like* (for they confessed that they saw the Sons of *Anac* there) who were men of fearful stature, and so far over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them and to themselves, but as *Gashoppers* in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an *Elefso*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every Soul of the whole multitude (*Josua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, persuaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then near it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumaea*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of Victory. But as men whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense, they threatened to stone these encouragers to death; accompanying them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency & constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatening an entire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and merciless Pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel* failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless Desarts. Yet, as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heave than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent; whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOW, when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the People, and made them know his heave displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though over-late; the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his merciful sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the Land, contrary again to the advice of *Moses*, who assured them that God was not among them; and that the *Ark* of his Covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the Enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended, and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no less cruel. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entred *Judea* before their Enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods Commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves, and ran head-long, and without advice, into the Mountains of *Idumaea*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and peruse, consumed even all the way of their flight, even unto *Hornah*: the *Amalekites*, in revenge of their former loss, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites*, to prevent their dilplantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joined together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the *Red Sea* again; in which retreat, before they came back to pass over

Jordan, there were consumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Josua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For, besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the return of their discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heaven. For, although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now, after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Kades*, *Moses*, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoars of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades*, or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crossed the Valley, and fate down at *Reffa*, near the foot of the Mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and encamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* always keeping the Valley, between two great legdes of Mountains (those which bound the Desert of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) cross'd the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the Mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*; this making the twentieth Mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Muceloth*; and then to *Thabab*, and so to *Thara*, or *Thare*; the four and twentieth Mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who, for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered Incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his Government, or before. For

among so great a multitude, those lay-men, who would have usurped Ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-wealth of his People. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant Aaron, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of the 12. Tribes; of which Moses received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which, being all withered and dried Wands, and on every Rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and Aaron's on that of *Levi*, it pleased God, that the Rod of Aaron received, by his power, a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation before the Ark one night, had on it both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharab*, the whole Army removed to *Metbraz*; and thence to *Ejmona*; and thence to *Mojeroth* (Or *Masirith*, after *S. Hierom*) and from *Mojeroth* to *Benajacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierom* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian*, and *Afiongaber*.

Now, although it is very probable, that at *Afiongaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his Fleet for the *East-India*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia* the *Story*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyses*; yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the seventh Verse, is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoining. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Afiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*;

which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and encamped at *Hebron*, &c. from thence to *Efiongaber*; which City in *Josephus* time, had the name of *Berence*; and in *Hierom*, *Elia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded; *Efiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efiongaber*, or *Afiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, near the coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Efiongaber*, and the other places near the *Red Sea*, had at this present been subject unto the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained those places: for it is said; And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and took men with them; which were those Companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumaea* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Jobab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of Ships in *Efiongaber*, besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

§. V.

Of *Moses* arrival at *Zin*: *Kades*: and of the accidents while that they abode there.

From *Efiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*; or in *Berob*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they late down in the first Moneth of the fourthieth year, after they left *Egypt*. For, at the next Mansion, *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fourthieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at *Efiongaber*. And at this City of *Kades* (for so it was thought to be) or near it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen in *S. Hierom*'s time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to the Mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the Earth; by the sudden Pestilence, which often seized them; nor any

any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had, left their bodies in the Deserts, and they were now entred into the fourthieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rock adjoining, with his Rod, and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which Mountain *Hor*, *Aaron* was depouled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Elezazar* his Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Elezazar* defended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mofera*, as in *Dent. 10. vers. 6.* those *Horites* took name, which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mofera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion; and *Mofera*, which they write *Mojeroth*, for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places; because *Moses* in passing from *Kadesbarne* towards *Efiongaber*, encamped at *Mofera*, after he departed from *Hefmona*, and before he came to *Benajacan*. And this *Mofera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he had left *Kades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister, died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mofera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mofera*; *Hor near Mofera*; for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Hor*

are: Whereof the West part *Mofes* calleth *Mofera*, and the East part *Hor*. By the West part *Mofes* encamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea* on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again Northwards towards *Meab*, as in the description of *Mofes* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now, it was from *Kades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumaea*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon* and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now, the better to persuade the Prince of *Idumaea* hereto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same Race and Family with *Israel*, calling him by the name of Brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the Sons of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom, *Esau* his Ancestor had made Warr, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient Races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name, *Edom*, or *Idumaea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, & of his purposes, and promises assured *Edom*, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, or waste his Country, but that he would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high ways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattle should drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Esau*, *Dent. 2. 4.* But the King of *Idumaea*, knowing the strength of his own Country, the fame being near *Canaan*, ramp'd with high and sharp mountains; and withal suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, & resolutely refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his Country together,

ther, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written, *Then Edom came out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moses* understanding, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir*, or *Idumæa*, and that the Land promised, was that of *Canaan*: like unto himself, who was of natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of War that the World had, he refused to adventure the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which, by reason of the fear of their mountainous Country, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendered them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of *Moab*. Which, when *Arad*: the King of the *Canaanites* understood, and that *Moses* had blanchèd the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Country, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moses* been enforced first to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet, being resolved to make trial, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came nearer his own home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattle that they drove with them, could not encamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprize. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now, it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessor, which joyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*,

which, without direction from God by *Moses*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth, that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuteronomy* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone, without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel*, near *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predecessor that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to pass *Moab*, determined, while he was yet in the Desert, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third Verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites*, and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Josias*. For, had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needles compass, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it self, but that his Territory lay without it, and near to the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. *Arad* dwelt; which South part of *Canaan*, was the North part of *Edom*.

Again, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites*, after their victory, pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Judea*. There is also a City of that name in *Simoen*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this Victory, it were enough to prove, that the fame was obtained in the future, and in *Josias* his time, and not at the instant of *Arad's* assault. For, had the *Israelites* at this time sack'd the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of Water and Bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also Water and Bread. But it was in the time of *Josias*, that the *Israelites* took their revenge, and after they had pass'd *Jordan*; *Josias* then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the

the name of his City so called; and with him the King of *Horma*; to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now, after this assault, and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Idumæa*, and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began again to rebel against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose Venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial Serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the Mount *Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea* and *Callosyria*, encamped at *Zalmomas*, and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journeys by the edge of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principal City of the *Edomites*. Now, where it is written in *Numbers* 21. 4. That from Mount *Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant, that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonsæca*) *per viam que habet à latere mare rubrum*; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but indeed they cross'd and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Tracemitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esingaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*; which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel*, to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, cross'd the common way towards the East, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*, where he entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Suph*, a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manzion, that is, where the Mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the Mountains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not far from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having pass'd that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence

they kept the way to *Diblahaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremy* the Prophet, Chap. 48. Vers. 22. calleth the *House of Diblahaim*, the lame which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nebuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River *Arnon*, and encamped in the Mountains of *Abarim*; though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblahaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*, calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*; speaking as he found the state of the Country at that time. For *Arnon* was not antiently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Amorites*, by *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*; even from the Predecessor of *Balac* *Peor* then reigning. From *Diblahaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Country; which, though he knew would be denyed him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations of the War he undertook. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, observed the same precept which he left to his Posterity and Successors, for a law of the War; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in these words; *When thou comest neer unto a City to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and open unto thee, then let all the people therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

NOW, concerning the War between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that Book, entitled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The book of Gods battels: and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* Translation, are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* Copy differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus*

Numl. 21.
Of the
Country
of Suph,
see notes
cap. 10. f. 1.
4. || 2. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcirco dixi flet*
and of the
force of
the word
Suph; also
chap. 18.
Sec. 1.

2. Numl. 21.
16.

3. Chron.
12.

it is said in the book: *The Warr of the Lord bath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Junius* for the Red Sea, which is in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar* Edition, names the Region of *Suph*, a Country bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he conjectureth. || 2. The Text, he readeth thus. *Idcirco dixi flet* in *recessione bellorū* *Jehova*; contra *Vahcbum* in *Regione Suph*; & contra *flumina, flumina Arnonis*; Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battels of *Jehovah*, against *Vahc* in the Country of *Suph*, and against the Rivers, the Rivers of *Arnon*. In which words he understands, that amongst the Warrs which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the Warr of *Sehon* against *Vahc*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Country near *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vahc* was the immediate Predecessor of *Ealac*, who lived with *Moses*; though it be written that this *Ealac* was the Son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahc*. For, it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdoms were elective, and not successive. And as *Junius* in this Translation understandeth no special Book of the battels of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any special Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Syracides*, cap. 46. tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord were fought by *Jofua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battels of the Lord*. But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other books written of the same matter at large; therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the several victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of *Hezechiel*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddeus*, and cited by *Origen*, and *Jerusalem*.

That work also of the Patriarch *Abraham*,

of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembered by *Jofua*, Chap. 10. Vers. 13. and in the second of *Samuel*, Chap. 1. Vers. 18. called the Book of *Jaher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the midst of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies; out of which also *David* took the Precept of teaching the Children of *Juda*, to exercise their Bows against their Enemies.

Some think this to be the Book of eternal Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalms*, Vers. 28. where it is said; *Let them be put out of the book of Life, neither let them be written with the Righteous*. *Hierom* thinks that *David* by this Book, understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the Books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses* are written. Others, that it is was the Book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary upon *Jofua*, by an unknown Author.

The Book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron*, Chap. 32. v. 18. and 19. Of this Book, also lost, *Hierom* conceives, that the Prophet *Ejy* was the Author.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the Son of *Solomon*: As to the Books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Teedo the Seer*, remembered in the second of *Chron*, Chap. 9. Vers. 29. With these have the Books of *Sheamiah* and of *Ido*, remembered in the second of *Chron*, Chap. 12. Vers. 15. perished; and that of *Jebu* the Son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jeholaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron*, Chap. 20. Vers. 34. Also that Book of *Solomon*, which the *Hebrews* write *Hafirim*, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, only remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this, divers others of *Solomon*'s works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Jofephus*, *Hierom*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicero*, *Africanus*, *Picus*, *Mirandula*, and others.

Of these, and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of *Moses* his saving the issue of *Lot*; and of the *Giants* in those parts; and of *Sehon* and *Og*.

When *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nabo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was antiently possessed by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those *Giants* called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those *Giants*, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzumims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by *Giants*. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time pass those Mountains to the East of *Bajan*, but left their Country to them; as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many *Giants* both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which antiently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbab*, which *Arbab* in *Jofua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also been *Giants* in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chief City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, near the River of *Arnon*. To the *Giants* of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzumims*; which were of the same antient *Canaanites*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti*, *horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men*, and *fearful Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to

pray a passage through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vahc* the *Moabite*, which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* incaped in the Country of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* waited with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore halting himself, they encountered each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited, and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Ejebbor*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Bajan* also were, and descended of *Emor*, or *Amor*: for *Moses* calleth the *Bajanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judea*, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Bajan*, or *Tracornitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the antient *Giants* of those parts, and who at that time had 60 Cities walled and defended: lying between the Mountain of *Hermion* (which Mountain, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Sbirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Bajan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his sons perished, and all his Cities were taken and possessed. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himself back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that war unto *Jair* the son of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Bajan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, &c. walled Cities, called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterward the half Tribe of *Manasse* possessed the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses his death.

After these victories, and while *Israel* sojourn'd in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the *Hebrews* to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoining. The *Israelites* as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily persuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the *Hebrews*, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the *Midianites*, the Plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the *Hebrews*, become an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms 601730. of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who, together with the *Moabites*, practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that, sought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Poor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000. *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas* the son of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately been, the Vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Josiah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the Vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Evi*, *R'-kew*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, saith *Josiah*. He slew also the men, male-children, and women: saving such

as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved, and dispers'd them among the children of *Israel* to serve them.

And *Moses* having now lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his inability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He hastned to settle the government in *Josua*, whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint Augustine) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and service of the all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simoon* excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings: praising the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Book of the Law, by the side of the Ark of God, The last that he indited, was that Prophetical Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens, and I will speak, and let the Earth hear the words of my mouth: and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that Rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of Moab, over against Beth-Poor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World, 2554.*

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

Now let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause

Deut. 31.1.

Deut. 31.2.

Aug. 1. 4. de Mirab. Sac. Scrip.

Deut. 33.

Deut. 31.1.

Deut. 31.6.

of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharaoh's* own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he fought by the strength of his men of War, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the Egyptian, moved him to fly into *Madian*: the contention between the Shepherds

of that place, and *Jethro's* Daughters, made him known to their Father; who notwithstanding entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that Solitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, far from the preas of the World, contenting himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with the Lot of a poor Herd-man, God found him out in that Desert wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the waies and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into Egypt. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by God's direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.



CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Josua; with the sum of the History of Josua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.

In like manner, if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Israelites*, after their coming out of Egypt, had to do, either in the Wilderness, or afterward, we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were, prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*; and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutual marriages: whereas the *Israelites* still continued strangers and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient inju-

ries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the *Israelites*: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of Syria, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of Egypt, and the Red Sea, on the South: and by the Mediterranean Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of

H h 2

Sem,

sem, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part, were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by process of time divided into several Families and Names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Amorites*, *Zuzzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. These (as men most whereby valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hittites*, and others, who took name after the sons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in general was still called.

As for the *Hebrews* which defended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and strangers in that Country, especially the *Israelites*: and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or endure them, no more than the *Philistines* did, who defended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himself, being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the *Israelites*, as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations defended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so far posited themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esau* the *Edumians*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael* the eldest son of *Abraham*, came the *Ismaelites*, with whom are joyned, as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the *Israelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edumites*, or do them any wrong; whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless war decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismael's*

eldest son *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nabathaei*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bless *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Haialah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desert of Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to joyn themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumians* onely denied the *Hebrews* a passage, which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites* their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong by reason of the mountains which divided it from *Esfau*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after such a time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balaac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by special occasion, were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham's* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authours of their Pedigrees, God permitted

§. II.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Wars of the *Israelites*.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham* (for *Archibedeck* may be thought to be of a better Pedigree) we find four named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembered by *Joshua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoining, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a general consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Country of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principle Families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East and by the *Mediterranean* Sea on the West: in which narrow Country, and in the choicest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemur*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simoon* and *Levi* slew, together with his Son *Sichem*, in revenge of their sisters ravishment. *Arad* was the second King which the Scriptures have remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea: the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumaea*. The third named was *Sehon* King of *Esfau*, who before *Moses* arrival had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petrea*, or *Nabathaea*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Deserts*, the same whom *Moses* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Efseben*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slain by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traconis*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*. The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebusites*, and of *Hiernusalem*, with whom *Joshua* nameth four other Kings.

Hobab, King of Hebron.
Piram, King of Jarmuth.

Japha, King of Larbis: and
Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Avo-

rites overthrown in battle; and hanged by
Jofeph an. Josia. After this overthrow Josia nameth
Jabin, King of Hazor, and

Jobab, King of Madon: whom he also
slaugthered, and took his Cities: and this
Jabin seemed to have some dominion over
the rest; for it is said in the Text, For Ha-
zor before times was the head of all those
Kingdoms.

After these Adonibezek that notorious
Tyrant is named: who confest that he had
cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of
seventy Kings, enforcing them to gather
crumbs under his Table: who, as of Juda
and Simeon had used the same execution
upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just
revenge of God: this King was carried to
Hierusalem where he died.

The last King named is Jabin the second,
who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt
by Josia. For at such time as he employed
Sisara against Israel, whom he oppressed twenty
years after the death of Elad, he inha-
bited Hazor. This Jabin Barac (encouraged
by Debora) overthrew; and his Captain Si-
sara had by Jael, the wife of Heber the Ke-
nite, a nail driven into his head while he
slept in her Tent: Jabin himself perishing
afterward in that war.

The Madianites had also their Kings at
times, but commonly mixt with the Moa-
biters: and they held a corner of Land in
Nabathæa: to the South-East of the Dead
Sea, they descended from Madian Abra-
ham's son, by Cetura. Raguel turnamed Ge-
theleus or Jethers, saith Josephus, called Je-
thro in Exodus, Keniz in the first of Judges, the
son of Dathan, the grand-child of Zexaniz,
or Jokhanna, the great grand-child of Abra-
ham by Cetura, was eldest or Prince of the
Madianites by the Red Sea: whose Daugh-
ter or Niece, Moyses married, and of whom
I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This
Jethro, if he were not the same with Hobab,
must be his father: and this Hobab had seven
daughters. He guided Moses in the Wilder-
ness, and became one of the Israelites: of
him descended the Kenites, so called of his
father Raguel's surname, of which Kenites
there was Heber, which had peace with Jabin the
second, even now remembered.

At such time as Saul invaded the Ama-
lekites, he knowing the good affection of the
Kenites to Israel, gave them warning to re-
parate themselves: and yet the Kenites had
strong forts, and lived in the mountains of
the Deserts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madia-
nites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find
named, were these:

1. Homer the Hevite of Sichem
2. Arad of the South parts
3. Sebon of Essebon
4. Og of Basan
5. Adonibezek the Jebusite, King of Hieru-
salem.
6. Hobab of Hebron
7. Piram of Jarmuth
8. Japha of Larbis
9. Deber of Eglon
10. Jabin of Hazor
11. Jobab of Madon.
12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and
13. Jabin the second King of Hazor.

Of the Madianites these:

* Eri or Eri.

Rekam or Recem, who built Petra the Me-
tropolis of Petrea, so called by the Greeks:
and by Egypt, cap. 15. v. 1. and Selah, which is
as much as Petra: and so also it is called 2
Reg. 14. 7. where it is also called Joktheel.

Zur
Hur and
Reba
* Oreb
Zeb
Zabab
Zalmunna.

After the death of Barac, Judge of Israel,
the four last named of these Madianitic Kings
vexed Israel seven years: till they being put
to flight by Gideon, two of them, to wit, O-
reb and Zeb, were taken and slain by the E-
phraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in the
6. 7. and 8. of Judges it is written at large.
Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, Gideon
himself laid hands upon Zebab and Salmana,
or Zalmunna, and executed them, being pri-
soners; in which expedition of Gideon there
perished 120000. of the Madianites and their
contederates. Of the Idumeans, Moabites,
and Ammonites, I will speak hereafter in the
description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the Kings of the Amalekites and Isma-
elites, I find few that are named; and
though of the Ismaelites there were more in
number than of the rest (for they were mu-
ltipled into a greater Nation, according un-
to the promise of God made unto Abraham)

yet the Amalekites, who together with the

Jos. 10.

Jos. 11.

* These
five were
first all at
one time
Kings of
several
portions
of the Ne-
desert,
slain by
Phineas,
and the
120000
which he
led against
them:
Num. 31. 8.
* These
four last
were like-
wise at one
time slain
in the pur-
suit of Gi-
deon, Jud.
6. 7. 21. 22.
8. 23. 24.

Midianites were numbered among them;
were more renowned in Moses time than the
rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they
when Saul governed Israel. For Saul pur-
sued them from Sur unto Havilah, to wit, o-
ver a great part of Arabia Petrea, and the
Desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this:
That the twelve Princes which came of Jy-
mael, were content to leave those barren
Deserts of Arabia Petrea, called Sur, Paran,
and Sin, to the issue of Abraham by Cetura,
that joyined with them (for so seem the Ama-
lekites to have been, and so were the Madia-
nites); themselves taking possession of a bet-
ter soil in Arabia the Happy, and about the
Mountains of Galaad in Arabia Petrea: For
Nabathæa the eldest of those twelve Princes
planted that part of Arabia Petrea; which
was very fruitful, though adjoining to the
Desert in which Moses wandered, afterward
called Nabathæa: the same which neighbour-
eth Judea on the East-side. They also peo-
pled a Province in Arabia the Happy, whereof
the people were in after-times called Nap-
thæi (B) changed into (P.)

Kedar, the second of Ismael's sons, gave his
own name to the East-part of Basan, or Bata-
nea, which was afterward possessed by Mana-
sse, so much thereof as lay within the mountains
Traceni, or Gilead, which Nation Lampridi-
us calleth Kedarens, and Pliny, Cedreans.

Abbeel sat down in the Desert Arabia, near
the Mountains which divide it from the Ha-
ppy: and gave name to the Adubens, which
Pliny calleth Agubens.

Misham was the Parent of the Masama-
nens, near the Mountain Zamath, in the same
Arabia the Happy.

The Raabens were of Mishma: who joy-
ned to the Orchens, near the Arabian gulf,
where Pliny setteth Zagzais.

Of Dumia were the Dumians, between the
Adubens and Raabens: where the City Du-
meth sometimes stood.

Of Massa the Massani, and of Hadar, or
Chadar, the Athviti, who bordered the Na-
phtheans in the same Happy Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the
Arabian Mountains, where also the City of
Thema is seated.

Of Jetur the Jurians, or Camathens: of
whom Tobus was King in David's time.

Of Naphtri, the Nubian Arabians, inhabi-
ting Syria Zoba: over whom Adadecer com-
manded, while David ruled Israel.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ismael's sons,
was the Ancestor of the Cadmonians: who
were afterward called Asites, because they
worshipped the Fire with the Babylonians.

The Amalekites gave their Kings the name

of Agag, as the Egyptians: the name of Pharaoh
to theirs, and the ancient Syrians, Adad to
theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Arctas,
as names of Honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought
with Moses after he pass the Red Sea: when
of all times they flourished most, and yet
were vanquished.

Afterward they joyined with the Canaan-
ites, and beat the Israelites near Cadesbarne.
After the government of Othoniel, they joy-
ned them with the Moabites: after Barac, with
the Madianites, and invaded Israel. God
commanded that as soon as Israel had rest,
they should root out the name of the Ama-
lekites: which Saul executed in part, when
he wasted them from the border of Egypt, to
the border of Chaldaea: from Havilah to
Shur.

In Davids time they took Siklag in Sime-
on: but David followed them, and surprised
them, recovering his prisoners and spoils.
And yet, after David became King, they a-
gain vexed him, but to their own loss.

In Ezekias time, as many of them as joy-
ned to Dumeza, were wasted and displaced
by the children of Simeon.

§. IV.

Of the insurrection of Civility in Europe a-
bout these times, and of Prometheus and Atlas.

HERE lived at this time, and in the same
age together with Moses, many men
exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength
as in all sorts of learning. And as the World
was but even now enriched with the writ-
ten Law of the living God, so did Art and
Civility (bred and fostered far off in the
East, and in Egypt) begin at this time to dis-
cover a passage into Europe, and into those
parts of Greece, neighbouring Asia and Ju-
dea. For if Pelagius, besides his bodily
strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, be-
cause he taught those people to erect them
simple Cottages, to defend them from rain
and storm: and learned them withal to
make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns,
who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs
and Roots: we may thereby judge how
poor and wretched those times were, and
how fallly those Nations have vaunted of
those their antiquities, accompanied not on-
ly with civil learning, but with all other
kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age
of the World, as both Eusebius and S. Augu-
stine have observed, that Prometheus flourished:
Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines

Plin. l. 6.
c. 28.

Justin.

Gen. 17. 10.
Jud. 7. 7.

Aug. l. 12.
c. 8. de ci-
vil. Dei.

homines, quia optimus sapientia doctor fuisse porbatur; Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, Ad inventa sapientie pertinere; To have reference to wise inventions: and Æschylus affirmeth, That by the stealing of Jupiter's fire was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus reached to the Stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the Hill Caucasus, his entrails the while devoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of heavenly bodies; for so it is said: Ideo altissimi mentis ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno calo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, so the end that he might in a clear sky discern a far off the settings and risings of the Stars: though Diomedes Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this mans knowledge Æschylus gives this testimony.

*Ast agebant omnia
Disors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus
Sunt illiter: & multitudinem artium
His reperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Marjaron anxi ego Memoria
Permittem cunctis, &c.*

(when
But Fortune govern'd all their works, till
I first found out how Stars did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortal men:
And others of like use I did devise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplify
The Mother of the Muses, Memory.

Africanus makes Prometheus far more ancient, and but 94. years after Oegges, Porphyrius says, that he lived at once with Iacchus, who lived with Isaac.

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both being the sons of Japetus, of whom though it be said, that they were born before Moses days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other

ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sons of Japetus, Æsculus finds two other, to wit, Oceanus and Heperus, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the Evening Star. Also besides this Atlas of Lybia, or Mauritania, there were others which bare the same name: but of the Lybian, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those Mountains which cross Africa, to the South of Morocco, Sur, and Hea, with the Sea adjoining, took name, which memory Plato in Critias bestowes on Atlas, the son of Neptune.

Cicero in the fifth of his Tusculan questions affirmeth, that all things written of Prometheus and Atlas, were but by those names to express divine knowledge. *Nec vero Atlas sustinere celum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasus, nisi stellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabule traduxisset; Neither should Atlas be said to bear up heaven, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his wife to be stiffled, unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.*

Orpheus sometimes express'd Time by Prometheus, sometime he took him for Saturn; as, *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the Story of Prometheus was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them Eusebius and S. Augustine have not doubted: For the great judgment which Atlas had in Astronomy, faith S. Augustine, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which Archaus the son of Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Archaus, Arcadia in Peloponnesus took name; and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, faith Natalis Comes, before there had been any observation of the Moons course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon Endymion: others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon: yet Iacinus Tzetzer, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it Atlas of Lybia: who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is said, had the ground of his Philosophy.

§. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

And in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in Thessaly, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, faith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and Strabo. Hesiodus gave him Pandora for mother; the rest Clymene: Homer in the fifteenth of his Odyssey, makes Deucalion the son of Minos: but he must needs have meant some other Deucalion; for else either Ulysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Ulysses, after his return from Troy, feigned himself to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was son to this later Deucalion, the son of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus served in that war) and this Deucalion the son of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalion's time happened that great inundation in Thessaly: by which in effect every soul in those parts perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in Thessaly, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foul sins perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Virtue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom Ovid:

*Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior equi
Vir fuit: aut illa rewerentior ulla dearam.*

No man was Better, nor more just than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than thee.

It is also affirmed, that Prometheus foretold his son Deucalion of this over-flowing, and advised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himself a kind of Vessel, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calls Cibotium; and others Larnax. And because to these circumstances, they afterward add the sending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that Story had been but an imitation of Noah's flood devised by the

Greeks, did not the time so much differ, and S. Augustine with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of Deucalion. Among other his children, Deucalion had these two of note; Hellen, of whom Greece had first the name of Hellen; and Methuselah, on whom Neptune is said to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, so renowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not only in Ethiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italy, and about China, and the Mountains of Vesuvius: of both which the Greeks, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

But of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, Mercurius was the most famous and renowned; the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus; and of the Greeks, Hermes.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both S. Augustine and Laërtius find it difficult. For that Mercury which was esteemed the god of Theeves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that Mercury, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the Greeks reckon five Mercuries. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the son of Nilus, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jews did Tetragrammaton; the other that Mercury, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them laws. But Diodorus affirmeth, that Orpheus, and others after him, out of Egypt, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece: which Plato also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that Mercury which flew Argus, but by that ancient Mercury, otherwise Theuth; whom Philo Byblus writeth Taautus; the Egyptians, Thoth; the Alexandrians, Thot, and the Greeks, (as before) Hermes. And to this Taautus, Sanconiatbo, who lived about the time of the war of Troy, gives the invention of letters.

ters. But S. Augustine making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he finds this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. Augustine seems to understand that to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembered. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confess, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moses* and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth year *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven years; after him *Danaus* fifty years; after him *Linæus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true, that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom *Saint Augustine* remembereth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of *Greece*. *Expolemus* and *Ariapannus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternal grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counselor and Instructor of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercurius* taught *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an Inscription was found

on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of *Saint Augustine*, de *Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entitled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-child, * *Sanchoianus*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming, that he was the *Scribe of Saturnus*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Tautus*, and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion to some Writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Wisdom, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whosever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve, that these works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, then that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Treatise, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a title more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises now among us; the one converted by *Anuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Expolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himself; and that the *Egyptian* Theologic hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joseph*, the son of *Jacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharabos*'s dreams, they called *Saphanephane*, which is as much to say, as *Abconditorum reperiitor*; A finder out of hidden things. But these are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whosever he were, *Laërtius* writeth

in this sort: *Hic scripsi libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum peritentes, in quibus Majestatem summi, ac singularis Dei asserit, ejusdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which we do. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the *Syblis* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Grecians*: as for my self I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereto was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, summi & viti, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodians, perfectissimum existens, & generator, & opifex, &c. God (saith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And he was therefore (saith *Snydas*) called *Ter Maximus*, quia de Trinitate loquutus est, in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. His ruinam (saith *Ficinus*) prævidit præcæ Religio, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sancti, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This *Mercury* foresaw the ruin of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.**

To this I will only add his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volterran* out of *Snydas*. *Hæcenus*, fili, pulsus a patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolomis repeto. Cumque post paulum a vobis corporis vinculis absolutus discessero, violente ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus ejus summi Princeps, qui cives suos replet juvenitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exaffirmant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Ithberto, O son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaid homeward again in safety. And when I shall after a few days (or

in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, see that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with sweetest more than marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words: with *Snydas*: O calum, magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primam existit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuno per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cum a comprehendente, discremitur mei: I adjure thee O heaven, thou wife work of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his only begotten Word, and spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.

But *Snydas* hath his invocation in these words: *Obsecro te calum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obsecro te vocem Patris, quam loquutus est primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obsecro te per unigenitum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O heaven, wife work of the great God, I beseech thee O voice of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VII.

Of James and Jambres, and some other that lived about these times.

There were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the god of the *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Plinius* thinks in his Commentary upon *Augustine*, de *Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *James* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Devils, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *sophiste*, or *enestri*, and *Incantatores*; *Sophists*, *Poysoners*, and *Incantators*; by *Heroeme*, *sapientes*, & *malefici*; *Wise men*, and evil doers: and by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute some-

Ex. 6. 11.

what of what they did to natural *Magick*: calling them *magicians*, workers by drugs. The *Genuean, Sorcerers and Incanters*: Junius, *Sapientes, Praestigiatores, & Magi*. Magicians and Wile men here by him are taken in one fence: and *Prefligiators* are such as dazzle mens eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and working of *Moses*, and of *Pharaoh's Sorcerers* appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Devil changeth himself into an *Angel of light*: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministry of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Berelith, & opus de mercana*: the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wisdom of Nature*: the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wisdom of divinity*: the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pious Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also *S. Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joshua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent virtues, and inventions, were numbered among the gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musical* plays to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple, and set it on fire: so did *Erioboni-*

us institute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a prelent of *Oyl*, in memory of her that first profit it out of the Olive.

In this age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus, Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these *Saint Augustine* addeth *Hercules*, the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed; native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*; (or as others say, only nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phenicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an Egyptian: Manifestum est, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egyptium ad *Gades* pervenisse, & ibi finem suavitatis terre (saith *Philostratus*;) It is manifest, that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the Straights of *Gades*, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the *Dayes* and Age of *Moses*, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (saith the same Author) like to the glorious saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to bear his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.

He is remembered among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetic*: by *Metastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*. The long lives which the Patriarchs enjoyed

ed before the flood, remembered by *Moses*, *Ephraim*, *Hieronymus*, *Egyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Elamius*, *Acusilius*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander* the Historian, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Niobeus*, *Damascenus*, and others, have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Ephraim*, and *Sybilis* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecataeus* wrote a book of him. *Damascenus*, before cited, speaketh of *Abraham's* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very fame of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camertina*, or *Urieu*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrology of the *Caldeans* was invented. Is *justitia pietateque sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) sic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino precepto in *Pheniciam* venerit, ibique habitaverit; For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into *Phenicia*, and dwelt there. Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book and fifth Chapter, speaketh reverently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation to the Gospel, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words: *Moses enim affirmavit, decebatque Egyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Afros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram, & mare continet, quod celum, & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sane mentis, alicujus earum rerum, que pænes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde omni simulachrorum effusione repudiata, dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum*: *Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattel: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the shapes of men: whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtless, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things, which are amongst us. That therefore (all devising of Idols cast a-*

side) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the Martyr *Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, That *Moses* was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words; the fame is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philoponus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, viz. Mathematical, Natural, Divine, and Moral.

In the Mathematical part, which is distinguished into *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, *Arithmetic*, and *Musick*, the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation, Measuring of grounds, was useful unto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearly overflowed and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomy*, the site of the Country being a level and spacious Plain, free and clear from the clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetic also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnifie their gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Natural part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from *Peripatetic Philosophy*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain sovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the Planets have their proper souls, &c.

The Divine part of this wisdom, which is called *Theology*, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperateness of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth

in those places: That the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: because under those Ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical, and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

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L. 5.

Clement distributeth the whole sum of this later Egyptian learning into three several sorts, *viz.* *Epistolary*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *sacerdotal*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which is expressed by letters Alphabetical in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: *Thy* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropical, and Anygmatical: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon itself: Tropical or transcendent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird *this* signifieth the Moon: by the form of a Man, Prudence, and Skillfulness: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood: Anygmatical is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to signify, that to men all divine things are Anygmatical and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on

the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expresth, that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, as well from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Ear, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The *Scythians* are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatened *Idanthurus*, King of the *Scythians*, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge his subjection: *Idanthurus* returned to him a Mousse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughshare: which *Orontopagus*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signify, that by the Mousse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were signified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Sovereign Lord. But *Xenophodrus* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the aire, or creep into holes as a Mousse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or, being made Captives, till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

The fourth and last part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain especially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triptolemus*, or *Tor Maximus* devised: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pindander* and *Aesclepius*, hath written in many things of God, worthy of admiration; as well (saith *Sextus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearful day of *Judgment*: that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Alcenaetus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not only the Inventor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, before remembered: and that he wrote of that subject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbered, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certain learned Philosophers into natural Greek, they seemed to have been first written in that Tongue. *Clement Alexandrinus*

writeth, L. 6.

writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Physick*, five Books; of the orders of *Priests*, ten; and of *Astrology*, four.

§. VIII.

A Brief of the History of *Joshua*; and of the space between him and *Onanias*: and of the remainders of the *Canaanites*; with a note of some Contemporaries to *Joshua*: and of the breach of Faith.

AFTER the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth year of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of *Israel*: God, giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the River of *Jordan*, and to possess and divide among the *Israelites*, the land promised.

The beginning of *Joshua's* rule, *Saint Augustine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Macedonia*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicily*, when *Darius* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichonius*, *Athenians*.

Joshua, imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over *Jordan* certain discoveryers to view the seat and strength of *Jerico*, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to pass over. Which discoveryers, being fayed, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tavern: or Victualling-house, made *Joshua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jerico*, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth year after the Egression, *Joshua* removed from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River, giving them withal this forcible encouragements, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and

presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might pass over into the Land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with

Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vanguard, which through all the Defarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the *Amorites* by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they pass'd over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East-side of the city of *Jerico*, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Joshua* gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the Defarts should be circumcised, which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof *S. Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their Superiours; *Thomas* exculceth it in this sort: That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Damasen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such times as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; and now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, surfeited on *Manna*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet full ripe, and eat thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites*, which *Og* of *Raban*, and *Sehon* held, to did *Joshua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half

Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Joshua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*; about the fifth year of his government; proved in the 14. of *Joshua*. v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Joshua* seated the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

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The victories of *Jofua* againſt the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are ſo particularly ſet down in his own books, as I ſhall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whole Story I chiefly note theſe particulars. Firſt, how in the beginning of the war, thoſe little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not ſo much underſtanding, as to unite themſelves together againſt the *Iſraelites*; but according to the cuſtom of thoſe eſtates, from whole Governours God hath taken away all wiſdom and foreſight, they left thoſe of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themſelves, and to their own defence; hoping that the fire kindled ſomewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could ſpread it ſelf ſo far as their own Territories and Cities. But after ſuch time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities conſumed; five of thoſe 31 Kings (all which at length periſhed in that war) joyned themſelves together, firſt attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendered themſelves to *Jofua*. Onely five (the reſt looking on to the luſces) namely, the King of the *Jebuſites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hieruſalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addreſſt themſelves for reſiſtance: whole Army being by *Jofua* ſurprized and broken, themſelves deſpairing to eſcape by flight, and hopeleſs of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Jofua* drawn forth and hanged. In the proſecution of which victory he alſo took *Makkedah*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gozar* haſtened, and periſhed. After which *Jofua* poſſeſt himſelf of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, deſtroying the Cities with their Princes.

Jof. 10.

Jof. 10.

In the end, and when the South Countries were poſſeſt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duſt: the reſt of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counſels of neceſſity, united themſelves, to make one groſs ſtrength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practiſed and gathered together, by *Jofua* diſcovered, as the ſame reſted near the Lake of *Merom*, he uſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining abſolute victory over them, he proſecuted the ſame to the utmoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* onely, reſerving the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Jofua* ſhewed himſelf a ſkilful man of War, for that in thoſe ancient times he uſed the ſtratagem of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the firſt five Kings of the *Amo-*

rites, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurprize. For he marched all night from his Camp at *Gilgal*, and ſet on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great City of *Hazor*.

Jof. 10.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable as the ſtay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, ſo as the Army of *Iſrael* paſt it with a dry foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the found of the Horns; the ſhowers of Hale-ſtones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them periſhed than by the ſword of *Iſrael*: again, the arreſt of the Sun in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lightened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Jof. 2. 13.
10 v. 11.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage between *Jofua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evaſion, it admitteth no intruſion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perſidiouſneſs, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expreſſly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeiters, and that they did over-reach, and as it were, deride *Jofua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by feigning to be ſent as Embaſſadours from a far Country, in which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newneſs when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their ſhoes patch'd; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Yet *Jofua* having ſworn unto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, he durſt not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he ſpared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Jof. 9. 7.

Jof. 10.
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Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Jofua* had it. For firſt, the commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might juſtly have put theſe men to the ſword, and have ſack'd their Cities, if there be any evaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the living God is called to witneſs. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, be-
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cauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had ſaid, and counſelled not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, theſe men who were known Idolaters, and ſerved thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an aſpith Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſs of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelf by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Jofua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the help of *Equivocation* or *Mental Reſervation*. For what he ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithleſs ſubtily of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had ſworn it, were worſhippers of the Devil.

Jof. 9. 7.

Jof. 9. 14.

For it is not, as faithleſs men take it, that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the Promiſe in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God who therein neglect: we therein profeſs that we fear him not, and that we ſet him at naught, and deſiſe him. If he that without reſervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himſelf, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his Name, and makes him a witneſs of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a Son to break the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break thoſe Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by

publick faith. For though it were 400 years after *Jofua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people defended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgot not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Sauls* ſons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Huſbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſs) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this: That he that ſweareth by the Name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witneſs, and in whole preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of Gods Commandments in this kind: But this indeed is the beſt answer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely looſe it again, but were ſoon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelf: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Biſhop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the ſiſtenth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph* *Elhadach*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan* *Sanar*, who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk* *Syrac*on to their aid: whole Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Croſs (the very Croſs, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge, ſeeing they had forſworn themſelves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from

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the Holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul:* how much more perillous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that persuaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungary after his great victory over *Anurath the Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew the war. And though the said King was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battel with 30000. Christians, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against *Infidels, Turks, or Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-days, is rather made a matter of custom, than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave to many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-leaving their Idolatry, and, as it is said in the Scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make War.* For these Cities hereafter named did not only remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Josua*; but soon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforced to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of *Juda* were not able to be masters of their own Valleys; because as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of Iron. And those principal Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoining unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims, or Philistims*: as *Azazab, Gath, Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* over *Jordan* expel the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachabites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nephtalims* possess themselves of *Ethielsenijf*, nor of *Bethanab*; but they inforced those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expel the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Arkzib, Heblab, Aphke, & Kebeb*, nor inforced them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. All so the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims*; and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean, Taacnah, Dor, Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea *Hiernsalem* it self did the *Josua*

bustles defend above four hundred years, even till *David's* time.

Now *Josua* lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josuephus* gives him five and twenty years: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the Hebrew *Chronologie* eight and twenty; and *Massius* fix and twenty: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen: *Cajetan* us; ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty: and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melan-Ethion*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480. years from the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Josua* only eighteen of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. years from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of error, such as have inferred years between *Josua* and *Othniel*, of whom *Eusebius* finds eight years, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Josua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine years: *Bucolzer* and *Resner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no less than three and thirty: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. years, there can be no void years found between *Josua* and *Othniel*, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Josua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Josua* are briefly written in the fix and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord*?

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, *verse 26. And Josua wrote these words in the book of the Law of God*: which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Josua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord: which promise *Josua* caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenstus*: *Theodore* doth likewise conceive, that the book of *Josua* was collected out of an antient Volume, intituled *Liber Jusorum*, remembered by *Josua* himself; and others, that it was the work

1 Sam. 10. of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26. *Verse. And Josua wrote these words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had answered *Josua*; *The Lord our God will me serve, and his voice will we obey*, it followeth that *Josua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Josua*, *Eriah boninus* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danans* (as it is said) slew the fifty sons of *Egyptus*, all but *Lyncus*, who succeeded *Danans*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Josua*, *Phanix*, and *Cadmus*, and near the end of

Josua's life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the daughter of *Phenix* (afterward married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But *S. Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Dencalion*, and *Dencalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Trojan* war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the Council of the *Greeks*, *Thejus*, and *Periboeus* for men of Antiquity and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more antient than any of these. But here of elsewhere.



CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of *Israel* that were planted in the borders of *Phoenicia*, with sundry Stories depending upon those places.

§. I.

The Prowme to the description of the whole Land of *Canaan*; with an Exposition of the name of *Syria*.

The Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Josua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten

Tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of *Samarita*: but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographical description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and

dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (saith *Augustine*) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne aeternam justitiam inferat ultionem: The divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-wealths: and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so to descend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

falem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, *Thy builders have baffled: so far St. Hierome* 3; where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: *Neque hoc dico in succillationem terre Judæe, ut hæreticus Sygphanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historie veritatem, quæ fundamentum est intelligentia spirituali: sed ut decutiam supercilium Judeorum, qui Synagoge angustias latitudini Ecclesie præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum orificantem, offendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither (saith he) say I this to digrace the land of Judæa, as the heretical Sygphanti doubt believe: or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with Milk, and Honey.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it is unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut. 11. 24* had his truth in the litteral sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East-bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense) yet nevertheless that *Hierome's* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be understood for *Euphrates*, and that the promise itself was never so large: much less the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

And now for a more particular description of this *Holy Land*, because *Affer*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northernmost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Affer* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I spake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversely expressed, so that to the unskillfull they may seem divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, because the Antient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the later do think fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

§. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

THe *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 4500. and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the Defarts, there remained of their issue, besides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which past the river of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, and after the conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais* Acon alongst the Sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the East border make twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it some what larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyl, and Wheat, besides the *Balsammum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, *Affer pinguis panis*: Concerning *Affer*, his bread shall be fat: And he shall give pleasures for a King.

§. II.

of Zidon.

THe first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Affer*, was *Zidon*, which *Josua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Latins* make *Agnor* the founder thereof: and *Justine* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidonu*. But that it was far more ancient, *Moses*, *Josua*, and *Josaphat* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan's* sons: and so strong it was in *Josua's* time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Afferites*, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies

enemies Sword, and by the Pestilence. *Zidon* is seated on the very waly of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterranean* or *Mid-land Sea*. It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seignior*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissbaur* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to divide any new Scale to the Map and Description of the Holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and lost. It seemeth to be more antient than *Tyre* 3; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principal workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the *Dutch Order*: and another Castle it hath on the South-side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the *Templers* guarded. It also lent many other Colonies beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephva*, Cities of *Beotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glasse, which they used to make of those Sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterranean Sea*, near *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those clear Glasse which they make at *Murana*: of which *St. Hierom* and *Pliny*: *Zidon insignis artifex vitri*: *Zidon vitrariorum officinis nobilis*: *Zidon a famosis Glasse-maker, or a skilful worker in Glasse-houiser*. They were in Religion Idolaters (as the

rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* the form of *Affer*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* or *Affer* gathers out of 1 *Sam.* 31. 10. and *Judg.* 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Deut.* 11. 5. in the story of *Solomon's* Idolatry: where *Astarte* is called the god of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.* 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezabel* the daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astartes* in their idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim*, and *Astartoth*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name *Astartoth*, as I am informed by a skillful *Hebræan*, is plural 3; the singular being *Astarte*: whence *Judg.* 2. 13. the *Septuagint* read *idolatrias suis astartis*: They worshipped the *Astartes*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astartes*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them; which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers Cities divers. *Augustine* quest. 19. in *Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tully*, lib. 3. de *Nat. Deorum*, making divers Goddesses of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte*: whom he makes to be born of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*. 2. *Saturn.* cap. 21. says, that *Adonis* was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the *Affrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seem that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewail her husband *Adonis*: as also the *Greeks* did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourne for Adonis the fair, dead is Adonis the fair*. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* did without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose loss of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Greeks*, *Venus* loss of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Amunus*: which word may seem to be the same with *Ezekiel's* *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus antiently fostered with the milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine

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Strabo.
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Ant. liij

Gen. 40

Justin. l. 16.

Gen. 10.

Josua 19.

Esa. 59.

hier. 47.

Ezek. 11.

1. Reg. 11.

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Khaesto
saxle
Adonis.

of the Gospel of Christ after his Ascension, than the Jews: who had been taught by Moses and the Prophets for many years, whereof our Saviour in Matthew and Luke: *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they had repented long ago, &c. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyre and Sidon, at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocese of Tyre. But in the year of our Redemption 336. it fell into the hands of the Saracens, and continued in their possession till Baldwin the first, then King of Hierusalem: in the year 1111. by the help of the Danes and Normans, who came with a Fleet to visit the Holy Land, and took Port at Joppa, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to Eusebe Gremer, a Noble man of that Country. And again in the year 1250. it was re-edified and strengthened by Lodowick the French King: while he spent four year in the War of the Holy Land. Lastly, in the year 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in possession of the Turk, and hath the name of Zai.

S. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarpath, is the next City Southward from Zidon, between it and the River called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing near it: of which Sidonius:

Vina mibi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quaeque Sareptano palmitis mibia bibas.

I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine,
Nor any for the drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocesis of Tyre: after it came to the Saracens and Turks, as the rest: and is now called Saphet, faith Josephus.

Not far from Sarepta was situate that sometime famous City of Tyre, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the Mediterraen Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatness and power, the Tyrians erected Urica, Lepsis, and Carthage in Africa, of which Virgil, Urbs

antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.
And Carthage was therefore called Punicia quasi Phœnicum, a Colony of the Phœnicians. In Spain they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italy, Nola: in Asia the less Dromos Achillis, which City the Scholiast of Apollonius placeth near the River Phyllis, in Bythinia.

It had antiently the name of Zor, or Zaur: and so it is written in Joshua the 19. taking name from the Situation; because built upon a high Rock, sharp at one end. The Latines, as it seems, knew it by the name of Sarra: for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, *Ostreum Sarraenum*, by which name Juvenal and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day: the place being still known by the name of the antient Tyre: and because it was a Colony of the Zidonians, the Prophet Esay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berosus by affinity of name makes Thiras the son of Japhet to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very antient (for so much the Prophet Esay also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious City, whose antiquity is of antient days?*) yet that Thiras the son of Japhet set himself in the bottom of the Canaanites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new Tyre in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of Agenor: and of this opinion was Curtius: and Josephus and Eusebius make this City elder than Solomon's Temple 240 years: Cedrenus 361. who also addeth, that Tyrus the wife of Agenor, gave it her name: but of Agenor I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700. paces from the Continent; and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the midst of the Seas, as some read, or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it *scituate at the entry of the sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Isles*; and Esay, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet Esay calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manufacture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, faith Julius Pollux, was first found out by Hercules Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the

the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that Zidon did: saving that Hercules became their Patron in after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a Crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to Hercules, the Defender of their City, and the Ancestor of the Macedonian Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hercules his Temple was in the Mountain of old Tyre: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for Alexander was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from Libanus so great a number of Cedars, & so many weighty stones from the old City of Tyre adjoining, as notwithstanding that his materials were often waisted away with the strength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot-passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their walls, he overtopped them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung up in a rank all along the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold blood he performed (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of Alexander over the Tyrians, Josephus remembreth: and how Sabinus revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last Satrapa or Provincial Governour, which Darius seated in Samaria: the same who having married his Daughter to Manasse, brother to Jaddas the high Priest of Hierusalem, obtained of Alexander, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain Garizim over Samaria: that the forces of the Jews being divided, Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his son in law Manasse, whom the Jews oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while Alexander besieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Guil. Tyrius called Sanabala, died.

Long before this defolation of Tyre by the cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by

Salmanasser the Assyrian King: when the growing pride of the Assyrians, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of Syria, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with three score ships of war held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the Tyrians with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took 500. prisoners of the Assyrians: notwithstanding, the Assyrian continued his resolution, and lay before it by his Lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege Menander Ephesus, cited by Josephus, made report of in his Chronicles, as he found the Story among the Annals of the Tyrians (which the said Menander converted into Greek) adding, that Elnelus, whom Tyrius called Helianus, was then King of Tyre, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of Salmanasser, and about 200. years before the victory of Alexander, Nabuchodonosor, at such time as he destroyed Hierusalem with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to Alexander the example of that despairful work, of joining it to the Continent. For Nabuchodonosor had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawley and passage was again broken down, and demolished.

Against Nabuchodonosor, for many years, the Tyrians defended themselves: for so long did those Babylonians continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, faith Ezekiel, who with the Prophet Esay had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after 12. years siege or more, the Tyrians despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering over late the predictions and threatenings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, layd thence into Cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritime Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that War: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own) to make Nabuchodonosor victorious over the Egyptians: and gave him that Kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint Hierom noteth, that God leaveth

not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded : who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his *Servants* and *Saints* : yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprise of Nabucodonosor's against Tyre, prophane Historians have not been silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Josephus* citeth them) the one in his second Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories remember it.

After these two great *Vallations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it self again : and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our *Saviour Christ* : and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith near 600. years : the *Archbishop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Hiersusalem* onely, who within his own *Dioceses* had fourteen great Cities, with their *Bishops* and *Suffragans* : namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Prolomis*, as *Septimia*, *Zidon*, *Caesarea* *Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Syblus*, *Botrys*, *Tyropolis*, *Orthofia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the year 636. it was with the rest of that beautiful Region of *Phoenicia* and *Palestina*, subjected to the cruel and faithles *Saracens* : under the burthen and yoke of whole tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. years.

In the year 1112, it was attempted by Baldwin King of Hierusalem; but in vain: in the year 1124, by Guaremonde, Patriarch of Hierusalem, Vicegerent to Baldwin the second, with the assistance of the Venetians, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the Kings of Hierusalem, and so it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189, *Saladine* having first taken *Hierusalem*., removed his whole Army, and late down before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiersd, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and fallyed out resolutely upon his Army, slew so great numbers of them; and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory the body of that famous Frederick Barbarossa (who by

the lamentable accident of following the *Christians*: enemies over a River unfordable perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedral Church of Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and graven with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. years before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Afferites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Affer* was *Acho*, which was the antient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirm, that it took name from *Aeon* the brother of *Ptoleomie*. *Pliny* calleth it *Acc*: and otherwise the Colony of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hadipos*.

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolemæus*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolemies*; which City also, as it is *1 Mac. 11*, another of the *Ptolemies*, infideliouſly wretted from his ſon in law *Alexander*, which called himſelf theſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the ſame *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the ſaid *Ptolemæus*, not long before. Therein alſo was *Jonathan Machabees* treacherouſly ſurprized and ſlain, as it is *1 Mac. 12*. 48. by the perfidiouſneſs of *Tryphon*, whom ſoon after *Antiochus* purſued, as it is in the Story enſuing: and, by like reaſon, about the ſame time was the aforeſaid *Alexander* in the war againſt *Demetrius*, one of the ſons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolemæus* joyned, overthrowen and treacherouſly murdered by *Zabdiel the Arabian*: to whom he fled for ſuccour: and his head preſented unto his father in law *Ptolemæus*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treaſon above three daies, for God ſtruck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regal seat; two parts of the fame being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferior to any other in all that Trade. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles.

CHAP. VII

Hero!

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miles. In the middelt of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub* : and therefore called the *Casle of Flicor*, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt* : to give comfort in the night to those ships which came neer and fought that part. It had in it a Bishop's seat of the Dioces of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian* : but in the year 636. (a fatal year to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracene*. In the year 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa* : to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, *Saladine* King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the year of *Christ*, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury of the *Saracens* besieged with an Army of 150000. entered, sack'd, and utterly demolished : though in some sort afterward redified, and it is now *Turkish*.

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Of the Castle of Saint George

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Five miles from *Ptolemais* towards the *Eafr*, is a Castle of *St. George* seated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoining bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successors royally have continued, should have born his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those daies, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adricumius* in his description of *Affer*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the Rivers *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his own words are these: *Hec loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorati inchantans Chrysostomus Dracem, Regis filium ab immaturo Dracone absorpsisse: tamque uictatibus parenti restituisse. In cuius res memoriam Frelcia desponsum fuit edificata: in ibi*

place, *whith by the Inhabitants is called Capadocia, not far from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did rescue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there: Thus far Adricomius.* His Authors he citeth *Lodovicus Romanus, Patric. Navigationum l. i. c. 3. and Eridenbach Itin. 5.* The Valley under this Castle sometime called *Asjer*, was afterward called the Valley of *Saint George*. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorical, figuring the victory of *Christ*, than except of *George the Arrian Bishop*, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus.*

||. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

Between *Ptolomæ* and *Tyre* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, was the ſtrong City of *Aczib*, or *Achazib*, which *S. Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Joſephus* *Ecdippus*, *Plinie* *Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites*. *Belforreſt* finds *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from *Cadeshbarr*, travelled as far to the North as *Reob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Asher*, which *Rechob*, as also *Beritha*, which by *Ezechiel*, *cap. 47. ver. 16*. is placed in these North borders, belonging in *David's* time to the King *Hadarbezer*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel*, *chap. 8. ver. 2.* and *chap. 10. ver. 6.* and it defended it self against the *Asherites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achazib*, *Ptolemais*, *Aiab*, *Helbab*, and *Aphek*, did.

This *Aphek* it was, whose wall falling down, slew seven and twenty thousand of *Benhadad's* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Ahaz*. Here *Junius* finds that the *Philistines* encamped a little before the battel at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the first of *Samuel* the 9 & 11. he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battel the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda*. Of which *Joel*, 11. and 52. & in the second of *Kings* 12. 17. he reads, *For itter, for in Aphek*. Where others covert it, *Percutients Syges in Aphek*.

The next place alongst the coast is *Sandalium*, first called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he besieged *Tyre*: and

1 King, 2c
29.
1 Sam, 19.
1.

4.1.2

Hieronym proveth: *Galaad* in *mibi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Tracomite*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these Mountains bordering *Affer*; *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Cosmographes*, but he giveth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because (according to *Tacitus*) the highest of them are covered with snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word *Libanos*, (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which those Trees yield: because *καδάρω* is also the Greek word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodisius* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Rivers which *Libanus* bettoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Cyrrhorbas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of *Affer*, are those Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitful: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: from *Nelo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Mose* beheld *Libanus* threecore miles distant.

§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPTHALIM.

§. I.

Of the bounds of *Nepthalim*, and of *Heliopolis*, and *Abila*.

THE next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Affer*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nepthalim*, the son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to bear arms, numbered at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sons, 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty years of age. The Land of *Nepthalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoining, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*,

bounded on the West by *Affer*, and on the East and South-East by *Jordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adjoining to this Territory of *Nepthalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*: which the height of the Mountains adjoining shadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Bealbecca*.

This name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the Hebrews, and the Chaldean *Paraphrast*; otherwise *Bethemes*, or after the Latines, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; The City of the Sun: into which, saith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the Roman Emperour sent a Colony: the other *Gestulius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adjoining to *Nepthalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis* of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila also gave name to the region adjoining, of which *Lysanias* the son of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lysanias*, and called it *Abila Lysanias*. *Volaterran* names it *Abila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophist* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intitled *Apuleius*, not *Abileus*. After that this city of *Abila* or *Abila*, had received the Christian Faith, *Priscillianus* became the Bishop thereof: Itain afterward by our *British* *Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this city (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembered, that in the Tribe of a *Manasse*, joining upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nepthalim*, there is another city of the same name, saving that it is written with an (E) for an (I) and called *Abela*, remembered in the 20. chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome*, *Beth-machea*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction sake, it is written *Abel Beth-Machea*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mabaca* the wife of *Maacir*, the son of *Manasse*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* besieged, because *Seba* the son of *Bichri*, who rebelled, against *David*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certain wife woman of the city perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The same city was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Toghtalpalassar*.

Guil. Cyr. bell. Jer. 9. 15. Theod. 4. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The word *Abel* may be explained, either to signifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvel that many Towns with some addition for distinction sake were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Judg. 2. 4.* and so doubtless * *Abel-Misraim*, *Gen. 50. 11.* and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num. 33.* thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and so perhaps *Abel-Meholab* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Elisah* the Prophet: also *Abel-Vin* near of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephtha* pursued them.

§. II.

Of *Hazor*.

IN the Tribe of *Nepthalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joshua*'s time called *Asor*, (or after the Chaldean *Paraphrast*, *Hazor*) by *Josephus*, *Asora*; by *Junius*, * *Chabzor*; which *Laisian* names *Hefson*; the Regal City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: seated in the West part of *Nepthalim*, towards *Affer*. In this city was that great Rendevous and Assembly of those four and twenty Kings against *Joshua*: who being all overthrowen, slain, and scattered, their powerful city was by *Joshua* taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time the same being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a second King *Jabin*, 137. years after the death of this first *Jabin*, invaded the *Israelites*: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude 20. years; till *Deborah* the Prophetess overthrowen *Sisera*, *Jabins* Lieutenant, and his Army, near the Mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* restored at such time as he also re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with * *Megiddo*, *Beithoron*, and other cities; but about 260. years after, it fell into the hands of *Toghtalpalassar*, King of the *Assyrians*. It is now, saith *Adricomius*, called *Antiochia*: it was one of the principal cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, seated on the confines of *Ashcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, saith * *Hieronymus*.

§. III.

Of *Caesarea Philippi*.

HERE was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nepthalim*, that re-

nowned city of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leichen*; which city the children of *Dan* (being strained in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and mastered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genes. 14.* at which place *Abraham* surprised *Chedorlamer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobab*, formerly remembered in the division of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the joynit name of *Leichen-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lacis*; the *Geneva*, *Lajsch*; *Josephus*, *Dana*, *Benjamin*, *Balima*; *Breidenbach*, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witness *Neubrigenfis*, *Tyrris*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this city to be the same, called *Magedan*, *Matth. 15. 39.* in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the Greek Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in *S. Marks*, speaking of the same story, *Dalmannutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judg. 18.* And there was none to help, because *Lais* was far from *Zidon*: and they had no business with other men: for it was above thirty English miles from the *Mediterranean* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

In after-times when these regions became subject to the state of *Rome*, it had the name of *Panæa*, from a Fountain adjoining to it called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæsarea Panæa*. *Hegechippus* calls it *Parnum*, saith *Weissenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegechippus*, let out by *Badini*, it is written *Panæum* without an (R): and at such time as *Philip* the son of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governor of *Tracanit*, sometime *Basan*: this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæsar*, he called it * *Cæsarea Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head city of *Tracomit*, and one of the first cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: so in *S. Hieroms* time the Citizens remembered their former *Panæa*, and so re-called it, with the Territory adjoining by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant Faith: who afterward,

chap. 16. 10.

verse 18. because *Lais* was far from *Zidon*: and they had no business with other men: for it was above thirty English miles from the *Mediterranean* Sea, and from *Zidon*. *Plin. l. 5. c. 15.*

reg. l. 1. c. 35.

* Of such, the *Cæsarea* (or *Cæsaria*) called *Cæsarea Philippi*, was the former part of *Manasse*. Of *Dicæopolis*, see *Josephus* in *Zabulon*. *Rufin. hist. Beel. l. 7. c. 14.* *Steph. l. 6. c. 37.*

ward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as *Ensebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two statues to be cast in pure Copper: the one representing *Christ, as near as it could be moulded*: the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These the mounted upon two great Bases or Pedestals of the same metal, which the placed by a Fountain near her own house: both which (saith *Ensebius*) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time: which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of *Constantine* the Great. But in the year after *Christ* 363, that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast down and defaced: setting up the like of his own in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts fundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Danites*, was near the joining together of those two Rivers, which arising from the springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a foil exceeding fruitful and pleasant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place which *Dan* faith, doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this City it was that *S. Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Son of God: whereupon it was answered, *Thes Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat: and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and re-taken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after it when again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World subjected to the *Turk*.

II. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capernaum* is not the least: it is often remembered by the *Evangelists*. This City had the honour of *Christ*s presence three years: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he first preached and

taught the doctrine of our salvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Esaie* 9. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entrench into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich soil: of whose destruction *Christ* himself prophesied in these words, And thou *Capernaum* which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell, &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that City: for it was one of the principal Cities of *Decapolis*, and the Metropolis of *Galilee*. And although there were some marks of this Cities magnificence in *Saint Hieroms* time, as himself confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burge or Town: yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as *Brocard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Salinius* affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor Fishermen houses.

The Region of ten principal Cities, called *Decapolis*, or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mentioned, and in *S. Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* also remembered; but I find no agreement between the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Pliny* himself confesseth; for *Marinus Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Capsus* in *Cappotis*; and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Cælosyria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbrells four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Opotus*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I guess, *Amma* rather, because it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbab*, before *Ptole*. *Philadelphus* gave it this latter and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, sometime *Nysa*, built (as is said) by *Bacrus*, in memory of his Nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethsan*; for the sixth he setteth *Gadara*, (not that *Gadara* in *Cælosyria*, and which was also called *Antioch* and *Selenia*;) but it is *Gadara* in *Basan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, seated on an high hill, near the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which bounded *Gad* and *Manasse* over *Jordan*: but he mistaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippus* and *Gerafa*, whereas *Jaboc* entrench the same Sea between *Ephron* and *Pannuel*. For the seventh he nameth * *Hippus*, or *Hippion*, a City so called of a Colony of Horsemen there garrisoned by

Math. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8.

Niger. comment. lib. 4. f. 503. Plin. l. 5. c. 18. Niger City standing in the Valley of Cælosyria, watered by Chrysomus, as Damascius. Plin. l. 5.

* Piny hath Hippion Doria, for which Ptolerus reads Hippion. Ortelius takes them for two Cities.

by *Herod*, on the East-side of the *Galilean Sea*, described hereafter in the Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is also called *Buth*, and *Berenice*, seated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelafa*, which *Josephus* takes to be *Gerafa*: and *Gerafa* is found in *Cælosyria* by *Josephus*, *Hegeppus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phoenicia*. The tenth and last, *Pliny* nameth *Camaba*, and so doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegeppus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Basan* over *Jordan*, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camel. But the Collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brocard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Salinius*, which make them to be these; *Cæsarea Philippi*, and *Ajor*, before remembered, *Cedes*, *Nephthalim*, *Sebeth*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethsan*. For all other Authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the *Evangelist* *S. Mathew* makes it manifest, that this Region called *Decapolis*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: And he departed again from the coasts of *Tyros* and *Zidon*, and came unto the Sea of *Galilee*, through the midst of the coasts of *Decapolis*: so that it was bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician Sea*, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the West: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethsan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwise *Hermon*, *Samir*, and *Galaad*, on the East: which is from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, near the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

II. V.

Of Hamath.

But to look back again towards *Libanus*, *Bithere* is seated near the foot thereof the City of * *Hamath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Country adjoining taketh name: the same which *Josephus* calleth *Anathitis*, and *Amathensis*: * *Cabotus Zeigler*, *Iurea*. *Iurea Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephthalim, per montem Libanum usque Trachones.*

* The Septuagint write it Amath, Hierome reads Amath, Josephus reads Amath, &c.

Chammath, cap. 1. ver. 32. Chammath-Dor, in the first of Chron. cap. 6. ver. 7. Chammath, Kings 14. 8. Chammath-Chadai, as Junius reads it, whereas also for further distinction there is added (in itself) to note, that it was old belonging to *Jude*, though seated in *Jisrah*, that is, in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: the other *Chammath*, being in *Syria Soba*. a Zeigler in Nephel.

The Country of *Iurea*, saith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephthalim*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Iurea*, he mistakes the feat of this Region: and so doth *Arcator*. For indeed were *Iurea* (which *Hegeppus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrinus*, *Baccat*) the same with *Trachonitis*, yet *Trachonitis* it self is far more to the East than *Hamath* in *Nephthalim*: for *Trachonitis* lieth between *Cæsarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hamath* or *Chammath* is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cælosyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which *B. Hierom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hamath* or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phoenicia*, and *Nephthalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hamath*, or in our Translation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron* 8. 3. is set far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembered in *Numb* 34. 8. & *Numb* 13. 22. & in *Ezek* 47. 16. In the first of which places it bordereth the Land of promise, these being the words: From Mount *Hor* you shall point (that is, direct or draw a line) until it come to *Hamath*: In the second place thus: So they went up, and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of *Sin*, unto *Rebo* to the top of *Hamath*: Then in *Ezekiel*, The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against *Hamath*: that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a Line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is the Northwest corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hamath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of * *Rebo* adjoining, prove it: the

Joana 19. 35. is called *chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was also called *Chammath* (where the word *Hamath* and *Emath* were named) may be gathered; because the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron* 8. 3. for distinction is called *Chammath Tiberias*, which as it may seem by *Joan* 21. 32. *Jwan Chammath*, and *Chammath Jude*, as we have noted, 2 *Chr* 28. 18. Second, because the Numbers 34. 8. and also *Ezek* 47. 10. *Chammath* in the North side of the Holy Land is placed to use the West corner, to be that *Chammath Soba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Hamath* to serve as a place Eastward along all the breadth of the Holy Land until we come to *Hermon*, for that beyond Mount *Hor* *Numb* 34. 7. and beyond *Hermon* southward in this North side, they make him to name three Towns, first *Hamath*, then *Tyfa*, then *Zidon*, and lastly, *Chammath* hence a thing most unlikely: seeing they had need of nothing Eastward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Rebo* to be one of the Hills near *Sidon*, and to those Towns as they are named, to lie in order on the North side of *Ajor*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasse*; and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, *israh*, *Chadai*, then *Chammath*, and so in order, *Breida*, *Sibram*, *Tyfa*, *Chauran*, *Chammath*; as *Joan* 21. 32. 19. 35. 4. Which *Rebo* or *Rebo*, in *Joan* 21. 32. is placed in *Ajor* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*

other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Iurea*, witness *Stella* and *Laifan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where *Jonathan* *Macchabees* attended the Army of the *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night,

* Titima-
was, Stella
and Ture
Laifan in
their ta-
bles of the
of *Demetrius*,
who fled from
him, and re-
moved by
night.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Iurea* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galilee Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Iurea*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch*, or *President*, both of *Iurea* and *Traconitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the East. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the West side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterranean* Sea.

The Country *Iurea* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the sons of *Israel*; it is placed in the bounds of *Celestria*, and *Arabia** the Desert.

The people *Iurea* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil*:

Iureas Taxi traquentur in arcus.

Of *Eugene* the *Iureans* bows were made.

This City *Chemath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Iurea*, both built by *Awathens* the eleventh son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Toku* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subjugation *Tobu* rejoiced, because *Hadadzer*, whom the *Damascenes* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tobu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great success would not have had peace with *Tobu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Yoba*: which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himself Master of, as a part of the lands (a) in the larger and conditional promise allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hamath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath

been said, possessed by *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While *S. Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

5. VI.

Of *Reblatha* & *Rama*, and divers other Towns.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath*, towards *Jordan*, standeth the City *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis*: which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Jericho*: & delivered to *Nebuchodonosor*: who to be avenged of *Zedekias*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and for the most remembered, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: & binding him in iron chains, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which state he ended his life. Of which seldom exampled calamity, though not in express words, *Jeremy* the Prophet foretold him in *Hiersa*lem not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly speaking in the person of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldeans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall sit therein.*

There are, besides these before remembered, many other strong Cities in *Nephtalim*, as that which is called (a) *Cedes*; there are two other of the same name, one in (b) *Jafachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Jof. 15.23.* and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of (c) *Nephtalim*, as *Jud. 4. 6.* is seated on a high hill, whence *Jof. 20.7.* *Ke- adu* in *Galilee* in monte *Nephtali*: *Jofephus* which *Jof.* calls it *Cedes*, and in *S. Hieromes* time it was called *Cidifus*. *Belforst* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the Desert of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Jofia*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the second *Jabin* of *Hasor*, at the Mount *Zabor*. It was sometime possessed by *Teglatphalaser*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the Romans, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapoli* Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat, but in time it fell with the rest into

the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some four Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapoli* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable Fortrefs of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both In-land and Maritime, near it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward near *Sepphet*, it is to be noted, that there are divers places of this name in *Palestine*, all situate on hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama* *Hebraeis* excellit; *Kamah* with the *Hebrews* is high.) Also that from this *Rama*, *Jof. 19.36.* they read *Arama*, making the Article (which it hath in the *Hebrews*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arama*. From *Sepphet* towards the West, they place * *Bethseph*, of which *Jof. 19.38.* which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Jud. 1.33.* but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sepphet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their City from the *Nephtalims*.

Adjoining to which standeth *Carthan*, (a) or *Kiriathojim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers: of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the (e) *Evangelists*.

Adjoining to these are *Magdale*, a place of strength, (f) and *Mesaloth*, of which we read, that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the (g) *Maccabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothas* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe (b) one near *Chemath* in the North border, of which *Ezek. 47.6.* another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Jofeph. ant. l.5. c.2.*) he therefore placeth in this tract near the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* against *Jofia*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Jof. 11.5.* are by *Jofephus* said to have encamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedes* *superior*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is cal-

led, that it is also *Kiriathojim*. In the place, *Reg. 4.* it is, which they bring to prove that there was a *City of this name*, as evident by the following Verse: The Tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

led the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gen- tiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* near *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-Beth Mahabac*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, *2 Sam. 20. 14.* where some read *Abel* & *Ethmahabac*, & *omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, & *omnes Berim*, that is, with all the *Berai*: for *Shebath* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beroth*) drew the men of that City after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* under *Lihannus*, remembered by *Ezek. 47.* and *Aroch* *gentium*, near the waters of *Merom*, or *Sannabomiris*, the City of *Sisara*. Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence not far off, towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrebi*, a strong City: besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance: as *Ser* in *Jof. 19.25.* called *Tridim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Afchim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Adana*: also *Hion*, which they call *Abion*, of which in the books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cimmereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we read of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberias*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which

* *1 Mac. 9.2.* also divers others, named *Jof. 19. as Ucuca*, or *Chukkeh*, *Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Jofia*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum*, *Jepnael*, *Helch*, and (k) *Raccath*, which two last they place near *Cafarea* *Philippi*: To these they add out of *Jofia*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Junius* readeth *Fofia* *Adami*, making it no Town, but a Ditch call by some of *Adami*, as it seems; or at least the custody of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Nun. 34. 10.* they add *sephana*, which *1 Sam. 30. 21.* seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As *Jofia* thinks that it is the same with *Kerath* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Kerath* we have noted already, that it is also *Kiriathojim*. In the place, *Reg. 4.* it is, which they bring to prove that there was a *City of this name*, as evident by the following Verse: The Tribe of *Nephtalim* is meant, and not any City of that name.

After, Junius

Jerom

Jud. 4.

137. in

Jud. 4.

Jof. 19.37.

Reg. 15.

29.

Mar. 6. 53.

Lake 5. 12.

• This place of the Macchabees, war-rants no more.

Galgala, in Galilee, in Nephtalim, but may well be understood.

• This place of the Macchabees, war-rants no more.

• This place of the Macchabees, war-rants no more.

• This place of the Macchabees, war-rants no more.

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diterranean Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Tiberias*, which King was one of those that *Josias* slew: which the Kings of *Israël* used for their Regal seat, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Asbia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sons death.

The second was *Ikebes* near *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt* and *Greece*, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Town, wherinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others sit this City in *Ephraim* near *Shechem*, or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acabata*, of which the Territory adjoining is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Topharchies*, or governments in *Judea*) for which *Hierome*, 1 *Mac.* 5. reads *Arabatena*: but in the Greek it is *Acrobatina*: *Isidore* call it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largest Territories of all *Palestine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Josephus* remembereth it often, as in his second book of the Jews wars, c. 11. 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Topharchy*, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some lesser Territory adjoining; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Prætor* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof so called. *Pliny* nameth eleven *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and so hath the Kingdom of *Ireland* to this day, *Lensfers*, *Officer*, *Cornath*, and *Munster*.

To the South-west of *Acabata* they place the Cities of *Balana*, or *Bilham*, and *Cetremmon* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Jof. 21.* 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one; and that *Jiltebam*, *Jof. 16.* 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regal City, sit at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Jezabel*, by a false accusation, caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end the might possess his Vineyard adjoining to the City, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his mother *Jezabel* murdered *Naboth*.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Abasiah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when

he had slain *Joram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Mageddo* adjoining. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber, Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, near unto which the good King *Josias* was slain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Affria* against the King thereof, by the commandment of God, whom *Josias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maccinaniopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Mageddo*, often remembered in the Scriptures: whose King was slain among the rest by *Josias*: yet they defended their City for a long time against *Manasse*. The River which passeth by the Town, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorfeus*; and not that of which we have spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land, delineate no such River. *Moore* only sets it down in his Geography of the twelve Tribes: but the River which passeth by *Mageddo*, he understandeth to be but a branch, falling thence into *Laglan* and *Schret* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Mageddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia* even to *Sebastie*, or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Josephus* calls *Cæsaria Palestine*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Gaza*: seeing also *Ptolomy* sets down *Chorfeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judea*, this river running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Mageddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorfeus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Mageddo* *Subimbre* at this day.

II.

Of *Cæsaria Palestine*, and some other Towns.

From *Mageddo* toward the West, and near the *Mediterranean Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæsaria Palestine*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Pessafan* gave the name of

Flavia

Flavia Colonia. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polliht marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates he forced a Harbor of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the wind blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceeded belief, I have added *Josephus* own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locorum*

Jos. 15. c. 13. *in commoditate correcurus, cerclum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magne classis recipiende sufficere: & in viginti ubarum profundum, prae grandia faxa demissi: quorum plerique pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudinis novem pedali: fuerunt quedam etiam majora, minora alia: To mend this inconvenience of place (saith *Josephus*) he compass in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fadome deep: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lesser. To this he added an arm or cawle of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the son in law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intituled the City it self, *Cæsaria of Palestine*: all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, commanding twenty others under it, saith *Tyrius*.*

S. Hierome nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galasius*, to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptised by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. *S. Paul* was herein two years prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken with an Angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or

Naphoth Dor, as some read, *Jof. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Josias*. But *Junius*, for in *Naphoth Dor*, reads in *tradiabus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, in *regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Naphoth Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Josias* call it *Nephth-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepht-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Jof. 12. 23.* *Judg. 1. 27.*) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful City, and the fourth in account of those twelve Principalities, or *Starachies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Mat. 15. 11.* placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Chorfeus*: for so some name the river *Chorfeus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this City for the strength thereof, *Tyrpho* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200. talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Maccabaeus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdom of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seat of the Diocels of *Cæsaria*.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Caphernaum*, *Gabe*, and *Gilgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they find in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name, Of *Gabe*, *Hierome* in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgah*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whole King was slain by *Josias*.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Maccabees*, it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Maccabaeus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an Army drawn into *Judea* by a traitorous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was Saint *Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted by 470. soldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfrey of Bullion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Saladine*. It was honoured in those days with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Asfir*, saith *Erachard*. Near unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three dayes preferred in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*,

N n

ria,

ria standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cosius* the Roman warred with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Casaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Neer

unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steadward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them: after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phœnicia.

S. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdom: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five Tribes, of *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasse*, possess the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least of many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so many Volumes of excellent learning in so long a Race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Geographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Oribosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus*: that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, some what to the North of *Oribosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterranean Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorfeus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Magedda*. *Pliny* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Eudæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia* apud *græcos* appellata (saith *Eudæus*) que nunc *Palestina* *Syrie* dicitur; it was called *Phœnicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

Strabo comprehends in this Country of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-side of *Judea*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the little Port of

Egypt. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Celestria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Casaria* *Palestina*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eastern world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterranean Sea*.

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Joshua's* time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Vandals* wars. But in process of time the City of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Joshua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Ishmael*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Giliz*, (ay *Cedreus* and *Curtius*) and built and possess the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when

when he surprised *Tyre*, had stola her thence: of which the Poets deviled the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and finds *Cadmus* his Successor, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successours of *Dido* held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

*Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implicitq; vero patrem: quam Belus & omnes
A Belo soliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massie gold)

To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grandfather to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the son of *Ishmael*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith *Saint Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successour living at once with *Joshua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his son. But instead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Scmiramê* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of Letters (*Egypt* flourished in all kind of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his own Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Joshua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possess the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before

that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land: which also they knew had so many powerful Nations to defend it: the *Desarts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the Sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistines*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoining unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Joshua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Soy*, or *Tyre*, by *Joshua* called the strong City *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*.) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those daies.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it self 13 years against a King of Kings, *Nebuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed irresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it self, though *Cassiterides* derive it, *ab arbore castylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *Phonon*, of slaughter, because the *Phœnicians* slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my self, I take it that *Phœnix* the son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his son in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, which they afterwards profess, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himself was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and superiour *Egyptians*: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinity

and Philosophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civility. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his sons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Lucan. l. 1. *Phœnices primi (fama si creditur) ausi*
3- *Manfuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the son of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*.

Alcen. 1. *Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus*
Dipno. *& ipse*
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia doctæ libros.

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Joseph.
contra *Ap-*
pionem.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again subscribe to none of these reports: but affirm constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt* and *Affrica*, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the general Flood: either by *Set* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many

other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Books after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently used by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and so had those *Americans* a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutcheons, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia*, & generalia &c. Natural laws are common, and general.

§. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachniatho*, *Mafcas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Jofua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradur*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phœnis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King appointed for *Hieremy* (peaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, *Capt. 1.* of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of several Kings).

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes* Fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300 Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependency upon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. years and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of

lib. 4.

Adam. l.
12. c. 13.

Hieron. l. 1.
c. 10. *Jovius*

of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects (who forefaw their utter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenaus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers, and fingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were near him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessor of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdom to *Hephstion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen, no less virtuous than rich, desired *Hephstion* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Archdolomius*, *Jysime*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Albomius*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regal Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, letting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterwards changed into Popular or Aristocratical: and by times and turns subjected to the Emperours of the East, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Josephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* there may be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the

Tyrians; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Alexander Eupheus*, do in no fort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same per chance that the son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his forty and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psalm. 83.*

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieromirus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chirani*. He entered into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Malons and Carpenters, to perform his buildings in *Hierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joynd with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. Chap. 2. & 2. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greeks*; and in *Sonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, he depised the 20. Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whole lake he was contented to worship *Astarte*, the Idol of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53. years.

Baleastartus, whom *Theophilus Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. years, according to *Josephus*.

Abdastartus the eldest son of *Baleastartus*, governed 9. years, and lived but 20. year, according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who being slain by the four sons of his own Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom 12. years.

Afarinus brother to *Abdastartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned 12. years.

Afarimus, or *Arbarimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third

C. 46.

Prep. 2.

vang. 19.

C. 4.

C. 4.

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Theop.

third brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. years, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth son of *Balestastus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astartus*, and reigned 2. months, and lived 50. years.

Joseph 32.
Theop. 12.

Ithobalus (or *Ithobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astartus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddeſs Aſtarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. years; 3. the same time in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Jezebel Achab* married.

1 Kings
16. 31.
Joseph 6.
years.

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezebel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in all 45.

Theop. 16.
Joseph 9.
Theop. 9.

Mettinus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. years (saith *Josephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elſa* and *Anna*.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettinus* his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the seventh year of whole reign, *Elſa* failed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. years and 8. months after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our account was 289. years after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sabacus* riches, who had married his sister *Elſa*, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we believe

Joseph 16.
Virgil 11.

Julſine and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elſa* fearing to be dispoiled of her husband's treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barca* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*.

Eulucus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. years: the fame that overthrew the Fleet of *Salmaneſſer*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five years, but in vain.

After *Eulucus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it

was gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surmounted and attempted *Tyre* 13. years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. years a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: First by *Emibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſus*, who held it among them some 7. years, and odd months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one year: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon*, 4. years: after him *Irom*, sent thence also, 20. years. In the 17. of whole reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Perſia*.

§. III.

of *Bozins* his conceit, that the *Edumeans* inhabiting along the *Red Sea*, were the Progenitors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phœnicia* the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozins* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozins*, importing here-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to prove this his assertion, suppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumeans*, descended from *Eſau*, *Jacob's* brother: first, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (besides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hiram's* good affection when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others, witness, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Islands, called

Tyrrus,

Tyrrus, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumeans*: as *Elab* and *Eſongabar*; or under the *Amalekites*, who defended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whose chief City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: *Iſmael* also had a son called *Thema*: of whom differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Aſtarti*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Phercydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customs of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumeans*, was an University, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of *Bozins*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumeans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumeans* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms express. That his Posterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetual enemies to the house of *Iſrael*, save only when *David* and some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of *David's* unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? surely, it was not any argument of Kinred or Alliance between *Tyrrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of *Eliphas* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumeans* punished, for being such as *David* in his own dayes found them. Although indeed the City of *Teman* whence *Eliphas* came to reason with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to

such the City of *Bildad* the *Subite*; as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text maketh manifest. For *Job* is said to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wisdom; all the people of the East; not the Inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is, that *Eliphas* the son of *Eſau* had a son called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sons, I now where find. And that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: it is not unlike, that *Teman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the East are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which did give battel to the Host of *Iſrael*, where-in were 600000. able men, will hardly believe that such a people were defended from one of *Eſau* his grand-childer. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoining could not have held them. But we now where find that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or assisted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it self, if distinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtless was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seignory* of the *Red Sea* coast, which *Bozins* imagines the *Edumeans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Eſongabar* on the *Red Sea* shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himself saith, that *Iſrael* did compass all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs have known it: because he had sojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjectural Arguments, how probable soever, are needles in so manifest a case. For in the 23. Psalm, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authors shew, and *Bozins* himself confesseth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. and 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aſer*, *Jos.* 29. because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of *Canaan*.

NOT

not Cousin to *Israel*, nor proficients of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed be God that hath sent King David a wife to me*: we cannot infer that he was of *David's* Religion. The *Turk* hath said as much of *Christian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sydonians* then worshipped *Astarte*; and drew *Solomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great provision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-estimated, being otherwise apt to yield silks: as the *Andarine* Silks which come from thence, and other good Commodities: For Corn and Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Solomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiser; who having got the Gold first, gave to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which enforced *Tyris* to hold league with *Israel*. For *David* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammun*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares on Camels, to their Fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyris*: so that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their Trade.

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistines*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a man of peace, to employ his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozias* frames negatively upon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning

than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Onely they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vicea*, *Lepcis*, *Cadiz*, and all Colonies of the *Tyrians* (of which, I think, the Islands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomon's* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozias*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout *Edomites*. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he silenth men of contrary opinion, *Impious Politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless, this doctrine of *Bozias* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Affrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battels did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, save onely that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the Christians in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the City of

Rome

Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true Religion. Such is the blind zeal of *Bozias*, who writing against those whom he fallily terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indifferency is usually found among men of his humour: who having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned

in their own brains any strange *Chimeras* of Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now past over *Phoenicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoining, which is that of *Ephraim*: sometimes taken per excellentiam, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second son of *Joseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts*, (*Joshua* excepted) there entered the Holy Land of their children grown to be able men, 32500. who fate down on the West side of *Jordan*; between *Manasse* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Honri* King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebasia*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *Augustus Caesar*. This City is often remembered in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hiersusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of *Hircanus* the high Priest: reitored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæsar* called it *Sebasia*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliassus* and *Abdias* buried: and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monks.

Near *Samaria* towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a Town of that name: on the top of which mountain *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In fight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was *Sichem*, ^{Josh. 18. 25.} that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napoli*: ^{Josh. 18. 25.} It was destroyed by *Simcon* and *Levi*, ^{Gen. 34. 20.} in revenge of the ravishment of their filter *Dina*; and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the soil. *Jeroboam* raised it up again: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it down.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth ^{Josh. 18. 25.} *Pharaton* or *Pirathon*, on the Mountain *A-malec*, the City of *Abdon* Judge of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Near to this City *Judas Maccabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Between *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth ^{Josh. 18. 25.} *Samir*, of which *Jos. 18. 25. and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Joshua*: it is also mentioned *Abd. 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh*

keth name, which beginning at *Casarea Palestina*, extendeth it self alongt the coast as far as *Joppa*, faith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Saron* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Casarea* and *Joppa*, but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Ezay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the fame Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Affaron*: understanding thereby a Plain neer *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diopolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judaea*, the fifth in dignity (or the third after *Pliny*) where *S. Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Aeneas*. *Niger* callsall that Region from *Antilibanus* to *Joppa*, *Saron*. This *Joppa* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those Ravens and Spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other respect led than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the molt and savage barbarous Nations.

In *Diopolis* (faith *Wil. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperor caused a fair Church to be built over his Tombe; & these be *Tyrinus* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimi Antipatride, & Joppæ, per latè patientem plantitum Elutherian pertransfuentes, Liddam quæ est Diopolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad honorum ejusdem Martyris, pium & orthodoxum Principem Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta edificari præceperat, &c.* They having left (faith he) on the right hand, the Sea Towns, Antipatris and Joppæ, passing over the great open plain of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diopolis: where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Martyr S. George is at this day shewed; whose Church when the godly and orthodox Prince of the Roman, high and mighty Justinian, had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far *Tyrinus*: by whose testimony we may conjecture that this S. George was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better Christian: for this of *Alexandria* was slain there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better Christian than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple

of *Genius*, How long shall this Sepulchre stand? occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing least he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, left if their Reliques had been gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrinus* abovecited witnesseth to have been buried at *Lidda* or *Diopolis*. The fame also is confirmed by *Vitriac*. *S. Hierome* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop *suffragan*.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diopolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which bear this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Therna* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the fame with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is *Rama*, in the hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which *1 Chron. 6*. *Apollonia*, of which *Josephus* in his Antiquities, and in the wars of the *Jews*. Also *Balsafsa* for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg. 4.42*. reads *plumitiz Sbalistæ* they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon *1 Sam. 6*. where we read of the Land of *Sbalistha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other side of the Mountains of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-Sarab*, or according to the Hebrew, *Thamnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies*, or Presidencies of *Judaea*, which they call *Thamnathica*, a goodly City, and strong, (sited on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*;) on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Israhel* gave unto their Leader *Josua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in *S. Hierome*'s time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that

that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Josua*'s time.

In the places adjoining standeth *Adarfa*, or *Adafa*; where *Judas Machabeus* with three thousand Jews overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gafer*, or *Cezer*, which *Josua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharab* of *Egypt*; the people all slain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jisseli*, of which *Jof. 16.3*. otherwise *Pelithi*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept for many years, till the *Philistines* got it.

To this they join the City of *Michmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Machabeus* inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaris* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Eyra*.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after their great overthrow given him. Then *Kimstaim*, of the *Levites*, of which *Jof. 21.22*. which *Junius* thinks to be the fame with *Joknebam*, of which *1 Chro. 6.28*. As for *Asbloms Baalar*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it, in the Plain of *Cbatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Jof. 15*. We read of two *Cbatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedesh*, ver. 23. and the other the fame as *Cbatzor*, ver. 25.

In this Tribe also they find the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the *Basard Abimelec* King; adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seems that *Mello*, or *Atillo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Citadel: and so *Junius*, for *domus Mello*, reads *incole munitionum*, and for *Solomo edificavit Mello*, he reads *edificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* read it *ἡν ἔσχεν* in that place. And without doubt the *Mello* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphmach*, whose King was slain by *Josias* and *Janoach*, or *Janoach*, spoiled by *Legathaphala*; *Pekah* then governing *Israhel*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samrem*, or *Samaris*, 1 *Reg.*

16.24. * the Hill of *Gabas*, *Judg. 2.9*. the Hill of *Talmom*, or *Salmon*, *Judg. 9.48*. the Hills of the Region of *Tupph*, or *Tophim*, *Judg. 9.5*. where *Rama-Tophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of prophecy, *Gen. 49.22*. compared *Joseph* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*, to the branches of a fruitful Vine planted by the Well field, and spreading here (2) Daughter branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezek. 22*. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) prosecutes: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen. 49.9*. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they find the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the fame with *Dagon*, of which *Jofep. 1. bell. Jud. 2*. in which *Callias* it is 1 *Mac. 16*. *Ptolomy* most traitorously at a banquet, slew *Simon Machabeus* his father-in-law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembered in the second of *Samuel*, c. 22. v. 30. where though *Junius* read, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gabasi*: yet the Vulgar and *Tabular* read *Giddai*, of the river of *Gaas*. Also in this Tribe they place the river of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was (b) fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zareph*, whose dead son he revived, and increased her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby she sustained her life.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from *Jeroboam* to *Achab*.

OF the first Kings of *Israhel* I omit in this place to speak, and referre it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speak. The first of these Kings *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, an *Ephraimite*, of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many

of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went to *Hierusalem*, he encountered the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God destined to be King of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomon's* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Enfobius* calleth *Ochozias*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Edumean*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdom of *Judea*, that himself might the easier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack't the City of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadazor* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tobu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that State: yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule should repair to *Hierusalem* to do their usual Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aaron's* Calf in *Horeb*): further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Judean* Prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored; but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardening, upon occasion that the Prophet returning, was slain by a Lion; *Ahijah* makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity.

He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty years; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted out by *Bascha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* lived King but two years.

Bascha the son of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Asa* King

of *Juda*: he seated himself in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nephtalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Bascha* intended to fortify *Rama*: but being an Idolater, he was threatened by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam*: which afterward came to pass: He ruled four and twenty years, and died.

To *Bascha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slain by *Zambri*, after he had reigned two years: and in him the prophecy of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambri succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seven daies; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murder, set upon *Zambri*, or *Zimri*, and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and enforced him to burn himself.

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regal seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater no less impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon* King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Enfobius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I do not well conceive: seeing *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assail *Bascha* King of *Israel*, the father of *Ela*, who forewore *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve years, six in *Thersa*, and six in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

§. III.

Of *Achab* and his Successors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.

Achab, or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not only upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killed the false Prophets; and afterward fled for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after besieged *Samaria*: & taken by *Achab*, was by him let at liberty: for which, the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michaeas*)

Michaeas) reproved him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slain, as *Michaeas* had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Jos*: besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall: and sent for counsel to *Beelzebub* the god of *Achazur*. *Eliab* the Prophet meeteth the Messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idol, asked the Messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel*? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each 50. souldiers, to bring *Eliab* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Eliab's* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Josaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 2000. sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Defarts. The Prophet *Eliisa* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirbaraseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, wherat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatening, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* belought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yield unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatening, had burnt the King of *Edom's* son upon the Rampire, that all the Assailants might discern it, the King of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whole assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Ar-

my of the Leprosie. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man of his Leprosie*: adding, that the *Aramite* fought but matter of quarrel against him. *Eliisa* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Eliisa* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his servant *Gheazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called *Gheazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*.

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsel, sent a troop of horse to take *Eliisa*: all whom *Eliisa* struck blind, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to slay them, *Eliisa* forbade him to harm them; but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extremum famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Eliisa*. *Eliisa* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and Armour to found in the air, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of Kings. After this, when *Asael* obtained the Kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entering upon his frontier, took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilst he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Eliisa*) surprised and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not only the race of his fore-gods, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which war he was slain, saith *Cedrenus*; whereto the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28. years.

Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz*, the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Asael* and his son *Benhadad*

1 King. 14.

Amirise upon the first chapter of the Remains

1 King. 11
13. 27.

1 King. 15
16.

Beelzebub was the same with Bel and Beus, both Figures upon Levi. 1 Kings 11.

1 King. 16

1 King. 16

1 King. 17

1 King. 15

1 Kings 7.

Page 26.

1 King. 13

Benbadad often invaded, and in the end subdued, leaving him only 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. Joachaz reigned 17. years.

After Joachaz, Joas his son governed Israel, who when he repaired to Elifha the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and Elifha covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with Joas, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from Benbadad the son of *Aziel*, which his father ^{2 Kings 13} Joachaz had lost. He also overthrew *Amaziah* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This Joas reigned sixteen years, and died; in whose time also the Prophet Elifha exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed Joas his father, an Idolater, as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hama* which is near *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty years.

Zacharias the fifth and last of the house of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdom but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menabem* of the *Gadites*.

Menabem, who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This *Menabem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menabem* governed twenty years.

Pekabiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceia* succeeded, and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekab* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekab*'s time, *Phulajser*, or *Tiglat-Phlajser* invaded the Kingdom of *Is*

rael, and vvon *Sion*, *Abel-Gilemaacab*, *Janaach*, *Kedoss*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judea*, against *Pekab* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achaz* being waited by *Pekab* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith engaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this invading of the great *Assyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Israel*, and of *Judea*. *Pekab* reigned 20. years.

Then *Hofhea*, or *Ofea*, who slew *Pekab*, became the vassal of *Salmanasser*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he fought aid from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Nineve* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthae* (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Canaan* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sebarvaim* (a people of *sephar* in *Mejopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Aua*, which were of the ancient *Avims*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling near unto *Gaza*, whom the *Cappotrim* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the Desert, called *Harvet*, willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath*, or *Turea*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassals of the *Adades* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Assyrian* advise himself better than the *Romans* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judea* and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin Garrisons, which soon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world, 3292. the sixth year of *Ezekiab* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hofea* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1. Jeroboam	22 Years.	10. Jehu	28 Years.
2. Nadab	2 Years.	11. Joachaz	17 Years.
3. Baasba	24 Years.	12. Joas	16 Years.
4. Ela	20 Years.	13. Jeroboam	41 Years.
5. Zambri	7 Days.	14. Zacharias	6 Moneths.
6. Omri	11 Years.	15. Shallum	1 Moneth.
7. Achab	22 Years.	16. Menabem	10 Years.
8. Ochozias	2 Years.	17. Pakabia	2 Years.
9. Joram	12 Years.	18. Phaca	20 Years.
		19. Hofea	9 Years, about whose time Writers differ.



CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasse.

§. I.

Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.

Now following the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I spake last: of which Family there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sons 66400. bearing arms. The first famous City in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in the 19. of *Joshua*: one of the most ancient of the world, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Jonas* embarked himself when he fled from the service of God towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Maccabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Maccabaeus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garrison'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the *Romans*, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the *Turks* and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: and from

thence delivered from the Sea-monster by *Persus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcius Scaurus* during his office of *Aedileship*, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. *S. Hierome* upon *Jonas* cap. 9. speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jannia*, where *Judas Maccabaeus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian Fleet*: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Hierusalem*, 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seat, faith *Will. of Tyre*; but there is no sign of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After *Jannia* is the City of *Ceth*, or *Gath*, sometime *Antbedon*, faith *Voluteran*. And so *Montanus* seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philistim* Cities, and in the place of *Antbedon*. But *Voluteran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* sets *Antbedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Ceth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistims*: and about sixteen miles from *Joppe*: where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, strong and Giant-like men, whom *Joshua* could not expel, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Israelites*, till *David's* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferior in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

Roboam the son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the son of *Amazias* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azazel* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this *Geth* was the fame that *Will.* of *Tyre* in the Holy war calls *Ibithin*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Antedon*.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Beth-femer*, or the house of the Sun. In the fields adjoining to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the *Philistines*: and the *Bethfemites* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the Elders seventy, and the people fifty thousand, by the ordinance of God. After which laughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great * *Abel*, faith *S. Hierome*. *Beneditus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in (a) *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Issachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of *Accaron* offereth it self, sometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philistines*. *S. Hierome* makes it the same with *Casaria* *Palestina*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Idumeans*. It worshipped *Beel-zebub*, the god of Horrors or Furies. To whom *Idol* it was that *Abasiah* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Eliab* meeting by the way, caused them to return with a sorrowful answer to their Master. This City is remembered in many places of Scripture.

Christiansus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus*, or *Azod*, was also an habitation of the *Azotim*, whom *Josua* (b) failed to destroy, though he once possessed their City. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the (c) *Idol Dagon*: the same *Idol* which fell twice to the ground of it self, after the Ark of God was by the *Philistines* carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that famous (d) *Judas Macchabeus* slain by *Ezechias* and *Alcinus* the Lieutenants of *Demeetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their *Idol* therein consumed with fire: neer which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the Roman rebuilt it. It had a Bishop seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hierome* time it was yet

a fair Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tjorah*, or *Sarxa*, and *Ethbaol*, and between them *Casra Danis* neer *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampon* was born, may seem by the words, *Judg.* 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of *Judab*, as the other also were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they find *Gedor*, or as it is *1 Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cenebeus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Jews*, and neer which himself was by the *Macchabees* overthrowen.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of years after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witness.

There are besides these the City of *Caria* *thiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: *scat-* ed in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty years in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Ezrachias*, or *Jehorada*, who was slain between the Temple and the Altar: *Allo* *Orias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered, as we find in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather, as I take it, upon presumption than warrant. I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabeus*: and *Lechir*, whose King was slain by *Josua*, in which also *Amasiah* was slain: The fame which *Senacherib* took, *Ezechias* reigning in *Juda*.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Josua* c. 19. from the ver. 41. where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Lechem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Casarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituraea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrach*: but of this City see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Northern-most rieth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name

Hieros. in
Philos.
Nichom.
nick.
and
Jud. 16. a.

of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of Vines which have no seeds or Itones: the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and favour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the River, inhabited *Datila* whom *Sampon* loved.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

The Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Deserts*, there entered the Land of Promise of their issue 22200. bearing arms, who were in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumaea*, of which the first City adjoining to *Dan*, was *Afcalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Afcalonites*: of which *Volaterran* author of *Xanthus*, in the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Afcalus* were the sons of *Hymeneus*: and that *Afcalus* being employed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The fame hath *Nicolaus* in his History, faith *Volaterran*.

Diadorus Siculus in his third Book remembers a Lake neer *Afcalon*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Thibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palestino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria* *Palestine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the *Philistines*. It bred many learned men (faith *Volaterran*, as *Antiochus*, *Sofus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Afcalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two years old and under to be slain. In the Christian

times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made war in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus murus cum Saladino diruisset*, *Richardus Anglorum Rex inflauravit*, faith *Adrichomius*.

In *David's* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistines*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Afcalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in *Gath*, nor publish it not in the streets of *Afcalon*: It is now called *Scolone*. *Gabinus* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Afcalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazzza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Anomus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other profane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*; because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say, as *Treasure*. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistines*, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Perfia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despite of which, whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* until 19. of the *Desart*.

Alexander Janens King of the *Jews* surprised it, and flew five hundred Senitors in the Temple of *Apollon*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews*, till it was lost by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself, and in his absence left *John* his Son and Successor to be Governor. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the River of *Besor*, standeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the privilege of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apollate* soon after favouring the *Gazarians*, made it subject unto him, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Jof. 13. 11. On the other side of *Beſor* ſtandeth *Antibedon*, defaced by *Alexander Jannicus*, ſituated by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favorite of *Auguſtus*.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*; and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whoſe Torrent, is known in the Scriptures by the name of * the *Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Kinocura*: to differ it, *Ej. 27. 12.* giving the name of the City to the *Torrent* that watereth it. *Pliny* calls it *Rhinococura*: and *Joſephus Rhinococura*: (a) *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

Within the Land, and upon the River of *Beſor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadeſh* and *Shur*, *Gen. 20. 1.* That it was near to the Wilderneſs of *Beerſheba*, it appears *Gen. 20. 31.* and therefore no marvel that as elſewhere *Beerſheba*, ſo ſometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a diſtinct Kingdom from the *Philſtim* *Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; *S. Hierome* ſaith that afterwards it was called *Regio ſalutaris, the healthy Country*: ſo that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* lived much in thoſe parts. Of King *Aſa's* conqueſt of the Cities about *Gerar*, ſee *2 Chron. 14. 14.*

More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tſſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philſtines* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, a City of Letters, the Univerſity, as they ſay, or *Academy* of old *Paleſtine*. In *Saint Hierome's* time, it ſeems, it had the name of *Duena*: *Jof. 15. 49.* it is called *Urbs Samae*: from the name, as it ſeems, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbaki*. For even hence alſo were theſe Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, encouraged by *Caleb's* promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Jofua* and the Hoſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appears *Jof. 10. 39.* This City *Jof. 21. 5.* is named among thoſe which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it ſeems they attribute it to this Tribe.

Befides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſs fame, as *Hazin*, of which *Jof. 19. 7.* which alſo *Jof. 21. 16.* is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*; (for which *Junius* thinks *Halbam* is named *1 Chron. 6. 59.* though * in the place of

Jofua theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad*, ſo named *1 Chron. 4. 29* for which *Jof. 19. 4.* we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa*, ſo named, *Jof. 19. 5.* for which *Jof. 15.* we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for *Gadda* is *Turna*, and *Suſa* *Equitatus*.

In the ſame places of *Jofua* and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the ſame with that of which *Nam. 14. 45.* to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumaea*. For *Iſrael* ſet not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumaea*, in the *Deſart*.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: near unto which *Hagar* wandered with her ſon *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the City of *Iſaac*, becauſe he dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian Deſart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Jofua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, becauſe they help us nothing inſtory, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being ſtrengthened in his own Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is *1 Chron. 4. 39.* (the ſame place which *Jof. 15. 36.* is called *Gedera* and *Gederotaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeared themſelves: as alſo five hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

The Mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Samſon* the chief: unto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Rivers are, *Beſor*, and the *Torrent of Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſor*.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſart*. And of their ſons there entered the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatneſs of this number was the greateſt Territory given, called afterward *Judaea*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in thoſe:

thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they lay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Sovereignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathibrim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbered the people, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chief: of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judaea* from *Idumaea*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them ſome ſpoils, and many priſoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Iſraelites*, the ſons of *Keniz*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumaea* and the South, *Aſenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrablini* is placed: the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of *Scorpions*, which are ſaid to be in that place: from which name of *Acrablini*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabatena*, was denominat: of which we have ſpoken in *Idumaea*. On the South ſide alſo of *Judaea* they placeth the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Ceder*, *Aſſna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſſor*, or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Deſart* and *Forreſt* adjoining took name: where *David* hid himſelf from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſſon*, *Adar*, *Karkab*, and *Aſcenona*, or *Haſſuon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumaea* towards the North, we find the Cities of *Danna*, *Shevab*, *Anau*, the other *Aſſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which ſee *Jof. 15. 25.* alſo *Carioth*, by *Jof. 15. 25.* called *Keri-oth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſcarioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Helbau*, the abode of *Samſon*, which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe, towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In *Saint Hierome's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Chriſtians*: near unto this City was that remarkable battle fought between *Aſa* King of *Juda*, and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding

beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

Not far from *Jether* ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Jofua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Adarga* the Native City of the Prophet *Micheas*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Machabeus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſilver to be offered for ſacrifice.

Odolla, or *Haddullam* it ſelf, was an ancient and magnificent City, ſtanding by *Jofua*, and the King thereof ſlain. *Jonathan Machabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Cela*, or *Keila*, afterward *Eckela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelf: and which afterward he delivered from the affluents of the *Philſtines*: near which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeen by *S. Hierome*.

Near it is *Hebron*, ſometime called the City of *Arbath*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the City of four: becauſe the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plain by the places, *Jof. 14. 14.* and *15. 13.* and *2c. 11.* that *Arbath* here doth not ſignify four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon as it ſeems *Anak* was: and *Achimam*, *Shelhai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Jof. 15.*) were the ſons of *Anak*, *Nam. 23. 23.* The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it ſeems that this *Anak*, riched by the ſpoils which himſelf and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtome to his poſterity, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſs be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the antientſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeven years before *Tſſaan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoining, and the reſt to the *Levites*. It had a Biſhop in the *Chriſtian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the mother of *Conſtantine*.

Not far hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembered often by *Saint Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hieruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, beſieging the *Gibcomites*, were by *Jofua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emma*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of

verment or *Presidencies* of *Judea*. In fight of this City, *Judas Macchabees* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301. it was overturned by an earthquake, faith *Enschims*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seat of the Diocesis of *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea, there are the Cities of *Nabama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Jof. 15. 36. and 41.* Then *Azecha*, to which *Jofia* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great strength in the Valley of (a) *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, * *Sam. 17. 2.* whence (as it seems) they seat it near unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Hiersusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Jofia* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsura*, and *Bethsur*: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all *Juda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rock, or of strength). It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabees*, *Lysias* fort's it: and *Antiochus Ectapor* by famine, *Jonathan* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Bethleem is the next unto it within six miles of *Hiersusalem*, otherwise *Lebena*: sometime *Ephrata*, which name, they say, it had of *Caleb*'s wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. 38. 16.* Of this City was *Abeslan*, or *Isfan* Judge of *Israel* after *Jesphat*, famous for the thirty sons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethleemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourn'd in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Ezeas*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*.

From *Bethleem* some four or five mile standeth *Thecna*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoining is the City of *Bethzancaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Hiersusalem*: on whose Hills adjoining,

the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The City of * *Dezek* was also near unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-besee* commanded; who had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the joints of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble Steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoining to the *Desart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Cleivus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jesphat*, the Jews stood and lookt on the *Amabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, mauling one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*: near which place is the Valley of blessing, where the Jews the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliverance.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are these; *Adram* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tjohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tjohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Eep-lab*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2.* In the *Roman*'s time it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hierom*'s time, *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hien-gaddi*, first *Asaphinbamar*: near unto which are the Gardens of *Balfammim*, the best that the world had called *Ophallanum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judea*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her: which he re-planted near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Cedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judea*; and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the Inland, and among them *Jesrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the City of *Abinoam*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Amnon* whom *Abisalom* slew: also, as some think, the City of *Amasa*, *Abisalom*'s Lieutenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an error grounded upon the nearness of the words *Israel* and *Jesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam. 17. 25.*

25. *Amasa*'s father is called an *Israelite*, who in the first of the *Chron. 2. 17.* is called an *Israelite*: indeed the Hebrew Orthography sheweth that *Amasa*'s father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Israelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountains: as those of *Engaddi* upon the *Dead Sea*: and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end near *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Damand* and *Simon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which Saint *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and faith, That it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Colis Achille*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, including the old Castle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabees*, and called *Masada*, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thousand men; being, as it seemeth a place unaccessable, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodoma*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnatural sins.

6. IV. THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

§. I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wan from *Sehon* King of *Hesbon*.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob*'s sons inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possess the Land promised 43700. bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our Writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abraham*'s kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward Jews: by *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumeans*: by *Ismael*, the eld-

est Son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah*, his last wife, the *Midianites*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abraham*'s brothers son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possessed by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esau and his sons held *Idumaea*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia the Desart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abirim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chebeon*.

Ammon sat down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possessed the Tract from *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilbead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses*' time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*.

As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus*, was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possessed by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants weakened and broken by *Cedorlaomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the *Zamzumim*, or *Zutei*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Cedorlaomer*, *Anraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abirim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hebron* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses*' arrival upon that border, when *Vabec* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vabec*, but his name was *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it

may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumians* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Esebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amorites*: and therefore did *Jephthah* the Judge of *Israel* justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alleged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*: who

Judg. 11. (saith *Jephthah*) had 300 years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And left any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthah's* time should make claim to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Num. 21.26.* rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sebois* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were feared so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalec*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephthah's* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Sovereignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilead*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then fought how to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jabaz*, the *Ammonites* had left to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having dispossessed both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb. 21.24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, even unto the children of *Ammon*: so as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possessed, as in the thirteenth Chapter of *Josua*, verse twenty five, it appears.

II.

Of the memorable places of the *Reubenites*.

The chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethon*. The Vulgar or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two Verses, 36. and 37. in *Jos. 22.* being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slipped into *ethson*.

This City which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her name to the Desert adjoining: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassy to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Josua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Beiser* & *villa jus*, reads *Beiser* in *Glindine* *Major*, whence any ground from the Hebrew whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Major*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, near the *Dead Sea* (for the Country between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Lafa* or *Lehab*, of which *Genesis 10. ver. 19.* The Greeks call it *Calirhoe*: near which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which foun after their rising, being joyned in one stream, do make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Macherus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenies*, and in *Perru*, called the *Baths of the Inga's*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Macherus*, the next between *Lafa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-Land City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannens*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Cabinus* in the war with *Antiochus*, saith *Josuephus*. It was thither

(saith *Josuephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptiste*, and wherein he was slain: his Army foon after being utterly overthrow by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this murder never prospering. Not far from *Macherus* was *Bozra*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the *Levites*, and near it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Caesar*.

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sit*, where the children of *Israel* embraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where

Phineas

Phineas pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cofbi* with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midst of their sin; and from hence *Josua* sent the discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here until he went over *Jordan*. As for the *Torrent Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Jos. 3. 18.* *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallum Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the cedars, *Isa. 92. 13.*

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses* called, The plains of *Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desert of *Paran*, where they had long wandered. On the East it had *Chafseroth*, and *Dizabab* (of which two, the former is that *Guzurns*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Palestina*: the latter was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathes* in *Arabia Petraea*, where was *Mezabab*, of which *Gen. 36.39.* by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Liban* (in *Junius* edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut. 1. 1.*) the fame which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Livias*, of which, they even now we spake.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Calestria*, it had *Theobel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Calestria* stood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Bunus*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over against, or near unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as also *Numb. 21. 4.* it tranlateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: where as in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signify the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab* where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Josuephus* says it was where after the City *Abila* stood, near *Jordan*, in a place set with Palm-trees: which fure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the plains of *Moab*,

Numb. 33.49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

Toward the East of these plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities *Nebo*, *Baal-Moon*, *Silma*, and *Heshbon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Gibalel*, and *Kiriathaim* the seat of the *Giant Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seems to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites** *Idolatry*. For *Nebo* (in stead of which, *Junius*, *Esa. 46. 1.* reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idol-Oracle, and *Baal-Moon*, is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the same Idol was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phagab*, *Moses* before his death saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* doth not take *Phagab*, or *Pigab* for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places, as *Numb. 21. 20.* where he noteth, that some call *Pigab* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *Jos. 13.20.* called *Ashtoth-Pigga*, which is as much as *decurfus* *Pigga* to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pigga*. In the same place of *Josua* there is also named *Beth-Poor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Poor*: which they say, was the same as *Prisapus*: the chief place of whole worship seems to have been *Bamoth-Babal*, of which also *Jos. 13.* in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Numb. 22.41.* they read, the high places of *Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curie the *Israelites*.

III.

Of divers places bordering *Reuben*, belonging to *Midian*, *Moab*, or *Edom*.

There were besides these, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoynd to *Sam. 12.* *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering so much out of *Esa. 10. 29.* where it

is named among the Cities of Benjamin. With better reason perhaps out of Num. 21. 19. we may say that *Mathana* and *Nababiel* were in those confines of Reuben: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well, called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, which the Prophet *Hieremy* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the Red Sea, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer, were then slain, and their Regal City with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Priest, forgot not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painful travels through the Deserts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoining to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Sebah*, which is as much as *rupe*, or *petra*. It was also called *Thiheel*, as appears by the place, 2 Kings 14. It was built (saith *Josephus*) by *Rekem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*: slain as before is said: after whom it was called *Rekem*. Now, they say, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabatea*, whence also the Province adjoining took name: which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nababiel*, the son of *Abraham* by *Rebura*. For *Nabatea* is nowhere understood for all *Arabia Petraea* (at least where it is not mis-understood) but is that Province which neighboureth *Judea*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Imael*, whose people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Israelites*, and all those Territories of the *Chusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Israelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hur*, *Sin*, and of *Edom* King of *Babylon*, were parts of *Arabia Petraea*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desert belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Imaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calls *Hagarens* of *Hagar*.

This City *Petra*, *Scamrus* besieged with the

Roman Army, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet *Amasius* King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) was also this City. *S. Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, it had a Latine Bishop, having before been under the Greek Church. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the River of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the 38. station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Alyrian* and *Perisan* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abraham* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchisedec* King of *Salem* also encountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchisedec* inhabiting, either near *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis* in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

|| IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

NOW because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltus*, and the Salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tiberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the Sea of the Plains, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Castian* sea, which hath no outlet, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22 miles and a half of ours) and about a 50. in breadth, which make 17 of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes

makes it a great deal less: but those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it (saith *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque venio impellitur, neque pisces aut fuitas aquis volucres patiuntur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti, imperitque nandi perinde attolluntur, &c.* That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of a corrupt taste: of swell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the winds, nor indurthful to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskillful of swimming, as well as the skillful, are born up by the water. At one time of the year casteth it up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruins remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeness, having nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this curied Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the Greeks called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskillful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.*

|| V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within Arnon Reuben possesseth.

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Country (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possesseth (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Schon* the *Amorites*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21.

of Num. 21. 14. nameth *Labab*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balaam*, the son of *Zippor*: which *Balaam* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Schon*, and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaam's* curfings or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God blest *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being defirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to lend *Madianitis* women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the Heathen, but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsell, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: saving that we find in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Okim*, and the men of *Chozoba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Juda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens governments are no where extant or remaining, or as others, *hac prius fuerit*, these Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their posterity chooseth rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we find *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who Judges 3. with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them 18 years: which *Eglon*, *Ebud* lived in his own house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him knowing that *Saul* fought his life.

After this, *David* himself entered the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumeans*.

The next King after *David's* time of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mezba*, who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himself

* Kings 3. to the Kings of Israel, and paid tribute to *Abab*, 100000 Lambs, and 200000 Rams with the wooll: who revolting again from Israel after the death of *Abab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joined the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumea*: and being by these three Kings preft and broken, he fled to *Kir-harosheth*, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, afflied by the *Ammonites* and *Idumeans*, invaded *Jehoshaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumeans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mefia* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mefia* lived with *Jehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedekia*'s time, fourteen Kings of *Juda* coming between, who waited three hundred and odd years.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the *Gadites*, and the bordering places of *Ammon*.

The Territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joined to the Mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the seventh son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deserts*, 4550. and of their fons there entered the Land promised, 45000. bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of *Manasse*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Alphec*.

The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbab Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2.36. *Ab Harobero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa que est in flumine: Where the City in the River is distinguished from the City upon the bank of the River*, as also in like manner, (*Jos.* 12. v. 2. and *13.9.*) thinketh that *Harob*, which doubtless belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 42.34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated near *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possessed by *Moses*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2.9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the fons of *Lot*. Now that this

City, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harob*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, ch. 21. v. 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. ver. 25. where *Harob* is said to be seated before *Rabbab*: which *Rabbab*, as it seems, cannot be the *Rabbab* of the *Ammonites* (for they fear not *Harob* near it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by *Rabbab* here, we must understand *Rabbab* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Harob*. And as for *Har*, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people, called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer*, and his Associates: but *Harob* by the change of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephtha*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Israelites* under the conduct of *Jephtha*.

S. Hieronim's time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himself in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence; which, they say was therefore called *Vitula consernans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, he was thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-Salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balab*, or *Belab*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2. and *Salissa*, which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Brocard takes *Harob* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoining to *Edom*, whereas *Harob* is in the North-East border. Between *Harob* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Numb.* 32.34. though *Jos.* 13. v. 17. it is said that *Moses* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the rest of *Moab*, both *Ezra* and *Hieremy* prophesied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village near *Arnon* in S. Hieronim's time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Ezra* prophesied, That the wa-

ter:

ter; thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of *Moab* withered. Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeba* and *Nobach*, or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the story of *Gideon*: and that *Jogbeba* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*; it appears, *Numbers* 32.35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certain: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith he) went and took *Kenath* with her Town, and called it *Nobach* of his own name, where because the Verles precedent speak of the *Mosses*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this feat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, ver. 34.35.36. therefore it may seem that this *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse* which was in the East of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak (a) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebab* and *Zalmunnab* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeba*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-char*, of which *Ezra* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3.25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-char*, it is certain, that it was still a principal City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hatathob*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were built by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hatathob*, the latter *Hatath-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shephan*: the name *Hatathob*, is as much as *Corane*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah* of which we have spoken, *Jos.* 13.27. nameth *Beth-baram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-baram*) together with *Bethnimrah*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Josua* it is called *Beth-baram*) some take to be *Betaramphib*, of which (b) *Josephus* after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramphib* were corrupted from *Beth-baram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in (c) *Josephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idol of those Countries, we read, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Mac.* 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (ac-

cording to *Josephus*, sometime *Betaramphib*) the same *Josephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, the Country beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to set down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipater*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Augustus* his wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he saith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he saith, is the same as *Beth-Saida*.

Upon the Sea of *Gahilee*, near to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they find *Petecobra*, as it is called in *Josephus*, *Bell. Jude.* 1.7. c. 8. for *Beth-cob*, which is as much as *domus bispici*. Of a noble woman of this City, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged. *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Jos.* 13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of *Gideon* that it is near unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, weary in the pursuit of *Zebab* and *Zalmunnab*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideon*'s return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-car or *Tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put Thorns to tear their flesh as they were preft and trod under the *Tribulum* and after which fort also *David* used some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattel, *Moses*, *Gen.* 33.17. witnesseth that the original of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Aegyptotania* built in that place: as also the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they used after for forty years in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was instituted.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named, *Jofua* 21. 3. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Cheshbon*, and *Jabzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the *Levites*, of which *Jabzer*, as *Cheshbon*, or *Heshbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Numb.* 32. 1. his Country is called the Land of *Jabzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first fed spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Elyaz* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Elyaz*, also *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Machabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josaphat*, reads, *Jabzer*, though the *Greeks* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Jof.* 16. 3. and 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israëlites*, until *Solomon's* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanites*, and gave it him as a Dowry with his Daughter.

Of *Cheshbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Jofua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jof.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principal City of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Cashen*, 1 *Macc.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Machabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Cashen* had been the *Cheshbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dilon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we read *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Host or company, to join with his for his defence: as also *Luke* 2. 13. we read of a multitude of the Host of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so unto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was loon after to join battle with the Pagan *Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the Battle was fought, in the North parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abshalom*: and the same, for the strength

thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ithobeth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we read often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which, King *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramoth* *Mispha*, of which *Jof.* 13. 26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* swore one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mispha*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see, and be witness to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31. 49. That in these parts there was not only a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mispha*, it appears *Jof.* 11. 3. where we read of the *Chirites* under *Herman*, in the Country of *Mispha*, * the Town of *Mispha*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth verse following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephia* the Judge of *Israël*, who after he came home from *Tob* (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mispha*, who doubtless was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mispha* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Machabæus* this Town of *Mispha* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of 1 *Macc.* 5. 55 it is plain: for it was then posselt of the *Ammonites*.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Pemel*, which name signifieth *Locus faciei Dei*; a place where the face of God was seen: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churchfulness of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they add *Roglim*, the City of that great and faithful subject *Barsailat*, as it seems, not far from *Nabanaïma*, where he furnished King *David*, during *Abshalom's* rebellion. To these they add the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gadditi*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis* *Adrichomius* frames of in *Arnon*, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. for that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Josaphat* reads *Malle*, for this in *Alimis*: and

and understanding *Malle* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio* (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Malle* to be *Mispha* *Moabiturum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. As for that *Maageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mabacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasse*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Macc.* 5. 10. (which *Junius* takes to be (b) *Rithma*, of which *Numb.* 33. 18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Atinith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in *Jephia's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was nearer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3. 11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomy* finds in *Celestria*, *Hierome* and *Calistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*; but, as it seems, never posselt by the *Israëlites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regal seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzammims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Asyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hebron* had disposelt *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Bashan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israël*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. years since that these *Zamzammims*, or *Raphaim*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their

ancient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kined, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Deserts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Perfia* and *Assyria* (remembered in the 14. of *Genes*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became sloathful and licentious; they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdom and virtue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. The City was taken in *David's* time, and the Inhabitants slain with great ferocity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Orias* was shot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* wore: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which is 60. pound weight, after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth the hills of *Hippus*, a City of *Celestria*: and *Strabo*, * *Trachones*: the same which continue * *Tegeus* from near *Damascus*, unto the *Dejarts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Afaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: from thence Northward they are known by the name of *Herman*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir*: of which name all those hills also were called, which part *Judas* and *Idumæans* and lastly, they are called *Libanus*,

Numb. 22.
3.
1 Chron.
27. 31.

Elyaz. 6.
Hierem. 49.
9.

* Of other towns in this name, see the Tribe of Benjamin.

Gen. 31. 49.

Jud. 8. 17.

1 Sam. 19. 33.

Deut. 3. 14
Jof. 12. 5.

Deut. 3.

1 Sam. 12.

1st. Tyr.
Bel. fac. 13.
c. 22. Pin.

Strab. 16.

* *Tegeus* is locum after or *Trachonitis*: whence it appears, that *Trachonitis* regis, in these parts was properly the hill-country.

Deut. 3. 9.

Hier. 1. 2. 3. Libanus, for so the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high Mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*.

These Mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many Trees which yield *Balsamum*, and many other medicinal drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wan from Og, the King of *Basan*.

Jud. 10. His Tribe of *Gad* posselt half the Country of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of *Arabia Petraea* called *Nabathæa*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, Amorites: and therefore *Moses* did not expel the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the Mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othniel* the first Judge of *Israel*, the Ammonites joyned with the Moabites against the Hebrews, and so continued long. *Jephthah* Judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with their again.

Afterward we find that cruel King of the Ammonites, called *Nabaz*, who besieging *Jahel Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendered so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nabaz*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul's* time, though *Jephthah* thinks that this *Nabaz* was slain in the battle, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jahel*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name.

Hannun succeeded *Nabaz*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstanding

the aids received from the *Aramites*, subject to *Adadazer*, and from the *Regule* of *Rehob*, and *Maacab*, and from *Ifoh*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the Ammonites, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weighed a talent of gold, was set on *David's* head: all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity; for with faws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kills. *Jofaphat* governing *Juda*, they assailed the Moabites their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Offas* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* enforced to continue that tribute, and to increase it to wit, a hundred talent of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the Ammonites continued two years.

The fifth King of the Ammonites, of whose name we read, was *Baalhis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalhis* sent *Jsmach*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

Of the other half of *Manasse*.

The rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachenitis* (where in also were part of the small Territories of *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Macbati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three latter Provinces defended themselves against him for many ages. But *Batania* *Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as is a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those and other Provinces before named with *Petraea*, and *Turaea*, he nameth but as part of *Calosyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*, likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the Land near the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petraea*: for many of these small Kingdoms take not as much more ground than the country of *Kent*, *Basan*, or, after the Septuagint, *Basinitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc* to the (a) *Alachati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of oaks, which bare malt (of which the

of 1 Chr. 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Turaea*, of which 1 Chr. 5. 11. & 12. (2) So they call them of *Manasse*, of which *Manasse* formerly hath been spoken, toward the end of the fifth. Perceiveth this Chapter, (see the 1 Plac. 5. 26. and Deut. 2. 14. and 1 Chr. 5. 15.

Prophet

Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle*, O ye oaks of *Basban*) and by reason hereof they bred to many twine, as (b) 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60. Cities walled and defended: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes (c) *Buth*, otherwise *Berenice*, by *Selenus* King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, faith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (d) *Judas Macchabæus*: where he set on fire the (e) Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and near it they place the Castle of *Carnion*, of which 2 Macc. 12. 22. Then the strong City of (f) *Ephron* near *Jordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to (g) *Judas Macchabæus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great laughter.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabesur*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besieged by *Nabaz* (h) King of the Ammonites, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (i) elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens (k) recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sons, which hung despitfully over the fawns of *Bethsan*, or *Scythopolis*. (l) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Pliny* on a Hill near the River *Hieromace*, which River *Ortelius* seems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Maccherus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten months siege, wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it, and *Gabinus* (m) made it one of the five Courts of Justice in *Palestine*. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico* and *Schora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Afcaenitis*, accused him to *Julius Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible (n) revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the East of *Gadara*: they place *Sebei* (o) in which, *Jof. ant.* 5. 13. faith, *Jephthah* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Septulsi est in Croitate sua Gilebad*, (for in una Civitatum Gilebad) imagine *Gilebad* to be the name of a City, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, 1 Macc. 5. 26. where it readeth *Caspher* for *Cheshon*; the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla* & *firma* *Gileaditarum Croitas*: so of one City *Cheshon*, or *Cheshon*, which they call *Ejebon*, the chief City of *Sebon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: This *Caspher* in *Manasse*, and a City in *Gad* which he callth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Camel) which *Jephthah* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Jofephus* in the fourth c. p. 1. 5. book of the *Jewish war*: where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible: and in the story of the siege, shewes how *Jephthah* with much danger of his own person, entering it, was at first repulld, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides four thousand slain by the *Romans*: so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About four miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Jephthah* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomy* gives the names to the Hills that compas the Plains in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill Country: on the East of the Lake, as also *Pliny* noteth, lib. 5. cap. 15. It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herod's* Terrarchy: it was waited by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were enraged against their borders.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrebi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and near unto this his Regal City, it was that he lost the battle and his life. It stood in *S. Hierom's* time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from these Towns near *Jordan*, in this Valley, stood *Geraffa*, or *Gergefa*, inhabited by the

Eliphaz was, to have been of Arabia the Desert: and Eliphaz himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Efau*. And so also *Nabamah*, whence *Tjophar* the third of *Job's* friends (which in this place of *Job. 2. 11.* is mentioned) is by the same learned Expofitor, thought either to be named of *Tbinnaab* by tranfposition of letters (which *Tbinnaab*, *Gen. 36. 40.* is named among the sons of *Efau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were seated) or elfe to be the fame *Nabamah*, which *Jof. 15. 41.* is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that near the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it feems, in the Tribe of *Manaffes*, there is a Region which (at leaft) in later times was called *Suitik*, or of fome like name. For this is evident by the Hiftory of *Will. Tyrinus*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierufalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Chriftians*; having not long before been loft, to the great difadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The fituation of this Fort is by *Tyrinus* defcribed to be sixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaffes* named in the Scripture, are these: *Golan*, *Gebethera*, *Mitfa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitfa* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have

both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Behethera* is accounted the chief City of *Basan* by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Besfer*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Jofua*) which make the Lake *Samachentis*, as *Josephus* calls it. This Lake, being as it were in the midst between *Cesarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, faith *Brocard*: otherwise more contrait, leaving the marsh ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country of *Manaffes*, *Josephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sagane* the other. In the North side of this half Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the West; of which three Cities we read, *Ezek. 47. 15.* with which also agrees the place, *Num. 34. 8.* where for *Chauram* between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Zipbron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrinus*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Geffur* and *Mabucath*, or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manaffes* towards the North-East) are unknown: only that *Geffur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mabaca* the daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Geffur*: by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate *Alfalom*.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, the chief Borderers of the Israelites that dwell on the East of Jordan.

§. I.
Of the City of Damascus, and the divers Fortunes thereof.

DAMASCUS of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladness, and the House of pleasure; and is not only remem-

bered in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrews, faith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*: of which opinion *S. Hierome* upon *Efay* seemeth to be: though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damascus* the son of

in the 17. of *Eliezer*, *Abraham's* Steward; a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abraham's* calling this his Steward *Eliezer of Damascus*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomon's* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sephena*, otherwise *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damascus*, and possessed *Damascus* itself, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life.

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypt's* Wives sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdom continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians*, and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Phasar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call *Chryfiorrhos*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Country adjoyning is very fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the *Florentines*, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadel. Against this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Efay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the

1 King 16 *Damascens*, *Toglatphalasser*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, faith *Hierome* upon *Efay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanasser*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five years after the Prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when

Syria fell into the hands of the *Romanes*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the *Christians* it had an Archbishop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Act.*, it was the Metropolis of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the

Romanes, in the year of our redemption 636. and in the year 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperor of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwin* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Fredrick Barbarossa* afterward Emperor, *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea-coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

In the year 1262. *Halon* the Tartar King, and having formerly taken the City, brought him under the Walls, and threatened extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendered the place: but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the son of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

In the year 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperor of the *Partians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 120000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Castle adjoyning: he forbore the demolishing of the City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with forty Gates, or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three months siege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* proftrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophoe of his victory, he raised three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and re-possessed by the Soldane of *Egypt* with a Garrison of *Mamlukes*: And in the year 1517. *Selimus* Emperor of the *Turks* wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with *Mahometans* and *Christians* of all neighbouring Nations.

§. II.
Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the

De bel. sac.
lib. 22. c.
15. & 21.

Jof. 11. 27
Deut. 4. 43

Hierod. 6.
bell. sac. 1.
3. 1. 10.
Deut. 17. 49.
c. 9.

Efay 17.

Jof. ant. 4.

Onuphrius
in Chron.
Patrie. 46.
patrie. 46.
bell. sac.
lib. 17. c. 1.
13. 4. 5.

Hierod. bel.
Jof. 4. 6. 14

Hierod. 1. 6.
c. 4.

1 King
15. 18.

1 King 11

Afa:

1 Km. 15.

1 Kin. 20

•

2 Reg. I jñ
7.

Azael vexed Joabaz the son of Jehu, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men of all his people.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

After Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of Hazael, reigned in Damascus: for Joab King of Israel, the son of the unhappy Joabaz, as he was foretold by Elifha the Prophet, beat Benhadad in three several battels: and he lost all those Cities to Israel, which his father Hazael had taken violently from Joabaz. After this Benhadad the son of Hazael, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely Nicholas Damascenus cited by Josephus, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that Jeroboam the second, the son of Joab, recovered Damascus it self to Juda, saith the Geneva, but better in Junius, *Vique recuperabat Damascus, & Chamatham Jebuda pro Israele*: that is, And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Judaea; for these Cities sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the Tribe of Juda.

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as Jehoaas the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the son of Hazael, and had recovered the Cities which Hazael had won from Israel; and so left his Kingdom to his son Jeroboam the second; it seemeth that this Jeroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Josephus, Rezer; after Zonaras, Raagon the tenth Adad, making league with Pekah, or Phacah King of Israel, against Achaz King of Juda; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Hierusalem: but in vain. Then Adad alone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of Syrians. Wherefore Achab brought Teglathphalassar against Razin, who took him and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads, and the Kingdom of Damascus: the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These

Adads, as they reigned in order are thus reckoned:

- 1 Adadexer the son of Rehob.
- 2 Rezin the son of Eliadad, or Razin.
- 3 Hexion.
- 4 Tabremmon.
- 5 Benhadad, who invaded Basba.
- 6 Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

7 Hazael, whom Elifha foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew Joram King of Israel at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which took Geth, and compounded the war with Joab, made the Expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first Hazael which stifled his master Benhadad, and had slain Joram the son of Achab King of Israel. For Joab began to reign in the 7. year of Jehu King of Israel; and after he had reigned 23. years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that Hazael took Geth, and turned his face towards Jerusalem. It is also some proof that Hazael that took Geth, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because he could not at that time be of good years, being as it seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, and Commander of Benhadad's men of war. To this Hazael (be he the first or second) succeeded.

8 Benhadad, the third, whom Joab King of Israel thrice overthrew.

9 Rezin, or Rezin, the last, who joyned with Pekah King of Israel, against Juda, at which time Achaz King of Juda waged for his defence Teglathphalassar.

Now between Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholas Damascenus finds three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but Reguli, as those of Emath, and Gessur, we find that Tobu was King of Emath, or Camath, in Davids time, to whom he sent his son Joram with presents, after Davids victory against Adadexer. Also Senacherib speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

§. IV.

Of other lesser Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF Gessur we find two Kings named; to wit, Talmaz, and his Father Ammibar; to Talmaz, whose Daughter David married, &c

it was that Absalom fled, who was his maternal Grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena, or Syria, Soba, or Celsyria, there are two named, Rehob, or Rechob, the Father of Adadexer, and Adadexer himself; and it is plain that after his death the seat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damascus, a City better fitting their greatness. After Rezin, who Belochus supplanted, the race and Monarchy of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom Teglath slaughtered; the Kingdom of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanaasser overturned; happened near about a time: that of Nimus in the daies of Belochus, and the other two in the daies of Teglathphalassar, and Salmanaasser his son. For Sardanaupalus perished, Osa ruling Judaea; and the other two Kingdoms were dissolved, Achaz yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdom of Juda it self, being attempted by Senacherib, the son of Salmanaasser, in vain, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly overturned. Hierusalem and the Temple burnt 132. years after the captivity of Israel and Samaria: the destruction of Israel being in the ninth year of Hosea: that of Juda in the eleventh of Zedechia. Now the Emperours of Assyria and Babylon held also the Kingdom of Syria, from the eighth year of Salmanaasser; to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labyntius: in all about 200. years. After these the Persians from Cyrus to Darius their last King, held Syria about 200. years.

Then Alexander Macedon took this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and his successors the Seleucide reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the Romans, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turks, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gubah, and Gibba.

OF the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son of Jacob, whom he had by Rachel, there were mustered at Mount Sinia 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 45600. fit to bear Arms: and these had their Territory on this side Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim: The Cities

^{1 Chron. 12. 11.} Cities within this Tribe nearest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Oso*: of which, *Lod* and *Oso* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjaminite*; they were all three re-inhabited by *Benjaminites*, after the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11. 35. and *Esd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Oso*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nebemia*, a City called *Lod-hadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macababeus*.

^{1 Kings 14. 34. Jof. 6. 19.} *Samarim*, or *Isamarim*, named of *Temary* one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities; and further into the Land (standeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitful Valley, adorned with many Palm-trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Jofia*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achaz*: in whose daies *chief* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the lofs of *Abiram* his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the lofs of his youngest son *Segub*: according to the curse of *Jofia*: in which and other respects, *Hof.* 12. 14. calleth *Jofia* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

^{* 1 Chron. 6. 60. This Halmon is called Halmon, whence they make a new City Almah, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the Levites.} To the South-east of *Jericho* stood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Jof.* 21. 18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Jof.* c. 15. and c. 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Jofia* found one of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those born in the *Deserts*, and celebrated the Passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Dent.* 11. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is thus: *Jof.* 5. 9. *Ob devaluatione probris Egyptiaci*, because their fore-skins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis prapuriorem*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appears by comparing the places, *Jof.* 15. 7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Jof.* 22. 13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hills *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the Mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitpa* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason (a) *Sa-muel* chose these two places, to either of

(c) *Sa-muel* chose these two places, to either of

which he came yearly to give judgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal* (as is said) was near *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe and *Mitpa* near the West Sea, towards the land of the *Philistines*.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is *Bethel*: which was seated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Ark* reposed, after they past over *Jordan* (from *Dei*, whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-Jeharim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Jofia* pitched up the 12. stones, which were taken out of the channel of *Jordan*, when it was dry, that the *Israelites* might pass over it: by which Story, as it is set down *Jof.* 4. it appears, that by the time day that they passed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearly to give judgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife against *Gibba*, and the *Benjaminites*, *Jof.* 20. 1. and another against the *Philistines*, *1 Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Judas Macababeus* did gather the *Jews* (when *Hierusalem* was possessed by the *Heathens*) as it is *1 Mac.* 3. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationis fuerat Mitpa antea Israel.* Touching this *Mitpa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitpa* of *Juda*, of which *Jof.* 15. 38. (c) *Mitpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held him self, commending his Parents to the King of *Moad*, *1 Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chief *Mitpa* of the *Benjaminites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Jehusites*, and also in the time of the *Macababees* (as we have said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremy*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Cedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jeremy*, as Governor over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt of the *Jews*) he was slain by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royal blood of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41.

Jof. 11. 2. as appears by that which is added, *Perasitrimus*, for *Jofia* notes the three quarters, North, East, and East, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitpa* or *Mitpa* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Asher*.

Neer

Neer unto this *Mitpa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Bethcar*, after called *Aben-Hexer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the *Philistines*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*: as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. and *Jof.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* (d) near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the City which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Jacob's* vision: and how *Jereboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it (e) *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of Vanity, *Hof.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The Territory of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdom of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13. was taken from them, and adjoining to the Kingdom of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appears by the Story of *Jofas*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coats *1 Mac.* 11. 34. are called *Apherama*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories*, or *Perfe-ctures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the *Jews*, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it, as appears *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Ephraim*, which *Jof.* 18. 23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidba*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, (f) it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Mat.* 2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Ebrochard* and *Widenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asher*, as it seems, we have testimony, *Jof.* 19. 29. and of another in *Nephtalim*, *Jof.* 19. 36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount

Ephraim, *1 Sam.* 25. 1. which more often is called (g) *Ramatha*, and *1 Sam.* 1. *Rama* (g) Of *tham* *Jophim*: for which the *Septuagint* hath *Aramathaim-jophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Jofeph* of *Aramathaim*, *Mat.* 27. 57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read, 2 *Reg.* 8. 29. of which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, near *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Basia* in the time of *Afa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, which hindered those that did fly from him to *Asher*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Jofeph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was nearer to *Hierusalem*, and after the Captivity belonged to *Judea*, as it appears, *Esd.* 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Basia* had ceased to build it) *Afa* (as it is *1 Reg.* 25. 22.) built *Gebab* adjoining to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebab* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23. 8. we read that *Jofab* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebab*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-Jehba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibba*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickedness of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* connects with *Gebab*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esf.* 10. 27.) of which word (h) *Gibba*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears, *Jud.* 19. 13. where the *Levite* with his Wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of *1 Sam.* 22. 6. it seems that there was in this *Gibba* some Tower or Citadel called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads in *exceffo*, for in *Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the College of Prophets abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Jofia*, which *Jof.* 7. 2. is placed near *Beth-aven*, upon the East of *Bethel* (Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gebab* upon this Town, and places *Rama* as it is words adjoining, note that this Hill was in the Mountains of *Ephraim*.

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was

was in this Tribe, as is proved, *Neb. 7. 10. 30.* though it be not named by *Jof. c. 18.* for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Jof. 8. 28.* In *folitudinem, in tumultum perpetuum.* Another City of chief note is reckoned *Jof. 18. 25.* In this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the chief City of the *Hevites*: whose cunning to bind the *Israhelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down, *Jof. 9.* whence they were reckoned among the **Nethimej*, or *Prosclytes*, and were bound to certain publick services in the house of God: which oath of saving the *Geboonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, *2 Sam. 21. 1.* This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Jebab* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natal place of *Hieremy* the Prophet, were laid *Jof. 21. 28.* to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Near to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears, *1 Reg. 2. 26.* where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neb. 9. 31.* and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Ark* was at *Kireath-jeharim*: yet by the lamentable tragedy of blood-shed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down *1 Sam. 21. and 22.*) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, *Nebem. 9. 31.* was a place of fame; of which *Ezay. 10. 28.* where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Adgrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas* *Saul* had his Camp, *1 Sam. 13. 2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Macchabeus* his abode, *1 Macc. 9. 73.* Of *Gisfala* in *Galilee* *Josephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natal place of *Saint Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he flayed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Jof. 18. 28.* it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

§. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princess of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the Founder thereof in *Abraham's* time. But,

* according to others, that City, out of * *See in the bible* which *Melchisedec* encountered *Abraham* (in half of his return from the overthrow of the *Affry-Mandites* and *Persean* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the Greeks *Solima*.

Hierusalem (whenever, or by whomsoever built) was a principal City in *Jofua's* time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those days and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Jofua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses's* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. years after him: even till *David* won it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusites* (the children of *Jebus* the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that Nation rely on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had by Gods assistance possessed it, and turned over the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebusalem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the Greeks call *Hierosolima*. After *David's* time *Solomon* amplified, beautified and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the work of the Temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Walls, could not any where in the world be exemplated: and besides, that it had 15000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldom been heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the *Jews* was cut asunder, *Sibisac* King of *Egypt*, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumean*, and *Jeroboam* *Solomon's* servant; and both married to *Egyptians*: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Sibisac* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entered *Hierusalem*, and sack't it, and became Master not only of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadazer*, *Tobu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Jos* King of *Israel*, while

King 16 while *Amasis* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

Not long after, *Achas* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalaser* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasse* the son of *Ezekiab*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaults made by *Ezekiab*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Josiah* then reigning. But this ungrateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, raking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nebuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the Princes and people, and crushed them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years, inasmuch as *Sion* was not only become as a torn and plowed-up field, *Hierusalem* an heap of stones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) even the birds of the Ayre scorned to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

Then 70. years being expired, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls or other defences, for some 60. and odd years, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Bagojes*, or *Vagojes*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by *Ptolomaeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crispus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomaeus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bounty of his

son *Ptolomaeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous works did to adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the days of *Solomon*.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*: and after his death and ascension, it is continued about fourty years. But then did *Vitus the Romane*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ's* death, and to punish the *Jews's* sinful ingratitude, incompassed it with a *Romane* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Paschever*: so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts: and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppress them within the Walls: a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jews* Kingdom, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there perished 4. of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand souls: and the City was so beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* Towers, (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* Garrisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judaea*, and other Provinces, began

* The word *Nethimej*, or *Nethimej*, is as much as dai (as it were) 2 Sam. 21. 1. or as *Jamut* ex-pounds it; *delititit*: it is used 1 Chro. 9. 2. and in *off-dra* and *Nehemias* *utien*.

2 Sam. 14

Mich. 2. 11. 12. 13.

Hier. 3. 1. and 2. 1.

Neb. 12. 34. &c.

* The first of the *Egyptian* kings after *Alexander* the *Maccedon*, who destroyed his Religion, came up to *Hierusalem* to offer sacrifice *Jof. 12. 10. 11.*

Jof. 1. 1. Ap. 1. 1. 1. 16.

2 King. 14

At 7. 170. 53114.

began again to inhabit some part of the City; and by degrees to re-build it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Roman State*: but after 65. years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Elins Adrianus* the Emperour slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian Towers*, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himself had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone upon another* of that ungrateful City. Afterward, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary*, and the sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Elia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set it in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the *Jews* Nation: making an Edict, that they should not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

Enil. Tyr. bell. sac. 7. 14. c. 12.
But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palestina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. years.

Ouspbrins Chron.
It was afterward in the 636. year after Christ, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odd years.

Enil. Tyr. 18. c. 6. 18. 19. c. 1.
In the year 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey of Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Successors of *Godfrey* four score and eight years still in the year 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the year 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* cast out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jerusalem* alone that had so often times been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck. And it hath been Gods just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possess; of the wals and buildings, yea, of the soil and the beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy,

hath in effect lost all her fertility and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*: it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from Heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soil it self hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalec*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himself: neither was it enough that *Achan* himself was stoned, but that his moveables were so consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Nis* governed *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Jerusalem* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Justin*, of all other most malicious, doth *Justin* derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian Kings*; of whom, *Damasius*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that *Israel* had ten sons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magical Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and signs prodigious; and this *Joseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreame thirst and famine, and therein found relief the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry

marry out of their own Tribes, left discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. These and the like fables hath *Justin*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly believe them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratory of their Temple, they had the golden head of an *As*, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himself, having in the fifth book of his own History truly confessed of the *Jews*, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus* 5, who also makes *Judas* with *Idumea*, the first parents of the *Jews*.

Claudius Iulius draws them from *Judeus*, whose parents were *Spartan* and *Thebis* 5 whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedaemonians* challenged kinred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wrested and perverted, according to the custom of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Story of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Flood 5 and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age, to *Noah* and his sons in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feignings, as touching the *Jews* and their originals, *Iosephus* against *Apion*, and *Tertullian* have suf-

ficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldeans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandering, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Grammarians*, derive the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, from *Arabon* 5 having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esan* or *Edom*, *Edomites* 5 at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judeans*, or *Jews*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Ioseph*, the chief of the Patriarchs of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdom of *Israel* fell. The *Judeans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

The government which this Nation underwent, was first paternal: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moses* and *Josua*, by a policy Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom, and his Successors, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Josua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

Cited by
Stephanus
in Judea.

see in
Apd.



CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josua, to the War of Troy: which was about the time of Jephtha.

§. I.

Of the Inter-regnum after Josua's death: and of Othoniel.

When *Josua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdom was afterward established) to undertake the War against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the assistance of *Simcon*) they became victorious. In the first attempt which they made, they not onely slew ten thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellist Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before

(before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confess and acknowledge Gods judgments against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possess during this *Inter-regnum* (or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askelon*, *Ekyon*, and *Hirufalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hekron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in exprefs words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phineas*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good success which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* governed, as appears, *Jos. 10. 39.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Achlah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, because they had Chariots of Iron.) The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable success: for as the house of *Issachar* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forced them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites*, unmindful of Gods benedictions, and how often he had miraculously a fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not only joyn themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Aseroth*, which they called the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Cleissian* *Rishathaim* at that time commanded.

But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and enforced the *Aramites* to return into their own Desarts, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoining: after which the *Israelites* had peace forty years, during all the time of *Othoniel*s government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tosia*, 262. to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of Judges, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the son of *Cenez*, *Caleb*s younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words [*Caleb*s younger brother] as if they signified the meancit of his kinned. Indeed it is not likely that *Caleb*s Daughter should marry with her own Uncle: yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* should have been the meancit of the kinned. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneh*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenez*, *Caleb*s younger brother: that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Caleb*s Daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Josua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many wars were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Lafsi* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel*, that civil war brake out between the *Benjaminites*, and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is writt'n, that in those days there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites*, during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have been when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civil war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they

they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

There lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandion*, or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was father to *Erichonius*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose daughter *Seemele* was born *Dionysius* or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melos*, *Paphos*, and *Thorus* were built.

Ida and *Dalylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers Chronologers find in *Ehuds* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is little agreement. *Vices* upon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lacontius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the son of *Elenfus* King of *Elenfus*: which *Elenfus* by careful industry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from some neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the air.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars;

to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused; if in these comparisons I err with others of better judgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as is plain among them hath yet so confused any mans understanding, gave his own; but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppressions of *Israel*; in the times from the egression to the building of *Solomon*s Temple in the Persian Empire, the seventy Weeks, and in what not? Wheresoever this account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better judgments. *Nam in prelois rebus veritas non ad unguem querenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, says *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of *Ehuds* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tereus*, *Tantalus*, *Tytius*, *Admetus*, and others that lived about these times.

After the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell back to their former Idolatry, God encouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them: to perform which, he joyned the forces

Genesis 12. Where came the name of Paleson? Apocryphal of the two first letters. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 13.

Judge 1. 19

Judge 1. 15

Judge 1. 30

Judge 17. 13. 19.

forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest over *Israhel*, whom God himself exposed to those perils, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raised up *Ehud* the son of *Gerato* deliver them; by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the *Israhelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory: especially giving his Nation no time to re-establish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, laden with presents from the *Israhelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access, upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc'd his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem, that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of *Israhel* in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did re-pass *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Successor had miraculously slain 600. *Philistines* with an Ox goad: the Land and People of *Israhel* lived in peace unto the end of fourscore years from the death of *Othniel*, which term expired in the Worlds year 2691.

In the days of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Eliamelech* her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into *Moab*, and so the story of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore years which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hippocome* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Asphissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made

known to *Pyrrhous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joynt themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dog, which fastened on *Pyrrhous*, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him, and by strength took and mastered the Dog *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zeux*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrhous*, faith he, attempted to steal *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrhous* were both taken; and because *Pyrrhous* was the principal in this conspiracy, and *Theseus* drawn on by a kind of affection or enforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dog *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules*, by the instigation of *Erastides*, delivered him by strong hand. The *Molossi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a single S, were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting near the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains *Oeta* is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessaly*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassopaei*, faith *Plutarch* in his Greek questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erythraeus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-wind, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to fetch her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might not complain; persuading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother-in-laws merciless behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloath, and sent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* caused her only son *Irys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, he caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*,

Athens, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that she was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* finds to be *Daulis*, in *Phocis*: and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built near the Rocks *Atergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Theoclydides* notes by way of digression in his *Poloponnesian War*, that this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Country in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandion* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law: as it is good to believe, faith *Theoclydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdom of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Daulide nec nudificant, nec habitant intota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time *Atelampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætextus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themselves to be King, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

In the seven and fortieth year of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Pheonoe* the chief Priest of *Apollo* in *Delfos*, devised the Heroical Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Ationes*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not enjoy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*,

by the Nymph *Pleta*: *Dionysius* and *Didymus* in *Zeux*, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendant, betokening Wildom and Riches. It is said, that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which feck after Divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffred the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Querit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat.

Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seeks for water, and doth misle.

The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wildom and vertue to mortal men: which story *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousness.

Tantalus à labiis sitiens fugientia captat Flumina; quid ridet? multo nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streams that from him flee.

Why laughst thou the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus, Coetaneis convivia. Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

T t

Because

Lib. 9. pass. in diti.

Theroclyd.

Paus. 11. Homer. Odyss. 11.

Paus.

Euseb. prep. Evan. l. 2. Zex. hyst. 10. chit. 5.

Paus. in diti.

Because that stealing immortality,
He did both Nestor and Ambrosia give
To guests of his own age, to make them
live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of
Divinity ought not to be imparted to the
unpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meats in
a foul stomach, are therein corrupted, so the
most high and reserved mysteries are often
perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

Mark 4. 11 To you it is given (saith Christ in Mark)
to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God,
but unto them that are without, all things be
done in Parables. So it is said of him, that he
expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And
therefore doth Gregory Nazianzen infer
upon a place of S. Paul: *Quod si Paulo li-*
crasset esset carum, quorum isti cognitionem calum-
nerium & usque ad illud progressio suppedita-
vit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius con-
faret; If Paul might have uttered the things,
the knowledge whereof the third Heaven, and
his going thither, did bring unto him, perad-
venture we might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, saith *Revelin*, thought it not the
part of a wise man, *Apno lyram exponere, aut*
mysteria, que ita recipiunt ut sus tibi, & si-
dem graculis, & ugentia Scarabeus: quare
silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo divinorum
arcana patefacerent, que meditando facilius
quam loquendo apprehendantur; To let an As
to a Harp, or to learn mysteries: which he would
handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a
Viol, or Scarabee, and unclean sties sovereign
ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to
his Disciples, that they should not disclose di-
vine mysteries to the common sort, which are
easier learned by meditation than by babbling.
And therefore did the Egyptians communi-
cate their mysteries among their Priests in
certain Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that
their secrets might be hidden from the Vul-
gar: and that they might bestow the more
time in the contemplation of their covered
meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries
of Aod, or Ebnud, with him it is also said, that
Tytius lived, whom *Apollo* slew, because he
fought to force his mother *Latona*: *Euphori-*
on hath it thus, that *Tytius* was the son of
Elara, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which
Elara being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Ju-*
no's revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where
she was delivered of *Tytius*: whose Mother
dying, and himself therein nourished, he was
therefore called the son of the earth. *Pausa-*
nias speaking of the grave of this Giant, af-
firms, that his body occupied the third part

of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of
his stature out of *Homer*:

Porrett usque novem Tytius per jugera terra.
Affidius atro viscere pascit aves.

Ann. Ol.
11.

Nine furlongs stretch lies *Tytius*, who for
his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing
liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That
Apollo killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant
of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocia*, it was feigned by
the Poets, to the terror of others, That he
was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still
lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Thefaly*, lived also in this
age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as
a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent
wit, was by him advanced; but having
slain *Hyacintus*, he crost the *Hellepont*, and
fled into *Perygia*: where, together with
Neptune, he was entertained by *Laomedon*,
and got his bread by working in brick, for
building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making
the bricks leap into their places by playing
on his Harp: according to him in *Ovid*,
which saith:

Ilion aspiciet, firmataque turribus altis
Mænia, Apollineæ structa canore lyre.

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with walls and
towers high,
Built with the harp of wife *Apollo's*
Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he la-
boured with his hands, as hired in this work.
And that he also laboured at the building of
the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians*
witness, saith *Pausanias*.

In these dayes also of *Ebnud*, or (as some
find it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perse-*
us, the son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose
Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*,
to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Me-*
deusa, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*,
being weakly accompanied as the hunted,
near the Lake *Tritan*, was surpris'd and slain:
whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caus'd
her head to be imbalmed, and carried
into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such,
and so much admired, and the beholders so
astonish'd which beheld it, as thereof grew
the fiction, That all that looked on *Medusa's*
head, were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7.
King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or, 14.
Fuscibus,

Enfub. in
Chimæ.

Enfubius, the 14. King of the *Argiver*, began
also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of
this Judge: of which the first ruled 40.
years, and the second 31. years. *Allo Belle-*
rophon lived in this age, being the son of
Glancus, the son of *Sisphus*: who inticed
by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of
the *Argiver*, to accompany her, but refusing
it, the accused him to her husband, that he
offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus*
sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs
of weight, between him and his son-in-law
Jobates: giving secret order to *Jobates* to
dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it disho-
nourable to lay violent hands on him, im-
ployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster vor-
miting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as
the report is) pitying his innocence, sent
him the winged Horse, *Pegasus*, sprung up of
the blood of *Medusa*, formerly slain by the
souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport
him; a horse that none other could master
or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beast
Bellerophon overcame *Chimæra*: and per-
formed the other services given him in
charge: which done, as he returned toward
Lycia, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain
him: but being victorious also over all those,
he arrived to *Jobates* in safety: whom *Jobates*
for his eminent virtues honoured, first with
one of his Daughters: and afterward with
his Kingdom: after which he grew so in-
fident, as he attempted to flie up to heaven
upon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Jupiter* dis-
daining, caused one of his stinging flies so
to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from
his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where
he died blind; of which burthen *Pegasus*
being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew
back to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiter's*
own itable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to
ride on before the Sun. This tale is diversly
expounded; as first by some, That it plea-
seth God to relieve men in their innocent
and undeserved adversity, and to cast down
those which are too high minded: accord-
ing to that which is said of *Bellerophon*:
that when he was exposed to extrem haz-
ard, or rather certain death, he found both
deliverance and honour: but waxing over-
proud and presumptuous in his glorious for-
tunes, he was again thrown down into the
extremity of sorrow, and ever-during mis-
ery. Secondly by others, That under the
name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruel Pyrat
of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow
a Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ship, and a Dra-
gon in the stern, of which three beasts this
Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compound-
ed, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kind

of Galley, of such swiftness, that it was cal-
led the flying Horse: to whom the invention
of sayls (the wings of a ship) are also attri-
buted. Many other explications are made of
this tale by other Authors: but it is not un-
likely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship,
for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships
of *Æneas*.

L. S. Æ-
neas in
Æneid. ad A-
poll.

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (be-
ing ignorant of the antiquity of their parent
Javan) derive their name of *Iones*, is said to
have been about *Ebnud's* time: *Homer* calls
them *Jaones*, which hath a near resemblance
to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be
so that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan*:
it being a custom observable in the Histo-
ries of all times, to revive the ancient name
of a fore-father, in some the principal of his
issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is
by some reported as done in this age: but
S. Augustine makes him far more ancient:
placing him between the coming out of *E-*
gypt, and the death of *Josua*.

Lih. 18 c.
11: de ci-
dei. l. 18.
c. 15.

About the end of the 80. years, ascribed
to *Ebnud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who
gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now
called *Morea*.

§. IV.

of *Deborah* and her Contemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had lived in peace and plen-
ty to the end of these 80. years, they a-
gain began to forget the giver of all good-
ness, and many of those being worn out,
which were witnesses of the former misery,
and of Gods deliverance by *Ebnud*; and af-
ter him by *Samgar*, the rest began to re-
turn to their former neglect of Gods com-
mandments. For as Mercy and Peace are the
parents of idle security; so is security as fruit-
ful in begetting and bringing forth both
danger and subversion: of which, all estates
in the world have tasted by interchange of
times. Therefore when their sins were a-
gain ripe for punishment, *Jabin* King of *Ha-*
zor, after the death of *Ebnud*, invaded the ter-
ritory of *Israel*; and having in his service
900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his for-
ces, he held them in subjection twenty years,
till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the
Prophetess, who encouraged *Barac* to levy a
force out of *Nephthali*, and *Zabulon*, to in-
counter the *Canaanites*. That the men of
Nephthali were more forward than the rest
in this action, it may seem to have proceeded
partly from the authority that *Barac* had

T t 2 among

Plutei, in
claustris
ma-
lier.

among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Hazor* and *Harofeth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Neptalim*. So in the days of *Jeptha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsel and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty *Affrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchless pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invincible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angel, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Mofer* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by hail-stones in the time of *Josua*: sometimes by the ministry of men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederate Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them, to kill one another in the sight of *Jehoshaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetess speak unto *Barac* in these words: *But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hands of a Woman*. In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulness, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate wherinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatry by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these words: *Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were favored and amazed, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and durst not join themselves to the rest, as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asherites*

left the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighbored the Sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then cursed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling near the place of the battle (be-like fearing the success) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blest *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affliction of that race to the *Israelites*. For though the Family of *Heber* were enforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondency with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lastly, she derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her self, and derided by the spoils both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40. years. In which time the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had continued 544. years, was translated to *Aycene*: The translation of this Kingdom, *Vives* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lyncus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the son of *Lyncus* divided the Kingdom: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it self: *Pretus* his brother possessed *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tyrnibos*, and other Cities, with all the Territory towards the Sea: there be many Monuments in *Tyrnibos*, which witness *Pretus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was foretold by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the Lady being exceeding fair, it is said that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning wherof was, that some Kings son, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was born; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Cicero*) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly: After this, *Perseus*, to avoid the infamy of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdoms with his Uncle *Pretus*: and built *Aycene*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she

was

was inclosed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custody *Horace* hath this witty observation:

*Inclusam Danaen turris aenea,
Robustaque fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excentia munerant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:*

*Si non Acrisium Virginis abdite
Custodem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus
Rississent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Converso in pretium Deo.*

*Aurem per medios ire satellites,
Et perumpere amat saxa, potentius
Illi fulmineo.*

The brazen tower with doors close barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from secret love:
Till smiling *Venus*, and wise *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden shower,
The god into her lap did pour
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Through guards and stony valls to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first year of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Iaac*: from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caster* misreckoneth 400. years. This Kingdom before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to have stood 544. years, others but at 417. To was the daughter of this *Inachus*: vvhom the *Egyptians* called *Ips*.

*Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Piraeus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,*

*Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lyncus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.*

After the translation to *Mycene*, *Mar. Scotus* finds these Kings:

*Perseus,
Sthenelus,*

Eurythens,

Atrous } The sons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atrous* by *Europe* and *Thyestes*. } *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

*Agamemnon,
Aegleus,
Oristes,*

*Tifamens,
Penibius and
Cometes.*

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last, beginning with *Eurythens*: and ending with *Penibius*. In *Tifamens* time the *Heracleide* returned into *Peloponnesus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Deborah*, vvhere *Midus*, vvho reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus*, vvho built *Ilium*: vvith others mentioned in our *Chronological Table*, as Contemporaries vvith *Deborah*.

§. V.

Of *Gideon*, and of *Dædalus*, *Sphinx*, *Minos*, and others that lived in this Age.

Deborah and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites*, assisted by the *Amalekites*, infected *Israel*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: The Judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful vallies: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattle, destroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as grasshoppers: which servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up *Gideon* the son of *Josab*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: vvwhose fear and unvvinningness, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely vvvas the Lord of Hosts. Each of these 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, vvith vvwhich he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarm: vvho hearing so loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Army of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken vvith a sudden fear, they fled vvithout a stroke stricken, and vvvere slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slain.

flain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrel with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appealing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travel, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might overtake the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, fought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those Nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their Army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to find of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the war, that both envy and maligne others, if they perform any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country should suffer hazard and want, than that such men as they dislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

Now *Gideon*, how or wherefoever it pleased him, as it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed

the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding *Zebab* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he again surprized them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he took *Zebab* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideon's* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands, his Son whom he first commanded to do it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers, or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his own 70. sons, all but one, murdered by his own bastard *Abimelech*: The like Analogy is observed by the *Rabbins*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the River and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first-born by his Angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for his victory, and there own deliverance, as they offered him the Sovereignty over them; and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not reign over you, neither shall my child reign over you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Israelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380*li.* if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Priest only, and set up the same in his own City of *Ophe*, or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the

same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kind of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Levites used, and so did *David* when he danced before the Ark: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the Army came in to the slaughter, and pursuit: for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtaly, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites: for this Army Gideon left in Tents behind him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.*

There lived with *Gideon*, *Aegens*, the son of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Euryfemus* King of *Alycene*: *Atrous* and *Thyestes* the sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euryfemus*, the Kingdom of *Alycene* fell into the hand of *Atrous*. This is that *Atrous*, who holding his brother in jealousy, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not unrevengeed. For both *Atrous* and his son *Agamemnon* was slain by a base son of *Thyestes*, yea the great children, and all the lineage of *Atrous* died by the same sword.

In *Gideon's* time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dadalus* and *Icarus*. *Dadalus*, they say, having slain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Athens*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Athens* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to have framed an artificial Cow for *Pasiphae* the Queen, that she, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting herself into the Cow, satisfy her lust; a thing no less unnatural than incredible, had not that shameless Emperor *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seem, to verify the old Fable. For so it appears by those Verses of *Marialis*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

*Junctam Pasiphaen Edico credite Tauror
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Caesar, longeva ventris
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Servius* makes a less unthought construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsel, and her *Pandar* for the enticing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child; and that the being delivered of two sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that she was delivered of the Monster *Atinotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was supposed that he fashioned wings for himself and his son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oars only, *Dadalus* framed sails for his own boat, and for his sons, by which he out-went those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himself over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could only present the body and head of those men, whom they carried to counterfeited, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the Images of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the Theban, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamiris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation of the Sun and Moons, of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his Scholar with his own Harp.

Again, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx*, and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Carinians* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom she maledered, was meant by the rocky and unaccessible Mountain near *Thebes*, which she defended and by *Oedipus* dissolving her problem, his victory over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Ptolephatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable,

habile, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despicable part, with her own troop he held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence the continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Athena* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possessed himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every year seven of their sons: which tribute *Thebes* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dedalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Giant, who was said to have 60. and odd cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the Roman, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*: yet for my self I think it but a loud lie. That *Anteus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Euclides* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited near the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. *St. Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophist.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

About the eleventh year of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonauts* of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this:

Pelias the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Aeson*, who was *Jafon*'s father, reigning in *Iolcus* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Pelias* to him, who coming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he

would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? to which question when *Jafon* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchus* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jafon* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus* the son of *Phryxus*, by the counsel of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to sail with him: as *Thybis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* sons of *Aacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Thebes*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaras* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon*, that slew the great wild Boar, *Acalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last war of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atlantis* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lyneus* the sons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux*, slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slain themselves: *Lyneus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jafon* in the ship *Argo*: in whose Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dedona*, which could speak. They arrived first at *Lemnos*, the women of which Island, having slain all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it so fell out, that looting thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, inasmuch that the *Argonauts* slew the most part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they solemnized his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in *Myfia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elateis*, who went to seek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Myfia* called *Ciois*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argo*. From *Myfia* the *Argonauts* sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryses*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the son

of *Neptune* was then King. He being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him at vvorlbat, in which kind of fight he had slain many, and was now himself slain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryses* in revenge of his death slew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sailed from hence to *Salmysdesus* a Town in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Thrace* a South-layer dwelt, who was blind, and vexed with the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* were said to be a kind of Birds which had the faces of women, and foul long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: You shall do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to ask my counsel. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set down, than that presently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the air: Some say, that both the *Harpies* and the young men died of weariness in the fight, and pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and advertised them withal of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut up the passage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the passage: and if that passed safe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, and perceiving that the Pigeon had only lost a piece of her tale, they observed the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, only the end of their Poop was bruised.

From thence forward (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still, for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabited about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Soothsayer of their company was slain by a

wild Boar, also here *Thybis* dyed: and *Aeneas* undertook to steer the ship. So they passed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucasus*, and came to the River *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchus*. When they were entered the haven, *Jafon* went to *Zetes* the King of *Colchus*, and told him the Commandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliver the golden Fleece, which *Zetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to do, if he alone would yoke together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe *Dragons* teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Zetes*.

Whilest *Jafon* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medea* the daughter of *Zetes* fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came privily to him, promising her help if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jafon* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine wherewith she bade him to anoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, she bade him throw stones amongst them as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blows, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jafon* followed her counsel; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Zetes* was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Jafon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where they say it was kept by a Dragon that never slept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medea* cast into a sleep: so taking away the Golden Fleece, she went with *Jafon* into the ship *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Ablyrtus*.

Zetes understanding the practices of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medea* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Zetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his daughter to pass: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the Greek

him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 20. years, who seems to be defended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of those Cities which his Ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Israel* lived without disturbance, and in peace.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Prianus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransom, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the less. He married *Hebe* the Daughter of *Cissus* King of *Ubrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hebe*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair*: some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Aethra*: but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, finds him begotten by *Aegeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Asia* the less took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Country of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his son.

And having possessed himself of *Ariadne's* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of three, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by means whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Aegeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in sign thereof, and not that mournful black sail under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Aegeus* decrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, did cast himself over the

Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Aegeus*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmus*, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the Country of *Procrustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastened by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischievous thieves and murderers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazones*, who alter many victories and valuations, entered the Territory of *Athens*. *Theseus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phedra*, falling in love, and her refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phedra* persuaded *Theseus*, that his son offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his sons by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, sent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* passed by the Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miserable and undeserved destiny, when *Phedra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Esculapius* to let *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, he led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Esculapius*, to wit, some skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he passed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the World, where they find many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematical* lines; so do the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermix the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made

made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per *Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fifty years old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recover their sister. *Eragratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begot her with child at *Argos*, where he erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facta fructum tulit ille petitus*, &c. The rape *Eusebius* finds in the first of *Jair*, who governed *Israel* twenty two years; to whom succeeded *Jephthah* or *Jephth*, six years, to whom *Izabab*, who ruled seven years, and then *Habdon* eight years: in whole time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a child by her in the first of *Jair*, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when she was stolen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Dunting*, with *Halicarnassensis*, do in effect consent, that the City was entered and burnt in the first year of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Successor of *Theseus*, the Successor of *Theseus*, seventeen daies before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Hellespont* into *Ubrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second year, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *S. Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polypides* governed *Sicyon*; *Theseus*, *Athens*; *Tantanes*, *Affrica*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Aneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicily*, *Phaestus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successors, *Adrastus*, who reigned four years, and *Polypides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Athenes* King of *Athens* and *Atrous*, who

held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Affrica*, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitres*, and after him *Tantanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the son of *Ramesses*, and afterwards *Annumenes*.

§. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, which was in this age.

In this age was the War of *Thebes*, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucratus*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection:

—Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi semperque aeterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojae,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinerint Poetae?

If all this World had no original, But things have ever been as now they are: Before the siege of *Thebes*, or *Troy* last fall, Why did no Poet sing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very salvage, the Inhabitants being often chased from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little; neither did they plant many trees, or sow more corn than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of Gold and Brass: by the worth in cattle: saying, that the golden Armour of *Glauces* was worth an hundred Bees; and the Copper Armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Roberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steal horses or kine was the usual exercise of their great men. Their Towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Athens* the principal City in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in some small Towns of that half Isle of *Peloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietness within their

Deut. 3. 14.
Num. 13.
45.

Jud. 10.

209.

in Tuf.

Strab. li. 5.
Tuf. in
Cen.

Neptil.
Helen.

Jud. 10. 3.

Deut. Chron.
Euseb.
Heli. 1.

Aug. de
Civ. Dei.
li. 8. c. 10.

their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Albanians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the Land in general was very rude, it will easily appear to such as consider what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his History. Wherefore, as in these later times, idle *Chroniclers* use when the want good matter, to fill whole Books with reports of great Frosts, or dry Summers, and other such things which no man cares to read; so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great Floods which were in the times of *Ogges* and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse Fables of men changed into Birds, of strange Monsters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes*: the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the son of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been cast forth when he was an Infant, because an Oracle foretold what evil should come to pass by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage, contending for the way, slay his own Father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocasta*, called by *Hom Odyss. Homer*, *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two sons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his Parents, he understood the grievous murder and incest he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife (and Mother) did hang her self. Some say, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sons, because they suffered their father to be cast out of the Town, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sons made this agreement, that the one of them should reign one year, and the other another year, and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill observed. For when *Polynices* had after a years government reigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first year, he refused to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the son of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whose Palace coming by night, he was driven to seek lodging in an out-house, on the back-side.

There he met with *Tydeus* the son of *O-*

neus, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom striving about their lodging, he fell to blows. *Adrastus* hearing the noise came forth and took up the quarrel. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembered an old Oracle by which he was advised to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingly he did bestow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deiptye* upon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose levying an Army, and assembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was desirous among others to carry *Amphiarus* the son of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiarus*, who is said to have fore-seen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains should escape, save only *Adrastus*, did both utterly refuse to be one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiarus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that she should cause her Husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should work his destiny, forbad his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye so precious a Jewel, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controversy between *Amphiarus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put unto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemn oath to stand to her appointment: she ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did love a Bracelet better than her Husband. He now finding that it was far more easie to foresee then avoid destiny, fought for such comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his sons, that when they came to full age, they should kill their Mother, and make strong war upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seven chief Leaders were himself, *Amphiarus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Mecestus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Etolian*, and *Parthenopus* the *Arcadian*, son of *Melager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemean* Wood, they met a Woman, whom they desired to help them to some Water; she having a Child in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere he returned, a Serpent had slain the Child. This Woman was *Hyppolyte* the Daughter of *Thebes* the

the *Lemnian*, whom she would have saved when the Woman of the Isle slew all the Males by conspiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her Piety the *Lemnian* Wives did sell her to *Pyrrus*, and the *Pyrrus* to *Igeus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whose young son *Ophelestes*, or *Archemorus* she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the Child's death she hid her self for fear of her Master, *Amphiarus* told her Sons where they should find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had slain the Child, and in memory of the chance, did institute solemn funeral games, called *Nemean*, wherein *Adrastus* was the prize with his swift horse *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbars, *Amphiarus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopus* at shooting, and *one Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemean* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Ophelestes* a *Lacedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slain the *Nemean* Lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Cithæron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to try what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envy and malice of the people, who laid fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his return to the army of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the City as a Reporter and Witness of his Valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger, could scarce muster up more than fends that *Thebes* had gates) did compels the Town, *Adrastus* quartered before the Gate *Hemolides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygeus*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiarus* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Ancheas*, *Parthenopus* at *Eldia*, and *Polynices* at *Hyppia*. In the mean Season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Com-

manders unto them, took advice of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised Victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menæcius* the son of *Creon*, a principal man of the City, would vow himself to be slain in honour of *Mars* the god of War. So full of malice and pride is the Devil, and so envious at his Creators glory, that he not only challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice withal Divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understanding, and bewitched their Wits with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he wax less impudent in cunning, though not less malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanity. For King *Dipylus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any Oracle, made the Idol of that Countrey rest contented with an Ox instead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Priests in the Groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in stead of the living: yet among the salvages in the West *Indies* these cruel offerings have been practised of late Ages: which, as it is a sufficient argument that *Satan's* malice is only covered and hidden by this subtilty among civil people: so it may serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarities then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase Victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the gates of the City. Then was a battel fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the Walls, got up upon the Rampart: whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as Writers wave it) was tricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this battel, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrel in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, flew each other.

Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the sons of *Astæus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Aspnus* one of the sons flew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the seven Princes: *Parthenopus* being another of the seven (who was said to have been

been so fair, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slain by *Amphidicus*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the son of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Athenippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphyraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedy for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly committed, *Adrastus* and *Amphyraus* fled: of whom *Amphyraus* is said to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the River *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcases, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but caused *Antigone*, the only daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, because she had fought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creon's* Edict. The *Athenians* confederating to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an Army under the conduct of *Thebes*, which took *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to sepulture: at which time *Evanthe* the Wife of *Capaneus* threw her self into the funeral fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sons of those Captains which were slain at *Thebes*, that any leiss revenge should be taken of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the City: Wherefore ten year after, having levied Forces, *Egialeus* the son of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tyden*, *Proachus* of *Parthenopis*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Emipylus* of *Mecistheus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmeon*, the son of *Amphiaras*: with whom also went his brother *Amphyloctus*. *Apollo* promised Victory, if *Alcmeon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another Oracle he commanded to kill his own Mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans*: (for *Creon* was only

Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battel, and slew *Egialeus*, yet was he put to the worst, and driven to fly, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmeon*. After this disaster, the Citizens began to desire composition; but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their Wives and Children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eftia*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the Walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by *Thersander* the son of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he saved the City from utter destruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. IX.

Of *Jephtha*, and how the three hundred years which he speaketh of, Judg. 11. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. together with some other things touching Chronology about these times.

AFTER the death of *Jair* (near about whose time these things hapned in Greece, and during whose Government, and that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* and *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoining, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Molabites*, and *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistines*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most opprest, because they bordered upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforced to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of devilish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after Victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammon's* right, and fortified

fortified the Title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them over the Mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expresseth heretofore in the description of the Holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he encountered, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and only child, who with all patience submitted her self, and only desired two months time to bewail her Virginity on the Mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that she was not offered, is more probable, which *Borheus* and others prove sufficiently.

De. in
Judg.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* victory, or otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himself against their fury, in the encounter slew of them 40000. which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistines* had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Jephtha*, after he had judged *Israel* six years, died: to whom succeeded *Ishnan*, who ruled seven years: after him *Elon* was their Judge ten years: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds now *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the Septuagint, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Judg. 11.

2925.
2942.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* account of the times, Jud. 11. 28. (where he says that *Israel* had then possist the East side of *Jordan* 300. years) to speak somewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, seeming repugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of *S. Paul*, Acts 13. the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Jephtha* here lengtheneth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. years: *S. Paul* giveth to the Judges, as it seems, from the end of *Isaiah* to the last of *Heb.* 450. years. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to

the foundation of *Solomon's* Temple, there were consumed 480. years. To the first, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephtha's* 300. years to be but 266. years, to wit, 18. of *Isaiah*, 40. of *Othaniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Sanger*, 40. of *Deborah*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) is facitum pro incerto propositum. Sic ut dicat annum aqi prope trecentosimum, ex quo nullus litera ac de movit *Israel*; So he speaketh (saith he) as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh shod three hundred year, since *Israel* possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right. *Codoman* on the contrary finds more years than *Jephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israel's* captivity, at several times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should have justly objected, that 71. of those years the *Israelites* were in captivity, and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred years, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365. years, besides the 71. years of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth also 28. years more, and so maketh up the sum of 365. These 28. years he findeth out thus: twenty years he gives to the *Seniors* between *Josiah* and *Othaniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen years to *Josiah* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Josephus*; whereas Saint *Agustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melancthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction (to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300. years. Neither is it strange that *Jephtha* should leave out more than half of the years of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against the 71. years, and say, that during these years, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. years remembered by *Jephtha*, to be 306. which odd years, saith he, *Jephtha* omitteth. But because the years of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but do onely compound 266. therefore doth

Luther add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Defarts of *Arabia Petrea*; which forty years of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266, make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the dispute between *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly, or in peace.* So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possit. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking; which *Jephtha* answereth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Hebron, and in her Towns, and in Arcoz, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300 years: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300. years: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to possess it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me: for we do not use to reckon the time of our conquests in *France*, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtha*'s narration: when he makes a brief repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. years (as he thinks) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. years: and not only the time in which *Israel* possit *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephtha*'s own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. years, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet find a more probable reconciliation of *Saint Pauls* and *Jephtha*'s account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephtha*'s three hundred years of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembered, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Mosab*

and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*, and so *Jephtha* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. years of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon*, and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of *Saint Paul*, *Ad. 13.* that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Sammuel*, there past 450. years. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Funfius Krentzheimius*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last year of *Heli*, but 357. years: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. years.

Now forasmuch as *Saint Paul* (as it seems) finds 450. years from the death of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty years for *Saul* and *Sammuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who were the Crown three whole years ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of *Saint Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. years, unto the time of Samuel the Prophet*: the words [then afterward] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death of *Josua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where *Saint Luke*, rehearsing the words of *Saint Paul*, wrote 350. years (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two Greek words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracoshois*, for *Tricoshois*; 400. years for 300. years; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Josua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Sammuel* he makes 430. years: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* years) 319. and of years of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty years, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40. years, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plain, that during all *Sampsons* time, they were Lords over *Israel*.

Israel, So then of the *Judges*, besides the 111. years of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319. years, which two sums put together, make 430. years. And whereas *Saint Paul* nameth 450. years, he finds 20. years to make up *Saint Paul*'s number, to have been spent after the death of *Josua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cushan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. years added to 430. make 450. according to *Saint Paul*. To approve this time of the *Elders*, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Josua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the dayes of Josua, and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Josua*: so as to these times of the *Elders*, *Codoman* giveth 20. years, which make as before 450. according to *Saint Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here all to the 20. years of the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel* should be denied. For they which deny these years, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin presently upon the death of *Josua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. years less than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the years of affliction apart from the years of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampsons* years, and of the forty years of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20. years more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. years of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one half of the forty of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seems to enforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. years, besides the 20. while *Sampson* was their Judge; and so the reckoning will come to 450. years between the end of *Josua*, and the beginning of *Sammuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. years, to which if we add the years of the *Judges*, which are 339. we have the just sum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of *Saint Paul*

doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the left. For these be *Saint Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty years, God suffered their manners in the wilderness: and he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. years, unto the time of Samuel the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his years spent in the Wilderness, then in the nineteenth verse he cometh unto the acts of *Josua*; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verse it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about 450. years, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of *Saint Pauls* meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The only inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it seems irreconcilable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. years between the end of *Josua* and the beginning of *Sammuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. years between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty *Codoman* answereth, that these 480. years, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we cast the years of the *Judges*, with the years of servitude (which sums, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397. years) and so to these years add the 40. of *Sammuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Solomon*, we shall have the just sum of 480. years. Neither is it hard faith he, that the *annus egressionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. should be understood *egressionis non incipientis, sed finitæ*, the year of their coming out of *Egypt* (for so it is in the original) or the year after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be understood for the year after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so we find that things which were done forty years after they had set foot out of *Egypt*, are said to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Psal.* 114. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back, And Deut.* 4. 45. *These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far

it seems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut. 4. 45.* do well read *quum exivissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seems that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquam exivissent*?

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had end until the 25. year after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not until this time: at which time the *Danites* at length seated themselves, as it is declared, *Judg. 18.* For doubtless to this time the Expedition may most conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephtha*, and of *Saint Paul*, with that in the first of *Kings*, c. 6. Now whereas it is said, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Israel*: to this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Othoniel* lived all those 40. years of rest, of which *Judg. 3. 11.* so that by the 25. year after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all Sovereignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25. year after *Othoniel's* victory) there was no King in *Israel*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologies, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in itself round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of *S. Paul* have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are set down. But seeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laisb*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth year of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty years, that it might then be truly said there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the Law

by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly said to have been, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*: like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for so all journeys with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can find no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed most improper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrival out of *Palestina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then believe that enterprize performed so many years after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journey's end) should be said to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the onely guide for certain ages in sacred Chronology, should not take name and beginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principal of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and month are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the year and month wherein it expired) and the form of the year upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a year, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle *S. Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our Lord *Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdom that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been

been the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well known and beleived of the Jews to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. years consumed in the Wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the Wilderness about 40. years. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land unto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whole time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. years. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven years of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. years of the *Judges*: for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work so needful as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480. years is so exprefly and purposely set down.

Now that the vvords of *S. Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of Chronology, but must be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. years to the reign of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those years were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for those that vvith so much cunning forsake the general opinion, vvhhen it favoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good mind, to help vvhere the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The vvords of *S. Paul* were sufficiently justified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those days, that the 111. years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. years ascribed to the *Judges*; vvvhich account the Apostle vvould not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying it vvith a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; As it were four hundred and fifty years. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, vvould needs have it be so indeed, and therefore disjoyns the members to make the account even. In so doing he dalneth himself against a notable

1 Kings. 6. Text, whereupon all Authors have builded,

(as well they might and ought) that purposefully and precisely doth call up the years from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very month it self.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own interpretation of *S. Paul*, he thinketh it more needful to find some new exposition for that which is of it self most plain, and to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controverfie. Thus by expounding after a strange Method, that vvvhich is manifest by that vvvhich is obscure, he loseth himself in those vvayes vvvhetherin before him never man vvalked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. years, because then vvvas the taking of *Laisb*, at which time there was no King in *Israel*; That the *Danites* must needs have taken *Laisb* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the coming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, vvvhithout excluding the years of servitude; And that the years of servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise he himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to please *S. Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the decision of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephtha* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the provisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycene*, made for her recovery. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ithacan*: from which time, if the war of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elen*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa preparation belli celerem affert victoriam*; That a long preparation begets a speedy victory: for the *Greeks* consumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it seems, was entred, sacked, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* taken, which was in the first year of *Habdon*, *Eneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after he had been the Father of 40. sons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. years of *Israels* oppression by the *Philistines* (of which *Judg. 13. v. 1.*) took beginning from the ninth year

year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrel against *Jephtha*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppress: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the

Philistims with so powerful an Army for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? but *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Samson*, and afterward: or else they must be referred to the *Interregnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Samson*, such as it was.



CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

S. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have observed historical truth.

THe War at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this City, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned.) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the story into peices by rehearsing a-part in divers years, the diversity of occurrents.

The History of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Tencer* and *Dardanus* were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

*Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula Ponto:
Mons Ideus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostra.
Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima
regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si ritè audita re-
cordor)
Teucrus Rhætas primum est advenit ad
oras:
Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium &
arces.
Pergamæ steterant: habitabant valibus
imæ.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiæque
æra,
Idæumque nemus.*

In the main Sea the Ile of *Creete* doth lie;
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our pro-
geny.

There is a mount *Ida*: there in fruitful
Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities
stand.

Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Tencer the eldest of our grand-fires came
To the *Rhætan* shores; and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilium* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place
they sought

In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybele* rites were
brought:
Hence *Corybantiæ* *Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed
surely good authority, that *Tencer* first gave
name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned
ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which
Dardanus in the same book he speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine di-
cunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere
glebe,
Oenotrii colere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propria sedes: hinc Dardanus
ortus:
Jasiusque Pater, genus à quo principe no-
strum.*

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians

Oenotrians held it: now the later progeny
Gives it their Captains name, & calls it *Italy*;
This seat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*.
Hence came the Author of your stock, *Jafus*.

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior
annis
Aurancos ita fore senes, hic ortus ad agris.
Dardanus Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urber,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia
fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhæna ab sede profectum,
Auræa nunc solio stellantis regia celsi
Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Aurancians*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure)
would tell

OF *Dardanius*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flee.
And leaving *Thyæne* (where he earst had
place)

With *Corytus* did fall to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starry Sky.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors,
approving and confirming it, *Reineccius*
thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Tencri*, & *Thra-
ces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son
of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Assyrians*,
and *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were
Germane Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*,
the son of *Gomer*: of whom the Country,
Lake, and River of *Ascanius* in *Asia* took
name. That *Ashkenaz* gave name to these
places and people, it is not unlikely: nei-
ther is it unlikely, that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*,
and many others, did in after-times pass into
Europe: that the name of *Tencer* came of *Ty-
ras*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Con-
cerning *Tencer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes
him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow
him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before
shewed) reported him to be of *Crete*, whose
authority is the more to be regarded, because
he had good means to find the truth, which
it is probable that he carefully sought, and

in this did follow, seeing it no way concern-
ed *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did
flatter) whether *Tencer* were of *Crete* or no.
Reineccius doth rather embrace the opinion
of *Diodorus*, & others that think him a *Phry-
gian*, by which report he was the Son of
Scamander and *Ida*, Lord of the Country,
not founder of the City; and his Daughter
or Niece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dar-
danius* founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further
thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and
gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Cori-
us*: and that these were parents to *Chryse*,
first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds other-
wise; and the common Tradition of Poets
makes *Dardanus* the son of *Electra* by *Jupi-
ter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*,
and wife to *Corius* King of *Hetruria*, to
whom she bare *Jafus*. *Annius* out of his *Be-
rosus* finds the name of *Cambolabæon*, to
whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a
Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dar-
danius* and *Jafus*; and further telling us very
particularly of the faction between these
Brethren, which grew to such a heat, that
finally *Dardanius* killed his Brother, and
therefore fled into *Samothrace*. The obfu-
rity of the History gives leave to *Annius* of
saying what he list. I, that love not to use
such liberty, will forbear to determine any
thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son
of *Jupiter*, it must have been of some elder
Jupiter than the Father of those that lived
about the war of *Troy*. So it is likewise pro-
bable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was ra-
ther an *Italian* than an *African*, which also
is the opinion of *Boccaccio*. For (as hath often
been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and
many of almost every name of gods: but it
was the custome to ascribe to some one of
the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them.
Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self
with making any narrow search into these
fabulous Antiquities, but set down the *Pedi-
gree* according to the general fame; allow-
ing to *Tencer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives,
because others giving him none, and carry-
ing the line of *Dardanus* in manner follow-
ing.

Deor. 4.
C. 3. Bida
case de
gen.

§. II.

Of the rape of Helen : and strength of both sides for the War.

Herodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far; saying, That whereas the Phœnicians had ravished *Io*, and carried her into Egypt, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the Barbarians, did first ravish *Europa*, whom they brought out of Phœnicia into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the fame *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to do the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to do with the injury of the Phœnicians? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrel against him, that never had heard the name of Phœnicia? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of Barbarians was not used at all in *Homer's* time, which was long after the War of *Troy*; and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have fought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the World; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Hefione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruel man, seeing his own son *Teucer* durst not come in his fight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, only because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so, that *Hefione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom she had born children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Hefione*, but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to do that which in those dates was very common. For not only *Greeks* from Barbarians, and Barbarians from

Greeks, as *Herodotus* discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by strong hand or power get them: and having stollen them, either to sell them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Prythons* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabit neer unto the Sea, for fear of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no less lawful than merchandise: wherefore *Teucer*, the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape whith *Theseus* had made, caused all her Wooers, vvhoh were most of the principal men in *Greece*, to bind themselves by solemn oath, that if the vvere taken from her husband, they should vvith all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus* brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause whith drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helen's* rape, vvas partly the oath whith so many Princes had made unto her Father *Teucer*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* vvas not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, vvas Lord of many Islands: he vvas also rich in money, and therefore the *Arcadians* vvhere vvell contented to follow his pay, vvhom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ships, vvith more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprize; take Arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homer's* account) 1200. sayl, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; only they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120. every man (except Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* Army consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest Army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatness of this Army doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* vvith inhabited the City, not the tenth part of this number; as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homer's* *Iliads*:

but

but their followers and aids were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Missia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the less, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Atreus* out of *Assyria* (though some think out of *Ethiopia*) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to *Troy*, and of *Helena's* being detained in Egypt, and of the sacrificing of *Iphigenia*.

Wherefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to trial of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadors to *Troy*: who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain, *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Protes* then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had answer, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the war, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Protes*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Enripides*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyssey*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he returned home to *Sparta*: which voyage it were not easily believed that he made for pleasure, and if he were driven thither by contrary Winds, much more may we think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to fly, taking such Winds as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to

any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, until such time as the Wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madness for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the war, and so many of his sons slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom (for *Hector* was elder) nor equal in virtue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly then truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as *Queen Hebe*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (the and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twins) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hefione* was taken; upon whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principal commander in the *Trojan* war. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadors returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a Runagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Host with many trouble some answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnon's* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, vvithstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or vvwhether (as some vvrite) the goddess vvas contented vvith a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devil, which vvails for all opportunities, is never more importunate, then vvhere mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* vvas impossible, till some fatal impediments vvere removed: and that till ten years vvere past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprize, under the command of *Agamemnon*; vvhoh was accompanied vvith his Brother *Menelaus*, *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phenix*, *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor* and his sons *Antilochus* and *Thrausimides*; *Ulysses*, *Menestheus* the son of

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Petreus,

Petens, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Dionides* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*, *Acalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the son of *Peaan*, who had the arrows of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the City could not be taken; *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*, *Poncleus*, *Theas*, *Enucleus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Diopolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalirius*, and *Maehon*, the sons of *Aesculapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the town was taken; and *Proteus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

of the *Aids* of the *Græcians* at the siege.

These, and many other of less note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily persuade them to think that the war would be more than one years work. For in the first encounter, they lost *Proteus*, whom *Heitor* slew, and many others, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of men, they were grown enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principal impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallness of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherryngs*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little loss by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Heraclides* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*, that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine years: but onely did bear up and down the Seas, exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by waisting the enemies country did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, until the fatal time drew near when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquiry which

Priamus made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them, and therefore sitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tells) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between their relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much, the one saying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the others that the whole army did spend the time in waisting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by general consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let go, for any ransom: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sun, who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the army was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the booty, whereof *Agamemnon*, as General, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chief Captains in order: when the South-sayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo's* Priest, that so the pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that he alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her loss otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged

by their Captains, presented themselves before the City without him and his Troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aid: partly drawn to that War by their Commanders who afflicted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the War began (as appears by his words to *Homer*), or for love of himself and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair Daughters; partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they wasted the Countries adjoining unto *Troy*. So that when *Heitor* issued out of the Town, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or quality of their Leaders. The principal Captains in the *Trojan* Army, were *Heitor*, *Parris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helennus*, and the other sons of *Priamus*: *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the sons of *Pantus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrival; *Memon*, Queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the War. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tomb of *Kaigillus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Heitor* broke through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Tencez*, were in a manner the only men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Heitor*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battel (for so Antiquity calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* Troops, relieving the weary *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Dionides*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes though fore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Heitor*. It was the manner of those Wars, having slain a man, to strip him, and hale away his body, not restoring it without ransom, if he were one of mark. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their Captains; who rode not upon horses, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three horses, which were guided by some trusty followers

of theirs, which drove up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftness of their horses, presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with swords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their arms defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brais, or other metal, and shields commonly of leather plated over. The offensive were swords and battle-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftness) was to keep them from weariness, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest were heaviest, also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which Weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none: every man (speaking of the chief) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from some Captain whom he had slain, and stripped; or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Heitor* (as is said before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himself unto *Achilles*, not only restoring his concubine *Brisis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battel *Achilles* did so behave himself, that he did not only put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Heitor*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be believed) he chafed three times about the Walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer's* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Heitor* would stay alone without the City (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the Rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Heitor* in such an extremity, would have for-

born to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported only to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means soever) slain the noble *Hector*, did not only carry away his dead body, as the custom then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ransom. But his cruelty and covetousness were not long unrevenge'd; for he was shortly after slain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* says in the *Seacan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having slain so many of her brethren; and his body was ransom'd (as *Lyopbron* saith) at the self-same rate that *Hector* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arriv'd at *Troy*, who after some proof given of her Valour, was slain by *Pyrhus* the son of *Achilles*.

§. V.
Of the taking of *Troy*, the wooden Horse, the Book of *Dares* and *Dyctis*, the Colonies of the reliques of *Troy*.

Finally, after the death of many Worthy Persons on each side, the City was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the Treason of *Eneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common Fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Seaca*, was the Image of a Horse, and that the *Greeks* entering by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horse. It may well be that with some wooden Engine, which they call'd a Horse, they either did batter the Walls as the *Romans* in after-times us'd to do with the *Ram*: or scaled the Walls upon the sudden, and so took the City. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of *Greece*, that were included in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon); or they might have left it a few days without the City (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break down their Walls upon the sudden to do it):

by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by insuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this Horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the Town through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their Wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifest, that the including of so many principal men was altogether needless, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the Army; so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his History of *Asia*, discoursing of this War, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the Walls with a Wooden Engine, and were also let into the City by *Antenor*, at the *Seacan* gate: the Townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the *Greeks* had hoist'd sail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*; thereby robbing the *Trojans* into security. That the City was betrayed, the Books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictory in most points to these two Authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that War made against the common report, had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancy to the other Authors as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this War, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have been above 600000, on the *Trojan* side, and more then 800000, of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckon'd by *Homer*, who extolled their Army and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat less than 1200. sail, and the Army therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extol the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks*; that served in the War, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their City, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea the *Athenians* long after

after in the War which *Xerxes* the *Persian* King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Athenes* the son of *Peleus* had shew'd in marshalling the *Grecian* Army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanity possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the World, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedegree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Eneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Country adjoining, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Heleus*, the son of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanic* addeth, that the Posterity of *Hector* did assemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the *Greeks* returning from *Troy*.

Concerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much misery as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrival: others were debarred from the Sovereignty among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Army, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long War, was of little force to repel injuries, being divided into so many pieces under several Commanders, not very well

agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the booty, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Athena*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them failed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole Fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be persuaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italy*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer *Egistus*, who for a while after usurp'd his Kingdom. *Menelaus* wandering long upon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Heleus*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Tenar* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Danus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africa*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Grecia*, by reason of so many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose Husbands had been at the War of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* suffered misery, and the unlucky City not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom *Sampson*, after a vacancy or Inter-regnum for certain years, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampson, Ely, and Samuel.

§. I.

Of Sampson.

2970.

THE birth and acts of *Sampson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Story. First, that the *Angel of God* forbade the Wife of *Manoah* the Mother of *Sampson*, to drink Wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after she was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hindered the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mothers womb. Though this were even the counsel of God himself; and delivered by his Angel, yet it seemeth that many Women of this age have not read, or at least will not believe this precept: the most part forbearing no drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of Wines, and with artificial drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the help of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampson* was twice betrayed by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity and deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a part of his goods; by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas everit: Whom no force could over-master, Voluptuousness overthrew.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistines*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistines*, as they assembled 3000. men out of

Juda, to besiege *Sampson*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these Words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistines are Rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistines*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jaw-bone of an Ass.

Lastly, being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his Wife, he was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house at the Feast whereto they sent for *Sampson*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patience sepe laeva vertitur in furorem*; *Patience often wounded is converted into fury*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely.

§. II.

Of Eli, and of the Ark taken; and of Dagon's fall, and the sending back of the Ark.

THE Story of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Sampson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickedness of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophane and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerjon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the woman by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistines*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battel 30000. footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slain, their father (hearing the lamentable success) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the

the race of *Elezar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Elezar* the second, *Phinees* the son of *Elezar* the third, *Abie* the son of *Phinees* the fourth, his son *Bocci* the fifth, *Ozi* the son of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Josephus* and *Lysanus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Salomon*, who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadoch* and *Achimaas* and their successors. The Ark of God which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battel taken by the *Philistines*. For as *David* witnesseth, God greatly abhorred *Israel*, so that he forsook the habitation of *Shilo*: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Ark whereby himself was represented should fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the *Romans* to overthrow the second Temple; and the *Turks* to overthrow the Christian Churches in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the sacrament, or representation, which was the Ark, than in God himself, they would have observed his Laws, and served him only: which whensoever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of the *Macchabees*: and yet for their piety it pleased God to make that Family as victorious as any that guarded themselves by the sign in stead of the substance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensign, *David* witnesseth when he fled from *Abisalon*. For when the Priests would have carried the Ark with him; he forbade it, and caused it to be turned into the City, using these words: *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the City should never be overturned: so did the *Christians* in the last fatal battel against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Cross whereon *Christ* died; and yet they lost the battel, their bodies and the wood. But *Chrysostome* upon *Saint Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgment, speaking of those that wore a part of *Saint John's* Gospel about their necks, for an annulet or prelativature: *Si tibi ea non profuit in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo?* If those words do not profit

men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the Gospel preached) how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks? For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Cross, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Son, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistines* returning with the greatest victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the Ark of God with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, shewing that it had no power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the arms. For God and the devil inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idol could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men, lost power, speech and operation at the instant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightness, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining upon the earth which had been long obscured by Idolatry, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he filleth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechless.

Now while the *Philistines* triumphed after this victory, God strook them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoids*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by general consent ordered, that the Ark should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gathor Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philistines*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately:

1 Sam. 9.9. but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortal. For the band of the Lord was against this City with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the City both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third City of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cried out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; For there was a destruction and death throughout all the City. In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not only resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the God of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of *Israel* to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering, using these words; *so ye shall give glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confess the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonosor* and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsel therefore of the Priests being embraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoids*, and the golden *Idols* prepared, they caused two milch Kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, there to make trial whether it were indeed the hand of God that had stricken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethbemesb*, and into the territory of *Israel*, then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, but that they would have followed them wherefoever; much less when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dams, the kine will follow them through woods and defars by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethbemesb*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Josua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Prin-

ces of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his own people the *Bethbemesbites*, in that they presumed to look in the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandments, and had been taught accordingly; he strook them more grievously than he did the heathen: for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Ainadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eloazar* his son, until *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Mispa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark, or at least, it was for the (a) present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*.

§. III.

Of Samuel, and of his Government.

These Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the family of (b) *Chore* or *Korath*. For *Levi* (b) *Chore* had three sons; *Gerjon*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Anram* and *Isaar*; of *Anram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Isaar*, *Chore*; and of the family of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephraimite*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of (c) *Mount Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s father was called an *Ephraimite*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply*, &c. and in *Deuteronomy* the seventh, *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service; to which she delivered him even from the dug. For as the first-born of all that were called *Nazarites*, might be redeemed till they were five years old for five shekles, and between five years and twenty, for twenty shekles: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the

the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle; till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint Peter reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, and yet did *Moses* account himself such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomy*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, &c.* But he is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as before time in *Israel*, when a man went to seek an answer of God, thus he spake; *Come and let us go to the Seer: for he that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer.* And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the Chaldean Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherewith *Samuel* judged were *Matipa* or *Matifa*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* near *Juda*: also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of War at *Matipa*, in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Army, and marched towards the City: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with fear, and with the memory of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who vvas * then performing his sacrifice when

the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he vvas by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at the first entrance into *Arabia*:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecy of *Hanna*, *Samuel*'s Mother, *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be thunder upon them, &c.* *Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memory of this happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *Lapidem fortis*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunity and advantage of the victory, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanites* toward the North and East, and the *Idumites* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath been elsewhere said.



CHAP. XVII. Of SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

But when age now began to overtake *Samuel*, and that he was not able to undergo the burthen of so careful a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerseba*, a City, the very utmost towards the South of *Judea*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no less removed from the justice and virtue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousness,

the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgment to the best Chappmen. Which when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were;

who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossoms promised to yield fruit no less bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choice of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsel from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his own Sons; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not only not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best quality to command for the King in his Wars; and to till the ground no less proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dress meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants;* with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirm that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination confute this Text far otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Sovereigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of *Deuteronomy*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, coverousness, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to reign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomy*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall*

read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to do them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdom, he and his Sons. But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Laws of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much less lawful to take the vineyard itself from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (*say they*) such as do warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawful for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sons: and again, This shall be the manner of the King that shall reign over you. God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from piety (because it is accountable to God only) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righteous judgment.* Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused; yet because he was falsely accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testified of himself: *Posuisti me in caput gentium:* For this of *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata equitas, non est equitas: sed dupliciter peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Feigned innocence, and feigned equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much less

less here to insert. Only thus much I will say, that if practice do shew the greatness of authority, even the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tyed by any laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be slain without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Solomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not only foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture; *The Scepter shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equal the stars in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Universal; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed what civil war *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the best vallies of the Country. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts; and the *Jebusites* *Hierusalem* it self, till *David*s time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but he mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they fought to be cleared from the sons of *Samuel*, they became deaf to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a King both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbore the election of a King, till such time as he was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath* *Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also having wandered divers dayes to seek his fathers Ailes, at length, by the advice of his servant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Aile and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jeibro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *James* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours do; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlasting Kingdom.

When *Samuel* was entered into *Ramath*, he prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and stayed his arrival at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom he had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much less knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the City the Seer dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himself was the man he sought, and prayed *saul* to go before him to the high place, where *Samuel* letting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should

should encounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Affairs were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a company of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecy with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men inducted with spiritual gifts, were not of the first and most revered number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings and wrought miracles, of which number were *Moses, Joshua, Samuel*, and after them *Gad, Nathan, Abias, Elias, Elisha, Eloy, Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith *S. Chrysostomus*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, preterita, presentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom *S. Paul* speaketh *1 Cor. 14. 14.* who enriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Minpeth* *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Minpeth*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot.

Chimbi thinks by the answer of **Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mystery upon his breast when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jews*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero, Plautus, Tassianus*, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans, Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Divisory; the Third, Divinatory, and unto one of these three all may be reduced, all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And

in like sort fell the Kingdom of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modesty, as both *Tophubus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himself the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen King of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was, of whom *Saul*, to avoyd sedition, took no notice.

§. III.

Of the establishing of Saul by his first victory.

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the Kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephtha*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul*'s rule. And although the *Ammonites* did always attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephtha*'s time, yet they never perwaded themselves of more advantage then at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistims* had not long before slain 34000. of their men of War; and besides had used great care and policy that they should have no Smiths to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Benjaminites*, and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to enlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the nearest. Besides it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were emboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joining with them against the *Benjaminites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men

men and male children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjaminites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamity, yet the *Ammonites* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel*, having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the War, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first years reign, and because perchance he was defended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjaminites*, gave order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus: *That whosoever came not forth after Saul, and after Samuel; so should his Oxen be served*: threatening the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven days to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezek*, near *Jordan*, that he might readily pass the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedy march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

The army by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the army of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword until the heat of the day, and the weariness of *Saul*'s troop informed them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careless and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their City to their mercy. After this happy success, the people were so far in love with their new King, that they

would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himself forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and bafe Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despicable and cruel without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.

After the Army removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some Commenters affirm, anointed King; and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his own Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day, after *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthened himself with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his son at *Gibeah*, the City of his nativity: the rest he kept about his own person in *Adicmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IV.

Of Sauls disobedience in his proceedings in the Wars with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his final rejection.

Jonathan with his small Army or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* past by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison. *1 Sam. 10.* is called the hill of God, which they understand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this Garrison to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territory of *Israel*: and now being greatly enraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and six thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Adicmas*, or *Michmas*, a City of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the middle of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this sudden invasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a fear, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the Mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himself with some 2000. men of ordinary, and many other people,

ple, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the passage of *Joshua* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven days: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place, *1 Sam. 13. 9.*) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws of the *Hebrews*, and Gods Commandments: others expound the word *obtain*, in this place, by *obtain per sacerdotem*, and so make the sin of *Saul* not to have been any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandment, in not staying according to the appointment, *1 Sam. 10. 8.* secondly, a diffidence or mistrust in Gods help, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whole departing from him he could not bear patiently; and lastly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sin, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in terms unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* so to do, from God himself; at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdom should be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his posterity.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeath*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his army, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or spear, but *Saul* and his son *Jonathan* only. For the *Philistines* had not left them any *smith* in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul*, came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the year before, or in some part of this very year, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thousand men, if there had not now been any iron weapon to defend themselves withall, save only in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his son. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistines*, and all those crafts-men carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen & amend such stuff as served for the Plough, and for nought else: yet that they had

some kind of arms, it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistines* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but only that there was not any found amongst those 600. souldiers which staid with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forsook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinary souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troop he held himself to his own City of *Gibeath*, as a place of more strength, and better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to pass that the *Philistines* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or spear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no marvel if they could not in a short peace under *Samuel* be replanted again. For this tyranny of the *Philistines* is to be understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their Artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nebuchadonosor* use after his Conquest in *Judea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicily*, & many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistines* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministered unto them, to wit, clubs, bows, and slings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the natural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*. That they were weaponed with bows, and could use the right and the left hand with stones, and with a sling it was that *David* himself slew the Giant *Goliath*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard terms, the *Philistines* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once, *Jonathan*, strengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire only, scaled a mountain, whereon a Company of *Philistines* were lodged: the rest of their army (as may be gathered by

the success) being encamped in the plain adjoining. And though he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision, called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first *Philistines* that he encountered. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousy, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves in Mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophesie in *Deuteronomy* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.

This done, the small Army of *Israel* made retreat from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the evening, yet his son *Jonathan*, being infebled with extrem labour and emptiness, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty.

The late miraculous victory of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seems to have reduced unto the *Philistines* remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies; namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandment of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Egypt*; in which war he took *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Egypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts, and spoil of the Country, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to

the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royal estate, to which he was raised when he was of bafe condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voice of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to enjoyn the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from under heaven. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were over-wearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400. years afterward; and now he was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witness: As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women; at which time *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootless intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath*, and came no more to see *Saul* until the day of his death.

§. V.

Of the occurrences between the rejection of *Saul* and his death.

NOW while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sons of *Israhel*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might avoid both the suspicion, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisdom he sought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do these men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perils and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destiny, neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdom or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerful God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant)

disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

1 Sam. 10.

Of the sons of *Israhel*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person & great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart*. He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him the Lord said to *Samuel*, *Arise and anoint him; for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after in this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind he continued till he died, overcome in battel by the *Philistines*.

The *Philistines* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had fitten still and forbore to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new trial of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repaid with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the quality of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistines* had reason to think themselves equal, if not superior to *Israel*. The success of their former wars had, for the most part, been agreeable to their own wishes: for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest hapning by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Army, possessed with a needless fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so near to the Army, which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in gross, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to pass the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistines*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any strook from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath*, a

strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Hoste of *Israel*, provoking them with despiteful words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the party vanquished in Champion, should hold it self as overcome in gross, and become vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durst expose himself to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, until *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victory, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Giant, and after with his own Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistines*, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistines* were not broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victory, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, he then became a cruel Tyrant, faithless, and irreligious. Because the High Priest *Abimelech* fed *David* in his necessity with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite* Doeg murdered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the City, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and Sheep. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemy to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattel, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of *Israel*. Yea, he would have slain his own son *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David*'s innocency; as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former he shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised

1 Sam. 14.

13.

1 Sam. 11.

18.

1 Sam. 14.

23.

promised him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confelld his errors, yet he fought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he fought counsel of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsel from God, he had been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this success followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his nearest and faithful servants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistines*: his body vwith the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the valls of *Bethsan*; and there had remained till they had found burial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the grateful *Gileadites* of *Jabes* stohn their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed *Israel*, together vwith *Samuel*, 40. years, and by himself after *Samuel* 20. years, according to *Cedreus*, *Theophilus*, and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is vvritten, that *Samuel* died; and in the rest of the same chapter, the passages are vvritten of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after vvwhich the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he vvvas, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories vvwhich *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crushed the *Syrians*; and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly vvasted the power and pride of the *Philistines*.

§. VI.

Of such as lived vvith *Samuel* and *Saul*; of *Hellen*, and *Hercules*, and of their issues: upon occasion of the *Dores*, vvith the *Heracleida*, entering *Peloponnesus* about this time.

IN the second year of *Samuel*, according to *Enschim*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Enring*, in the tenth. For *David*, faith he, vvvas thirty years old vvhen he began to reign: vvhen it followeth, that he vvvas born in the tenth of the forty years, vvwhich are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Eneas Silvius* the son of *Posthumus*, began his reign over the *Latines* in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirty years. There

are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Eneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* late in the Throne of *Affria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once vvith the *Heracleida*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possessed a great part thereof, 328. years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diadorus*, and *Eratosthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, vviz. the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Aeolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the son of *Encalcion*, Lord of the Country of *Phiotis* in *Theffaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many Colonies, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Country under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every several Nation after some one of the posterity of *Hellen*, who had reigned over it. And because this is the farthest antiquity of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the Pedegree of her first planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the son of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomy* & *Philosophy*. *Japetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of vvhom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Ephimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theffaly*, vvwhich was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalion*'s time was that great flood, of vvwhich we have spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: vvwhose sons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Aeolus*: of *Dorus* and *Aeolus* the *Dores* and *Aeolians* had name. The *Aeolians* inhabited *Baotia*. The *Dores* having first inhabited sundry parts of *Theffaly*, did afterward seat themselves about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedaemon*: *Xuthus* the eldest son of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own use some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: vvwhere marrying the Daughter of King *Erichon*, he began on her two sons, *Achaeus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achaeus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponnesus*.

ponnefus: and seating himself in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom of his Grand-father in *Thessaly*.

Ion being General for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great Victory, and thereby such love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Agialor* or *Agialia*: In which Country *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Agialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* afflicting the Nephews of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcomming the *Acheans*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achei* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achei* driven to seek a new seat, came unto the *Ioncs*, desiring to inhabit *Agialia* with them, and alleged in vain, that *Ion* and *Acheus* had been brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expel the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenus*, the son of *Orestes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Ioncs* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they failed into *Asia*, and peopled the Western coast thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ioncs* into *Asia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the War of *Troy*, and 60. years after the descent of the *Heraclidae* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidae* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father *Hercules* many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some may be like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these 12. great labours.

First he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift Hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: the fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Dromedus* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen of the Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Gerion's* Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from *Hell*. The *Mythological* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over-long to be here set down, and no less perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monstres, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the Sun, and his travels to be the twelve figures of the Zodiac. There are others who apply his Works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That he took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oechalia*, and other Towns, being assisted by such as either admired his virtues, or were beholding unto him; Also that he slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through most part of the World, are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that he (bending all his endeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) required the virtue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurytheus*. This *Eurytheus* was Son of *Sibeneus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycena*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurytheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that *Hercules* was also of the

the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousy by *Eurytheus* because of his virtue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein he was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above three score Children. These Children *Eurytheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Cepex* King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurytheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not only gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountered *Eurytheus*. Idolous the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was Captain of the *Heraclidae*. It is said of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurytheus*: whom when he had slain in battle, he died again. It seems to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his Cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurytheus* was slain, they took *Atræus* the Son of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Against him the *Heraclidae* marched under *Hyllus*, the son of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Ecbemus* King of the *Tegeate*, a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atræus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were Victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidae* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heraclidae* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Ariflodorus* (as the best authority doth shew, though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his Children) and brought with them the *Dores* whom they planted in that Country, as before shewed, having expelled the *Achei*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurytheus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best Chronologists affirm. He was by race of the *Aeænes*, descended (as *Fundius* imagineth)

of *Berojus* his *Anamaon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Fundius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Era* according to

(a) *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment of *temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversity of opinions, both of the time, and of the native City of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Fundius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manassé* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Metegenes*, from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the

Verb *homer*: for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also the time of *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his *Oration ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. years before the Consulship of *Marcus Viminus*: which *Atræator* catesth up in the Worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much antienter.

The difference of which Authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guess of the difficulty, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversity of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarians* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, near the time that the *Heraclidae* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratosthenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the Army of *Greece* failed into *Phrygia* for the War of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporary with *Cyprius*, who began to reign in the 18. Olympiad (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Sophists* saith, that he was 90. years before the first Olympiad: which he seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his son *Nicander*. *Philechornus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Arifarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the Colonies in *Ionis*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agislaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, near 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Hierodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterprize

Fund.
the fol.
c. col. D.

(c) This
Author
set out
with *Bero-
fus* and *o-
thers*, first
at *P. 171.*
and after
with *Erat-
osthenes*
his Com-
ment at
Antwerp;
is scarce
fidei.

Num. f.
147. pla-
ceth *Ho-
mer* in the
31. gen-
eration in
his
of *Samuel*
Sermon
tum, l. 5.
(b) *Ho-*
mer, l. 3.
c. 11. item.
l. 17. c. 11.

As both
Cle. Alex.
and *Tatien*
Assy.
re-
port his
Olympion
Reign
Phil. 43.
Rej. in dis-
temporibus
Phil. in
con. in
Archiblog.

Hier. in
14. 20.

terprise against the *Grecians*: which *Berodas* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan War*. *Enfibus* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Josias* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronology* he notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other Ages. In his *Evangelical Preparation*, where out of *Tatianus Afyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek Writers* more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epinicides*, *Pheemus*, *Aristeus*, *Orpheus*, *Adasus*, *Thamyris*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Anlus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned Fablers was first born: but he finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirms himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a *Trevis*, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about (a) 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. (b) *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, King of *Thebes*. For my self, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty, and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiosity of this manage is no less ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as per-

haps containing some great mystery. In definition whereof *Lucian* feigning himself to have been in *Hell*, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his book with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to do.

It seemeth that *Senyer*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tamperphosphis* was his Succellour, who preceded *Vaphres*, Father in law to *Solomon*.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *David*s time, according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that Famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *David*s time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the World, not only by reason of those Northern Nations: but there sprung up somewhat nearly together, six Kingdoms into greatness, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedaemon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achei*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered the Form of Government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their Religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery; to wit, the *Edumaeans*, *Mobabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Iuraneans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Jebeites*, *Geshurites*, *Maababites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Sovereign Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

OF DAVID.

§. I.

Of *David*s estate in the time of *Saul*.

THE hazards which *David* ran into while he was yet only designed King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personal act of Fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both Armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own soul: Inasmuch as when *Saul* sought to persuade his son that *David* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and

and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could never be persuaded, never forced, nor ever wearied from the care of *David*s life, and well doing. It was not long after this signal act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his household servant, and his Elquire, or Armour-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evil spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to pass accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of command among the men of War. But the jealous Tyrant soon waxed weary of his good affection, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved only through envy of his Virtue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a spear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him ease.

Conformus remembereth one *Aselepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzy, by the like Music: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmony, *Seneca*, in his third book of Anger witnesseth. But the madness of *Saul* came from the cause of causes: and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yielded unto that Music, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000. Souldiers to confront the *Philistims* withal. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, he promised him his Daughter *Merab* to Wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger Daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistims* would take *David*s head, than he their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *David*s Victories began new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, he practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his own house, but *Michol* his Wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the

Philistim, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forced to counterfeit both simplicity and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he covered himself in the Cave of *Adullam*: and after conveying such of his Kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the desert of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the Hills of *Engad*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his Master *Saul* was known to persecute him.

Of *Achis* *David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Sim*— on, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way, and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn blood of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siglag*. At his return he found the Town burnt, his two Wives, with the Wives and Children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

This Army of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountered *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The newes, with *Saul*s Crown and Bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalech*, by a man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsely) that himself at *Saul*s request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to be slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withal. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the laws, *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorata crimine, nisi approbatio alia insinuat religionem cognoscens*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unless some other proof inform the conscience of the Judge. For a man may confess those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title

title de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de penis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Glors reconcile these two places in this sort : *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement do confess of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough.* That David greatly bewailed *saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition : and the lamentable end that befel him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stir up sorrow, and move compassion in the heart of David.

The victory which the *Philistims* had gotten, was so great, that some Towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the Conquest entire. Most like it seems, that the civil war immediately breaking out between David and the house of *saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easie victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, left by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids reign, and the war made by Abner for Ishobeth.

AFTER the death of *saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *saul* in the War, sought to advance *Ishobeth* (or *Jehoshua*, according to *Josephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdom of *Israel* : for *Mephibosheth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner* and *Ishobeth*, David made a defensive war, till *Abner* pass'd *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda* ; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner* : *Ishobeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and David in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other near *Gibson*, where it seemeth that *Abner* made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of a few; like to that combat between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, re-

membred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left unslain. The like tryal by a far less number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistim* made, whom David slew : a custom very antient. Edward the third offered the like tryal in his own person to the French King; and Francis the French King to Charles the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this war of David with the house of *saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda* : whose force and valour was so equal, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrel staid not here, for the Army of *Juda* prest *Abner* in grofs, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty men of *Abners* companions were slain, and but twenty of *Juda* ; whereof *Ahabel* the brother of *Joab* was one : who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the stroke of his spear. For though *Ahabel* was an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text as light as a wild *Roe*, and as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not only with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have mastered *Abner* (who, as *Ahabel* perswaded himself, had by being overthrown, and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, That the race is not to the swift.

That this civil war lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Ishobeth* had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Ishobeth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousy between him and *Ishobeth* for *sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Ishobeth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner slain by Joab, and of Ishobeth by Rechab and Baanah.

Abner, reconciled to David, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in Davids Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which

which he was grown so powerfull, as David forbore to call him to account : for thus much he confest of himself; *I am this day weak, and these men, the Sons of David, be too hard for me.* In this sort David complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publick imprecation; *Let the blood fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house; and let them be subject to ulcers, to the leprose, to lameness, to the sword, and to poverty, &c.* For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have endangered Davids estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore David openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being general of the men of war, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were fain to give them great respect, as hath been already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himself worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdom. For he was near to David in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adversity; wherefore he did not think it meet, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place; that he afterward slew *Amasa* his own kinsman, and the Kings, upon the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain to see him joyned with himself as captain of the host of *Juda*; much less could he brook a superiour; and such a one as had slain his brother, and been beaten himself, in battle. But howsoever *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seem to have perished, by affirming that he dyed not like a fool, nor a man vanquished, But as a man slain before wicked men, so (saith he) didst thou fall. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the Sun are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Ishobeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possest with great fear : in much as two of *Ishobeths* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Ishobeth*, and presenting his head to David, received the

same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have slain *saul*. *Ishobeth*, being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to David at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time anointed by general consent.

§. IV.

Of the flourishing time of Davids Kingdom, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrows given to the Philistims, and the conduccion of the Ark to the City of David.

WHEN David was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was upon the *Jebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their City; which David soon after entred, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the City of David) he became Lord of *Hierusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and after them almost 400. years. There are who expound this place, otherwise: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some think that it was meant by the Idols of the *Jebusites*; others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Jacob* : the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wresting with the Angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, David ought not to molest them. But for my self, I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at first, in scorn of Davids attempt. For they that had held their City about 400. years against all the children of *Israel*, *Joshua*, the Judges, and *saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against David.

When he had now possest himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdom, and received congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre* : he entertained divers other concubines, and married more wives, by whom he had ten sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former wives, he had fix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. years.

The *Philistims* hearing that David was now anointed King, as well of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his feat. And being encountered by David at two several times in the Valley of *Rephaim*, or of the Giants, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then David assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the house of *Abinadab* in *Gibeah* to the City of *David*; which business was interrupted by the death of *Uzzaab* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the City with sacrifices, music, dances, and all signs of joyfulness, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants*, namely, that he forgot his regal dignity both in apparel and behaviour, and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools do in the ways and streets: not that she disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the son of *Israh* had built this his greatness: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despitful tears, for which she remained barren to her death.

^{1 Chr. c3.} This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*, but was forbidden it, because he was a man of war, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detect homicide; having threatened, not in vain, that he would require the blood of a man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were just, and the blood therein shed vv as of the enemies of *God*, and his Church: yet for this cause it vv as not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple, hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by blood-shed & terror of their wars, to make themselves in greatness like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodness, or seek the blessedness promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it vv as not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne that should be established in his seed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the *Philistims* and *Moabites*.

Soon after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerless, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in haft. For it is written, *Acceptit frantum Amgaris e manu Philistheorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David* took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the *Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginal note. This City of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cesarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina*, at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions, which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro*. the 18.

There was no nation bordering the *Jews* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul* (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforced them to come down into their territory, for all iron work whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldom free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows; but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was endangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300. shekles of brass which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his loss be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himself in any battrell. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place near *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity he sought succour, and left his parents with him

in

in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not known.

The *Rabbins* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolks of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul's* time; but questionless *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwaies enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23. of *Deut*. *God* commanded *Israel*, not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his Army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria* *Zobah*, the region of *Hadadezer* the son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy Land: to which I refer the Reader.

§. VI.

The war which *David* made upon the *Syrians*.

It is written in the Text: *David* sought also *Hadadezer*, &c. as he went to recover his border at the river *Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as he went to recover his border) be referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (he) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* oppressed by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the *Syrian*, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprise towards *Euphrates*, he was in far better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that *Hadadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing *David* was either to pass through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his Army consisting of footmen, for the most if not all: He had now both Horse and Chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrown the *Syrian* Army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascus*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Hadadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own country which adjoynd to *Syria* *Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an Army of *Arames* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Hadadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josphus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as also those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatness, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*, having also sacked the adjoyning Cities of *Beiah*, and *Berathi*, belonging to *Hadadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomy* telleth *Beiah*, *Timba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Parathena*, *Tobu* or *Sam. 8.* *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* joynd to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his son *Joram* to congratulate this success of *David*: partly because he had war with *Hadadezer*, &c. partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brass; all which, together with the golden shields of the *Arames*, and the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto *God* at his return. *Junius* translated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the Targets were not of gold, but the bolles only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brass in place of these of *Hadadezer*, at such time as *Sibach* the Egyptian sack'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Hadadezer* were golden shields.

This done, *David* sent Embassadors to *Hamm* King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nabish*, the father of *Hamm*. But this *Ammonite* being ill advised, and over jealous of his estate, used *David's* Messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as he thereby drew a War upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the ayes purchased, could put off or sustain. For notwithstanding that he had waged three and thirty thousand Souldiers of the *Amalchites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassals of *Hadadezer* twenty thousand,

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and

North of the North part of Trans-jordan in Oza. 3. 14. *Yishai* or *Yishai* a country near *Gad* under the rocks of *Armon*. 2 Sam. 10.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Prothomy* call *Helam* near the foot of *Euphrates*. 2 Sam. 10.

* See c. 18. *Idi.*

and of *Maachab* and *Yishob* thirteen thousand (for which he disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites* were by *Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loss or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their deserts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to *Hiersusalem*.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Army, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that he could levy out of *Mejopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Army in *Palmyrena*, not yet entered into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no less distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Hiersusalem* was towards the South-west. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence go on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he had) because he was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. He also possessed himself of **Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had he two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* General of their Army. The *Chronicles* call these 40000. Souldiers, footmen, and so *Joab* converts it, and so it is very probable. For the Army of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battel, numbered at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this war against *David*, before he forced them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggons, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites* before *Rabbab*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they im-

poverished, even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mejopotamians*, from the party and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lieutenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territory, and to besiege *Rabbab*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possessed. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoil of the City. And though *David* stayed at *Hiersusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the City was brought to extremity, and ready to be entered: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, and entrance thereof, till his masters arrival. To the people he used extremum rigour (if we may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them he rare with harrows, some he fawed alunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and brick.

§. VII.

Of *David*s troubles in his reign, and of his forces.

BUT as victory begetteth security, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodness; so did these changes in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise observation of his Laws and Commandments: For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom he was wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For he was not only satisfied to take *Uriah*s wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but he imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah*s slaughter, giving order to his trusty servant *Joab* to marshal him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabbab*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no less displease God than the rest, he was content that many others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which he began by degrees to fall from the highest of happiness, and his dayes then to come were filled

filled with joyes and woes interchangeably, his troden-down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as he hoped) gave him an alter-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witness of *David*s own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Analekites*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own error in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans sheep that had none else, the bearer being Lord of many; He then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet he delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following; Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slain *Uriah* with the sword of the children of *Ammon*. Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adultery which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own son *Amnon*, being in love with his half sister *Tamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the son of *Shimeah* *David*s brother, possessed her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despiteful manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Abalom* caused him to be murdered at the feast of his sheep-shearing: not perchance in revenge of *Tamars* ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmi* King of *Geshur*, near *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his son) was brought again first to the Kings favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equity, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction threat-

ned by the Lord as a punishment of *David*s sin.

The company which *Abalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Hiersusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, and was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawful Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own City of *Hiersusalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of surprize: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests he left in *Hiersusalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trusty friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in all his outward actions and counsels of *Abalom*s party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counsellour, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Aephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David*s prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illighted) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most delightfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbade *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his son *Salomon*. *Abalom* being now possessed of *Hiersusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers concubines in some public place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being persuaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abalom* and his cause, without fear of being given up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsel) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Abalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *Thou wilt raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives in the sight of the Sun: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the Sun.* He also gave advice to *Abalom*,

2 Sam. 13. 9. 10.

2 Sam. 13.

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam. 17.

2 Sam. 13.

2 Sam. 14.

2 Sam. 12. 9. 11.

Abalom, that himself with an Army of 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*; which had willingly been embraced by *Abalom*, had not *Hishai Davids* faithful servant given counter-advise, and swayed it: persuading *Abalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel* to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which *Davids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Abalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the loss of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Abalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Ahabanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Ishobab* himself in the war against *David* after *Sauls* death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the son of *Nabash the Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannu*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdom, after *Hannus* overthrow: in thankfulness whereof he relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *Davids* assistance *Machir the Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Achishiboseth*, and among others *Barzillai the Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his company.

In the mean time both the King and *Abalom* prepared to fight; *Abalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the Army of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, persuaded by his company, stayed in *Malanaim*, and disposed the forces he had to *Joab, Abishai, and Itai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Malanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruel by nature, remembered that *Abalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him that *Abalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not persuade the messenger to return and kill him, he himself with his own servants dispatched him. It appeared also by the sequel that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Abalom*, he embraced the present advantage offered.

Hereof, together with news of the victory, when knowledge was brought to *David*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a son, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen every delight of life interred. For he so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victory, covered themselves also in the City, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, persuaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the Army. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithful servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could be more dangerous to a King, than not only not to acknowledge so great a love and constancy in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrary, grieve and lament at their good success. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithful servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Abalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himself publicly to his men of war, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearful threatening, *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto*. By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the City among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasi*, who commanded the Army of *Abalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship: the same which *Abalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandment.

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This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage he pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but external, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephoboseth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had fully acculed and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai the Gileadite*, his late liberal host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that he might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his son *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Army brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a *Benjaminite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the *Issachites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because he conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandment from *David* to assemble the Army within three days, which he forelived: but being onward on his way, *Abibah*, *Joabs* brother, was sent after him, with *Davids* guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* near *Gibeon*, pretending to embrace him, gave him a wound, whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, he pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the City with that fury, that the Citizens by the persuasions of a wife woman thence inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retreated his Army to *Jerusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Host of *Israel*.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom thote Citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers cruelty. *David* had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house, and therefore he willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if we may

judge humanely, to rid himself of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; only he spared *Mephoboseth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sons of Rishai, whom she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: *Junius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *David*: wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her husband; the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Sammels* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David* when he slew *Goliath* in the Valley *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is only known to God.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of *Goliath*, whose spear was weighty as a Weavers beam, when as by the same eclipsis it must be understood by the brother of *Goliath*; *Goliath* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against foreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and quality, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in war. Over these were six Colonells, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Colonells had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their virtue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Arameans* was Lieutenant, and commanded half the army, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principal of the three Colonells of the second order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood unto the King, and his flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services.

All

All these Colonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readiness for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mulctured and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Saul's* time, and been hardened with his adventures. Others there were very many, and principal men in their several Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Colonels (who with *Joab*, that was General of all the Kings Forces, make up the number of 37.) were the special men of War, and reckoned as *David's* Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of War, so may it probably be guessed to have waited the most of those whose deaths we find no where mentioned. For the sons of *Zeruya*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abihai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33. years or thereabouts, when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about eleven years of entire quiet and security, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his Fathers Throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Army, who after nine months and twenty days travel, returned with the account and register of all the people, able and fit to bear Arms, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, whereof in *Juda* and the Cities thereof, five hundred thousand, and in *Israel* eight hundred thousand.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himself to which he pleased; to wit, seven years Famine; three months War, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a general pestilence to last three days: *David* made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and left himself subject to that

cruel disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby he hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.*

2 Sam. 14.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of *David*; *Adonijah's* faction; the revenge upon *Joab* and *Shimei*.

Lastly, when he grew weak and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of Women, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned Maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak estate of body, when he was in a manner bed-ridden, *Adonijah* his eldest son (*Ammon* and *Abshalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his party that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdom after his Father. For being the eldest now living of *David's* sons, and a man of goodly personage, *Salomon* yet young, and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was omitted by Saint *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others suppose) he presumed to carry the matter without resistance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Berisabe* the Mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithful promise, that *Salomon*, her son should reign after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of *Adonijah* his presumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Priest, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his Guard, gave charge and commission to anoint *Salomon*, and to set him on the Mule whereon himself used to ride in his greatest state: which done, *Salomon* attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of War, the *Cherubites*, and *Polechites*, shewed himself to the people. These tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two especial cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts, the one concerning the peace of the Land, which might be disturbed by some Rebellion against *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the business publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament,

1 Reg. 3.

Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of *Israel*, the Princes of the several Tribes, the Captains and Officers, with all the mighty, and men of power; who did repair unto *Jerusalem*.

In this Assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his own title to the Crown, shewing that the Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himself was pleased to make choice of him among all his Fathers sons. In like manner he said that God himself had appointed *Salomon* by name to be his Successour; whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his son to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to go forward in this Work of the Lords house, which *Salomon* was chosen to build. Then produced he the pattern of the Work, according to the form which God himself had appointed; and so laying open his own preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntary contribution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himself had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, and ten thousand of silver, besides brass, iron, and Jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of so religious a Work. This business being so well dispatched, a solemn Feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealty of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, he uttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the performance of which GOD fastned the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (saith GOD himself) *Thou shalt not want one of thy Posterity to sit upon the Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*; who out of doubt had served *David*

from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his Wars, with incomparable valour and fidelity, saying that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenge, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, and suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strooken others withal, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* and *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence only of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of War, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meer jealousy of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him, or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up *Benajah* the son of *Jehojadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the Host of *Israel*, and shed blood of battle in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what Joab the son of Seriah did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abshalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when he mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abshalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *David's* letter, unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of War do oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misliss them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrow many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Salomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time himself lived, yet being dull and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his son. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh

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venth

venth of England had his pattern, when he gave order to Henry the Eighth to execute Pool as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of Spain, when he delivered Pool unto him, that while he lived he would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad of Idumea*, and *Resin of Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his Fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Host was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all forty years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, he so far exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailty apart, he was said by God himself to be a man according to his own heart. The *Palms* which he wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*: *David* *Simonides* *nofter*, *Pindarus*, & *Alcaeus*, *Flaccus*, *quoque* *Catullus*, & *Serenus*, *Christum* *lyra* *perfonat*, & in *de* *chachordo* *Plalterio* *ad* *inferis* *fufcit* *refurgentem*; *David* (saith he) *our* *Simonides*, *Pindarus*, *Alcaeus*, *Horace*, *Catullus* and *Serenus*, *he* *playeth* *Christ* *on* *his* *Harp*, *and* *on* *a* *ten-stringed* *Plalter* *he* *raifeth* *him* *up* *rising* *from* *the* *dead*. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth *Christ* more lightfomly and lively than all the rest.

The book of the *Palms*, saith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias*: but whether all the *Palms* were written by *David*, it is diversly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Iyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles of the several *Palms*, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that only 73. *Palms* were composed by *David* himself, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed upon *Asaph* the son of *Barachia*, eleven other on the sons of *Korah*; and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these *Palms* which *David* wrote not, *Sixtus Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra* contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David's*

fingers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Esaiara*, *Vidit* *idit* *idit*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But *S. Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the *Palms*, and so doth *S. Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those *Palms* only to *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Evangelica* *Saluatoris* *ipsius* *refutatur*, *ubi* *ait* *quod* *ipse David* *in* *spiritu* *Christum* *dixerit* *offe* *sum* *Domini*, *quoniam* *Psalmus* *109. sic* *incipit*, *Dixit* *Domini* *Domino* *meo*, *Sede* *ad* *dextris* *meis*, &c. The voice of the Gospel refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called *Christ* his Lord; because the 109. *Palm* begins thus: The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c. Lastly, his Testimonies are used both by *Christ* and the Apostles, and he was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. vers. 19. For the several parts of the books of *Samuel* which treat chiefly of *David*, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the *Trojans* during the time of the siege fought for succour from *David*, and that he stayed Neuter in that War. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* War. For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampson* Judges of *Israel*, about the Worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

§. IX.

Of the treasures of *David* and *Salomon*.

His treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brals and iron passing all weight, which was more than any King in the World posselt besides himself, and his son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty and three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver, or six thousand pound sterling to every cart-load, besides threescore and seventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound:

a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all belief. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, seeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any sovereign power to make levies; but when they went to the wars they were followed by such volunteers as the several tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the *Philistines*, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part posselt by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiss to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amass up such mighty treasures. For though parimony be it self a great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Engelsius* in his 9. book and last chapter de *Preparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navy in *Melania* (Coras) *Villapandus* corrects it, *Achanis* a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to dig for gold in the land *Ophe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Engelsius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this land was in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*, *Pineda* l. 2. de *Rebus Salomonis*, c. 1. thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimony of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other ways to gather riches. Much land doubtless he gained by conquest from the *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, besides those fruitful vallies near *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Bajan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israhelites*. These domains belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his wars, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written 1 *Chro.* 17. that *Jehonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground, *Simci* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the store of thine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oyle: also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattle, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Asses. And this custom of enriching themselves by husbandry and cattle, the ancient Kings every where

held, both before and after *David's* time. For we read of *Pharaoh*, that he spake to *Joseph* Gen. 47. to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattle. We read of *Ozzia*, that he loved husbandry, had much cattle, and plough-men, and driers of Vines: likewise we read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needless to cite *Angust* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not employed in husbandry, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainful professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner used their slaves.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtless were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Tobu* and others) we may add the great spoils which hee found in the Cities and Countries which he conquered: also the head money which was gathered per legem captivitatis; By the law of captivation, or head money, every man rich or poor paying half a sicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous sum in that Kingdom: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seventy thousand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this law of captivation be thought by some very learned, not to have been perpetual (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confels is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practise. And by these means might hee be able to leave those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great mass of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private; and so will it appear the less wonderfull that he left so much. Of his own liberality we find, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of silver: a great sum, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been having received continual encrease, without any loss or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Josuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuary (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the dayly expences, & maintained the Priests & Levites)

Num. 31. 27. were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in War. For all the booty was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the Country received benefit of the Victory, yet so, that the Souldiers had a far greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fifty, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole booty. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand Women being taken, the Army had sixteen thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Army, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the lessor that the Army was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergo more than ordinary travel in domestical affairs, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was always certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some special commandment, as when all the gold, and silver, and other mettals found in *Jerico*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulness of the Rulers and people, as when after the Victory obtained against the *Midianites* without the loss of one man, all Jewels, Bracelets, Earrings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntary presents.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and trodden down by other Nations, yet were not they, treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never got possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many Victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasury was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident, seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Alner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoils

obtained in War, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former Victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberality, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industry.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes 666 Talents of gold, besides the Customs of Spices. He had also fix rich Returns from the East *India*, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that Voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reign, and ruled forty years. Besides this, all *Judea* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobab*, of *Damascus*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Turea*; all of *Idumea*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tributes; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, *Yebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished though subjected.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40 years reign, and 70 years of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and honour, and was buried in the City of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *David's* Tomb a marvellous quantity of treasures, inasmuch as *Hyrcaeus* (who first of the *Chasmanaei*, or race of *Maccabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; and afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding mass of gold and silver therein. And it was an ancient custome to bury treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they enriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did bury so much treasure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which he was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches, which he got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it notwith considered that his want of

of money grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but only the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

§. X.

Of the *Philistims*, whom *David* absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with *David*.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David's* time somewhat here may be spoken.

They defended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Josephus*, was one of the sons of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Ejan* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob* *Israel*. There were of them five Cities or petty Principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Ajdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Afalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the *Canaanites* and the *Egyptians*.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abraham's* Wife.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of Famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumea*; which *Abimelech* fascinated *Isaac* his Wife, as his Father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembered in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the fame to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the loss of his life. *Jeremy* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palestine* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Afalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the Wars of the *Philistims* are remembered in the Catalogue of the Judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place:

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontide*, without real name governed *Athen* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of sovereignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, and the mountain of *Oeta*, fought counsel from the Oracle, for their success in the Wars against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entered the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first he encountered, was himself forthwith cut in pieces.

Empales the 31. King of *Affyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Near the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidae*, the son of *Enrighenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidae* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successours were called *Agide*, for many years after. He restored the *Laconians* to their former liberty: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery: whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like sort from the *Sclavii* came the Word *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the Country of *Illyria*, and made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their Northern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many Countries.

Other

Ensb. in
Chrs.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later about the 23. year of *David*, and say that *Acheffratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the 13. year of *Salomon*.

The East
gate of
Ephefus
toward
Magna
upon the
river Me-
ander.

In the tenth year of *Acheffratus*, *Androclus* the third son of *Codrus*, assisted by the *Ionians*, built *Ephefus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoining of the Ille of *Samos* to his Territory, was slain by the *Carians*, whose Country he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephefus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next Province to *Ephefus* on the seacoast of *Asia* the less) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Aeoles*, which joyneth to *Ionian*: and that his posterity governed the Cities of *Ephefus* and *Erythrae* by the name of *Basilide* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Ionians* how they came hither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heraclide* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achei*, and inhabited their places in that Land: though this of the *Ionians* succeeded that of the *Heraclide* 100. years.

Arif. 1.5.
pol. c.6.
See Ch.
in this 17.
c.9. 1.
pol. medi-
um.

Tim. 1. c.
58. or 17.
c.37.

The City of *Ephefus* became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choice marble polish, the work being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnosfos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop; to whom, and to the *Ephefians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistle fo entitled. The other City posselt by *Androclus* in *Eolus*, was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sy-billa*, furnished *Erythraea*, who lived 740. years before Christ was born. *S. Augustine* avoweth that a Roman Proconsul shewed him in an ancient *Greek* copy certain verses of this Prophetes, which began (as *S. Augustine* changed them into Latin) in these words: *Iesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator; Iesus Christ Son of God, the Saviour*.

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the same that was father in law to *Salomon* whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*,

are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magna* in *Asia* the less founded, the same which is seated upon the river *Meander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this Territory are the best horses of the lesser *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minye gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubaea*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumeans* of *Eolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the City. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous scholar of *Socrates*.

Eusebius and *Cassiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the son of *Eadegor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 45. years.

In this time also *Aeacus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracy of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Aeolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oristes*, posselt the City and Island of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Josephus*, who saith in his twelfth year *Salomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to to cast any account. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent Messengers, and Cedars unto *David*, soon after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the beginning of *David's* reign over *Israel*, when as yet he had reigned onely seven years in *Hebron* over the house of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. years before *Salomon*; unless more credit should be given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

Serv. in
Euboea 3.
Strab. l. 5.

Euseb. id.
Chrs. tit.
rod. in tu.
from Jo.
Strab. l. 39.

An. 8. or
cent. 49.
1. 1.

Sam. 5.

CHAP

CHAP. XVIII.

of SOLOMON.

S. I.

Of the establishing of *Salomon*: of birth-right, and the cause of *Adonijah's* death, and of *Salomon's* wisdom.

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Israel*, in the year of the world 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: he was also called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomon's* anointing, dispatched Embassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custom between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute *Hiram*.

1 Sam. 10.

Hiram King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdom. The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soon after *David's* death, he caused his Brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiah* the son of *Jehojada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah's* desire by *Bertheba*, that the young maid *Abisag* (which lay in *David's* bosom in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah's*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Abolom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isobeth's* quarrel against *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custom may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters wives*. And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakedness of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some re-

1 Sam. 16.
21.

1 Sam. 2:3

1 Sam. 20.
30.

ference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was always present with *David* in his later daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occasions; as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perfwade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, and with the customs of the Jews: yet the Kings of the Jews were so absolute, as they did therein, & in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger son: namely, of *Jacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two Tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Bertheba* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirm, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where appears in the stories of the Jews. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Calgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of choosing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that he put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him: but

1 King 2: 15.

Deut. 21. 15.

15. Rilem
euseb. ag.
nephin,
duo et
pariemum
duorum:
non ipsius
est sui pri-
mogenitu-
rum.

1 Reg. 1. 17
20. 29.
21.
1 King 1.
1. 20. 21.
27.

1 Sam. 11.
14.

Deut. 17.
30.

but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because he had born the Ark of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he took the daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt to Wife: for so Eusebius out of Epiphanius calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bad him ask what he would at his hands: *Salomon chooseth Wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which we may inform our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from David, or from the Law of God; but because *Salomon* desired Wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him vrrthall that vvhich he desired not. And I have also given thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of Wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning; but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chief excellency of *Salomon*'s wisdom, vvas in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: vvhence, as it vvere for an example of his vvhidom, the Scripture telleth how soon he judg'd the controversie between the two harlots.

§. II.

Of *Salomon*'s building and glory.

HE then entred into league with *Hiram* King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father David, and another from God. For like as it is written of David, that He called *Salomon* his son, and charged him to build a

house for the Lord of Israel: so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Rebeld, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name.*

He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Esson-gabar* to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggin* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Baradas*, *Acorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, & others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Profelices, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were far more skillful in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and thence sent them in rassa to *Joppa*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Pharaoh* King of Egypt. In recompence of this Timber and Stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of Wheat, & twenty measures of pure Oyl yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Epiphanius* in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of *Salomon*'s Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Haram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre, in these words:

REX Salomon Saroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœnicie regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater precepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, et etiam ad te scribere precepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King

King Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. Thou may understand that I have received of the great God of my father David, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King Suron made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœnicie Rex, Salomon Regi salutem. Læti literis, gratias ego Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrumque ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te milia hominum octingenta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabit igitur ut necessarii ne egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.

Suron of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King Salomon greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdom. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be careful that all necessities be provided for them; and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus*'s time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them somewhat in different terms, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities: But were this intercourse between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Epiphanius* or *Josephus* set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Pharaoh* King of Egypt, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Epiphanius* in evidence, I do not find any such addition of magnus in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that

ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the *Jews Antiquities*: it being a vain title used by some of the *Affrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, in so much as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightiness.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joshua*'s time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines*: he built *Serathon*, *Gerar*, and the *Mislo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their City. The place and Territory he gave *Salomon*'s Wife for a dowry. And it is probable, that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the *Egyptians* to visit those parts again before they were sent for; and in his son *Reheboams* time *Shebek* this mans successor did sack *Jerusalem* it self.

Salomon also built *Megiddo* in *Manasse*, on this side *Jordan*, and *Belah* in *Dan*: also *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thadmor* in the desert of *Juda*, or (as *Josephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the desert of *Syria*; which *Palmira*, because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomon*'s dominion to the Northeast of *Libani*, and was of *David*'s conquest when he van *Damascus*, it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Josephus* calls this place *Thadmor*, by which name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermech*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In respect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hiram*'s servants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or near the upper *Galilee*, but because they stood in an unfruitful and marshy ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

D d d

These

These towns, as it is supposed, lay in *Gallie* of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentis ibi habitarent: sed quia sub dititione regis Gentilis erat*, Not that it was possess'd by the Gentiles (saith *Naucleus*) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. year fortified those places which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into *Syria* *Zobab*, and established his tributaries; the first and last war (in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his Dominions, passing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and so to the Defarts of *Idumea*, from whence he visited *Eziongeber* and *Eloth* the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the Red sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to *Ophir*, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches, and of *Pineda*'s conceit of two strange passages about *Africk*.

Here *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ships for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joynd in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the most expert seamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet pass to the East-*India*, which was not far off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Islands of the *Moluccas*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witness the *Spaniards*, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, do yet plant in those Islands of the East at *Manilla*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with less labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by these Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of six hundred sixty and six talents of gold; that sum, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomon*, which were yearly, and which came to him, besides those profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) ^{c. 8. f. 8. 3.} but a Countrey in the East-*Indies*, ^{with 10. 12.} some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy return to *Jerusalem* from the East-*Indies*, ^{Lib. 4. de rebus Saba- mien. c. 6.} than in three years; ^{cap. 15.} and that *Tharfis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the first book.

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Baetica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to be the *Tharfis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Countrey, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharfis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the Red sea, should return from the East-*Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we have no need to make *Salomons* men to go many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterranean sea, and so (besides many wonderful inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, through dry, desert, and the thiefish Countreys: or within 30. miles of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Salomons* own Countrey, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis*, in largeness greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed up in the Atlantic Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this he alledgeth *Plato* in *Timaeo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no coming to *Gades* by the Mediterranean sea; or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be filled

filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Island is supposed to have stood; or that *Salomons* ships being in the Red sea, should neglect the golden Mines in the East *Indies* (which were infinitely better and nearer to the Red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadyz*, by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the East-*Indies*, and inhabits some part thereof, as in *Manilla*, finding in those parts no less quantity of gold (the small territory which he there possieth considered) than in *Peru*.

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* failing to *Tharfis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterranean sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterranean seas, and to through the Straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninive*. This conceit he grounds only upon the ambiguity of the word *Soph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum*, the sea full of weeds) for the Red sea. But in *Jonas* c. 2. §. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we fend it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure. Therefore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our story of *Salomon*.

The Queen of *Saba*'s coming from far to *Salomon* (as seems, from *Arabia Felix*, and not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in

the Text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba* *Nicanor*, the successor (saith he out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which succeeded *Menens* the Founder of *Alempsis*; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in Egypt. For as it is elsewhere proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of Egypt and *Ethiopia*; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh* *Necho* slew *Josias* King of *Juda*.

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garisons fourteen thousand Chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen; that he spent in Court every day thirty measures of fine flower, threecore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; four thousand stalls of horses he had for his Chariots and other uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thousand stalls or teams, and in every team ten horses, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* understand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrabite*, as *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezra*, *Ezra*, *Ezra*, For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrabite* by Nation. *Josephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Ezra*, *Ezra*, *Chalcal*, and *Donan* the sons of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his Songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or else because many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civil causes, and not Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not thought necessary to be inserted into Gods Book.

§. IV.

Of the fall of *Salomon*, and how long he lived.

Now as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of Egypt, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Asertab* D d d 2 of

De rebus Saba. Lib. 4. fol. 11. As appears he took a ship at Tartessus of Joseph. p. c. 1. v. 2.

Aug. 8.

Jos. ant. 8. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemosh* of *Moab*.

These things God punished by *Adad* of *Idumea*, *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own servant, and one of the masters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his son *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis nititur, quæ ipse non fecit*: God punishing sinners, with the sins of others, which he himself wrought not.

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other works of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Forty years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to guess at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomon's* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the years which they consumed, and consequently learn the true, or most likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth year he took *Jerusalem*, and warred with the *Philistines*, who also troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark seems to have been in the tenth year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the year ensuing, at which time he had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had wars with the *Philistines*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which must needs have held him five years, considering the *Aramites* of *Damascus* raised war against him, after such time as he had beaten *Hadadazer*; and that in every of these wars, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that these services occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering camps in use, but at convenient seasons of the year Kings went forth to war, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies country, partly upon the private provision which every souldier made for himself. The

17. year of *David*, in which he took *Achish* the son of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the war with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to trial of a battel (for *Joab* after the victory, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that war, taking up all the Summer. *David's* personal expedition a-

gainst the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Hadadazer* under his own allegiance, appears manifestly to have been the next years work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumea* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20. year of *David's* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finish the war of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Oriah's* wife. So one half of *David's* reign was very prosperous: in the other half he felt great sorrow, by the execution, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavy judgment laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two years passed ere *Abshalom* slew his brother *Amnon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one years work. So the rebellion it self, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. year of *David's* reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistines*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three years of famine, for four years of war, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed it seems that the war with the *Philistines* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* near unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This war the *Philistines* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *David's* old age: for he fainted now in the battel, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself

himself unto danger any more. So *David* had six or seven years of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of War dyed (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken party of *Joab* the son of *Zeruia*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*; for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomon's* professing himself a child, that he was but eleven years old when he began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seems the first Author, whom other of great learning and judgment have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of *Abshalom's* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understood as years of *David's* reign. But whereas *Reboam* the son of *Salomon* was 41. years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoid this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows 80. years of reign to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the years of *Salomon's* life. But by such reckoning he should have been 40. years old at his Fathers death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had won *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40. years remembered in *Abshalom's* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *David's* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedness, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine translation) four years; which passed between the return of *Abshalom* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

Of *Salomon's* Writings.

There remain of *Salomon's* Works, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the Song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the

vanity of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intitled, *The Wisdom of Salomon* (which some give unto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientie* (saith *Hierome*) qui *Salomonis* inscribitur, *Græcam* redolet eloquentiam; *The Style* of the Book of wisdom, which is ascribed to *Salomon*, favoureth of the *Græcian* eloquence; and of the same opinion was *S. Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the City of God, that the Author of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c.* Let us surround the righteous, for he is unpleasant to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and *Canonica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of *Salomon's* Books of *Invocations*, and *Inchantments* to cure diseases, and expel evil spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Salomon's* ring disposset divers persons of evil spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wisdom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his only service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Judea*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnes, of which he was more liberal to this King, than

Hier. ad Transluc.

S. Sen. Jul.

Reinert. in Jul. Hist.

P. Men. in Reg.

2 King. 7. v. 1.

2 Sam. 11. v. 1.

1 Sam. 8. 17. v. 17. Cap. 18.

to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a fount? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loins to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly,* cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Near the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Agessilus* the third of the *Heraclidae* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedemon*; and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayd those Kingdoms: *Laefibenes* then governing *Assyria*, *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In the six and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Balastus* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Borzorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death

of *Hiram* and the reign of *Borzorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sefac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* terms him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*; *Josephus*, *Sufac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suseffius*; *Eusebius* in the column of the *Egyptian Kings*, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrews*, *Sufac*. *Josephus* in the eighth of his *Antiquities*, reproverth it as an error in *Herodorus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Sufac* to *Sefosiris*, which perchance *Herodorus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sefosiris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and virtues of King *Sefosiris*, I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian Princes*: only in this he was re-proved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Entropius*, at such time as *Sefosiris* was carried out to take the air, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him; which *Sefosiris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sefosiris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sefosiris*, and that he could not be taken for *Sefac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian Kings* preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of *Salomons* Successors until the end of *Jehosaphat*.

§. I.

Of *Rehoboam* his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and *Jeroboams* Idolatry.

Rehoboam the Son of *Salomon* by *Nabamah* an *Ammonitess*, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrival the people pre-

sented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui*; So should his Empire (saith *Josephus*) be more assured, if he desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof he took three days to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that

Ant. l. 2.

1. 2.

that he was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himself he knew not how to resolve, so had he not the judgement to discern of Counsels; which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that he had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his Father, who perswaded him by all means to satisfy the multitude: he was transported by his familiars and favourites, not only to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crulth them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his fathers) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and more unupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the success, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it self: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the help, and not for the harm of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twisted and forged by love only? His witless parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* designs. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of *Israel*: the people cried out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the Son of *Israh*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *David*s anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and as all alienate resolved hearts do, they served themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people; a man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speed, and recovered *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, *Spimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the mean

2 Sam. 5. 1.

1 King 12.

21.

time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Shechem* on this side, and *Pennel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also joyn the peoples hearts again to the House of *David*, and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, he set up two Calves of gold for the children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these he represented those Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*, and refusing the service of the Levites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Levites which served *David* and *Solomon* through all *Israel*, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himself as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Joshua*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda &c.* This irreligious policy of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, until *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle could make them yield. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the Authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of his own hand as he stretched it over the Altar, which also clave asunder according to the sign, which the man of God had given him by the commandment of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate as before, for he held it the safest course in policy to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a modern Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodie (saith he) politici vocantur, & propria commoda presentefq; utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda si justitie honestasq; leges subvertenda. Religio ipsa perfundanda si deniq; omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod est res sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus: So they who are now called*

1 King 13.

4.

verse 6.

1 King 12.

called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commodity and present profit, are wont to allege the case of state forsooth, as the principal point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think that they may do any thing. If they mean to oppress their neighbours, to overturn all laws of Justice and Liberty, if Religion it self must go to wrack, yea, if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will do any thing, let all go to ruin what care they, so long as they may have what they would: as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *ragione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazias* the Priest of Bethel counselled the Prophet *Amos* not to prophesie at Bethel, For (saith he) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this ground even *Jehoi* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that politique fin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nabat*, which made *Israel* to sin. It was reason of state that perswaded the last French King *Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wife proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impiety lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it, whereof *Jehoi*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

§. II.

Of *Rehoboam* his impiety; for which he was punished by *Sefac*: of his end, and Contemporaries.

While *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principal places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withall invited them to invade *Juda*: laying perchanse before them the uncountable Riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and be-

come enemies to the *Judeans*. So as by those two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerful God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having also, as he thought, by fortifying divers places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, *Sefac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* as *Idumea*, as *Jeroboam* were familiar, and his instruments; entered *Judea* with twelve thousand Chariots, and three score thousand Horse, besides Foot-men, which *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Army was compounded of four Nations: Egyptians, *Lubbeans*, *Succians*, and *Chusites*. The *Lubbeans* were *Lybeans* the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the Westside. The *Lubbeans* were of *Petrea*, and of the desert *Arabia* which afterwards followed *Zera* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succians* according to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Scythia*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodites*, mentioned often in *Ptolemy*, *Ptolemy*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not far from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the best & Maritime part of *Egypt*; and therefore I do not think that the *Succians* or *Succai* were those *Troglodites*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolemy* calls *Arabes Egyptii*, *Ichthyophagi*, which possess that part of *Egypt* behind the mountains called *Alabastri*, and the red Sea, far nearer *Egypt* and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of the *Troglodites*.

With this great and powerful Army, *Sefac* invaded *Judea*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self, of which and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadazer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brass, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality, whom *Syracides* calleth, *The foolishness of the people*.

From this time forward the King of *Egypt* claimed the sovereignty of *Judea*, and held the Jews as their Tributaries: *Sefac*, as it seems, rendering up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out

out of the word of God, where premising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in these words, *Nevertheless they (to wit, the Judeans) shall be his servants, that is, the servants of Sefac*.

After this overthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his losses received by *Sefac*, notwithstanding, he continued the war against *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Israel* four years.

Rehoboam lived 52 years, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemejah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same persified with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth Archontes or Governors for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*, *Abdasartus*, or *Abdrartus*, in *Tyre*, *Dorissius* the fifth of the *Heracidae* in *Sparta*, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the six) and *Priminus* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Silvius*, *Alba Silvius Atys*, the fourth and the fifth of the *Silvii*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdasartus* King of *Tyre* was murdered by his Nurfes sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times *Perietades*, or *Pyrrhiades*, began to govern *Assyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Asartus*, the son of *Baldastartus*, recovered the Kingdom of *Tyre* from the Usurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battel between *Jeroboam* and *Abia*, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.

Abijah the son of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdom, and his vices. He raised an Army of four hundred thousand, with which he invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountered him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies joyned near to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrow, and the strength of *Israel* broken: for there fell of that side five hundred thousand; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jelamah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which discomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. years, *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himself, entred into league with *Hesien*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*, as may be gathered out of the 2. of *Chron*, he reigned but

three years, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Ido* the Prophet as some part of his Fathers were.

Here we see how it pleased God to punish the sins of *Salomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, thereby the better to assure his estate, which while he served God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when he forsook him, it was torn alunder by his meanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian *Sefac*; For the son *Abijah* was able to leavy four hundred thousand men, and with the same number he overthrow eight hundred thousand *Israelites*, and slew of them five hundred thousand; God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their people; the same being both before, and at the instant delivered by Prophets: so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw down Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of *Israel*, always the causes are set down, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *David*'s time for three years, For *Saul* and his bloody house, &c. And *David* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrows in effect, for *Uriah*, *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his son for his Idolatry. *Rehoboam* was spoiled of his Riches and Honour by *Sefac* of *Egypt*, because the people of *Juda* made Images, High places, and Groves, &c. and because they suffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was punished in himself and his posterity, for the golden Calves that he erected. *Joram* had all his sons slain by the *Philistims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flix, for murdering his brethren. *Abab* and *Jezabel* were slain, the blood of one, the body of the other eaten with dogs, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same, and the like sins in all after-times, and in these our daies by the same famine, plagues, war, loss, vexation, death, sickness and calamities; howsoever the wife men of the World raise these effects no higher than to second

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causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.

Of *Afa* and his Contemporaries.

TO *Abijah* succeeded *Afa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking down the alters dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own mother, who was an Idolatress, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idol, stamp it, and burnt it. He also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after he was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judea*, and with such a multitude entred the territory of *Afa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Nation, either before or since: For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans*, *Zerah* of *Ethiopia*, with an host of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Afa* encountered with an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which he overthrew this fearful multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Camps.

* In the former book, c. 4, §. 14, c. 8, §. 10, 16.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Ethiopia* and *Judea*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* inter-jacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Ethiopian*s. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judeans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Egor*, which *David* past over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Judea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. All the spoiles which *Afa* took as the cattel, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoining, and not far off, and

not unknown *Ethiopian*s. And if it be objected that these desert countries can hardly yield a million of men fit for the wars. I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petraea*, and the Desert, which compass two parts of the holy Land, should yield ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answered to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of *Israel*, that he would make him fruitful, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Bascha a King of *Israel* began to reign in the third of *Afa*, and fearing the greatness of *Afa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadzer*, to joyn with him against *Afa*, and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* toward *Samar*ia.

This war began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. year of *Afa* his reign: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Bascha* died in the 26. year of *Afa*; therefore could not *Bascha* begin this war in the 35. of *Afa* his reign, but in the 35. year of the division of *Juda* and *Israel*, for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Afa*. It may seem strange, that *Afa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred and fourscore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Bascha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Afa* himself against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionless there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused *Afa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the employment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private busineses to lye undispatched, where by the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardness of the people might have deterred *Afa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, and committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Bascha*, whose employments *Benhadad*

badad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Bascha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdom. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nephtalim*, without resistance, he spoiled divers principal Cities thereof, and enforced *Bascha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Afa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being laden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Afa*, in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore stricken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41. years.

There lived with *Afa*, *Agefiass* the fixt of the *Heracleide*, and *Bacis* the fixt King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidae*. *Astartus*, and *Asparinus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astartus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murder of *Ithobalus* Priest of the goddess *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Alys* and *Capsy* ruled the *Latines*: *Pirribiades* and *Opbratens* the *Assyrians*: *Terpsigms* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Afa*, left *Cheops* his succellour, that reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Jons*.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of *Afa*.

IN the reign of *Afa* the Kingdom of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes under their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wilddom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickedness of *Jeroboam* had, in his later daies, the sentence of heavy vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sin of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to withhold his wrath from that

family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their general mourning and lamentation at his death; and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the loss of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extrem hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wilddom, when the world was ready to forsake him; and all belonging to him, his hateful memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Afa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how far is uncertain) with the second of *Afa*, whose third year was the first of *Bascha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdom one whole year. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that he little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistines*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous loss of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indifferencie, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Bascha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Bascha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infect *Afa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nephtalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Eli* his son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done,

dome, two years current, perhaps not one complet.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withal a riotous person. He sent an Army against *Gibbethon*, the same town of the *Philistines*, before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sat at home the whilst, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he filled himself King of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not only to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Tirza*. These news were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcomed according to *Zimri*'s expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven daies he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also an Idolater, walking in the way of *Jeroboam*; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven daies, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the fiction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, if there had not been ready by his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I do not find; only it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the reunion of Israel with Juda, which might have been effected by these troubles.

Any man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may justly wonder how it came to pass, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil wars, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity of yielding, or burning himself, the other to languish away as a man forsaken; than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that GOD was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the cause of all things) unless it could be proved; that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that business, as he forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only bind his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the War continued between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many years following: wherein *Abia* so far prevailed, that he won a great battail, and recovered some Towns belonging to the other Tribes, which he annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royal house of *David*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineal descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have been laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not only an Idolater, but did worse than all the Kings before him; which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha* (*Asa* his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should

should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seem to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, who followed the Wars in person, as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their necks. Their desire was to have a King that should not oppress them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant folly of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose *Jeroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalf. Neither were they (as it seems) herein altogether deceived. For his affection of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the institution of his new devised Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travel so far as to *Jerusalem*. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his stile, which at the first was only good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King, that he still retained in his own hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens, it is clearly apparent, that the whole Army of all *Israel* joyned with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam*'s house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one Town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistines*, but left that business to his son, who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the favour of the people toward the house of *Baasha* grew from his good form of Civil Government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to do. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples

which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of justice, will find it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued to avege from the line of *David*; as to think all adversity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without form of judgment, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgment, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealousy: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away) he would have slain *Jeroboam* (if he could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appears by his confident return out of *Egypt*, like one that was known to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jezebel* did upon his brethren, and upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joab* did so put to death *Zachariah* the son of *Jebojada*, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and *Manasses* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till he replenished Jerusalem from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sin, wherewith he made *Juda* to sin. Contrariwise, among the Kings of *Israel* we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unless perhaps the words of *Jezebel* the son of *Abab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elihu the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plain whether he meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not fear to stand upon his own right, though *Abab* were even sick for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conspiracy, the matter being handled after a judicial form, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Jezebel*, an impudent Woman, and

and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certain, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certain it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleased with their death, and laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are registered) prove them to use a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither do their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdom, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slain by the people, and two were denied a burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, the death of *Abazias* and his brethren, slain by *Jehoi*, with the destruction of all that Royal seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stir up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenness and uniformity testify the affection to be general, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unless we should think that the death of *Athalia*, after seven years reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by conspiracy of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crown: the people being so far from embroiling their hands in the blood of their Sovereigns, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good success of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Eli* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitorously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; only three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtful. Though indeed it is precisely said of the slaughter committed on *Abab's* children by *Jehoi*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same fear might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose History (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in

their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law calls treason, be interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it self with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural Sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royal person: which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that Fable of *Briareus*, who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarchies need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Story might very well have born the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracy, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good Form of Government sufficeth by it self to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: every Sheriff and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening Rebel, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldom found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it self of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have been almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Abab*, a stranger to the Royal blood of *Juda*, should by the only authority of a Queen-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdom very near 7. years, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principal men of the Land to set up *Jo*, as their lawful King, whereunto the whole Nation were generally well affected, he was fain to give to these Captains and King men, the spears and the shields that were King *David's*, and were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Quest-

Questionless, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crown by a more uncertain tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seek to return to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their six first Kings, which died in the reign of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new Family, rather than they would consubject themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavy yoke.

So *Asa* having seen the death of 7. Kings of *Israel*, did himself after one and forty years reign, leaving *Jehoshaphat* his son to deal with *Abab* the son of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of *Jehoshaphat* and his contemporaries.

Jehoshaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy, he destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent Teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistines*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheep and goats to the number of fifteen thousand and four hundred. The numbers of men of War were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnab* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehobanan* of two hundred and fourscore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and under the commandment of *Jehozabab* a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbered together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King, besides his Garrisons.

That *Juda* and *Benjamin*, a Territory not much exceeding the County of *Kent*, should muster eleven hundred and sixty thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David's* time found five hundred thousand: *Jehobanan* found but an hundred and fourscore thousand: *Abia* four hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourscore thousand: *Amasia* inrolled all that could bear arms, and

they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoshaphat* that *Mosab* and *Ammon* were entered his Territory to the West of *Jordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would have feared even the Army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (criticising my self to better judgment) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to several Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand under *Adnab*, and the 200. and fourscore thousand under *Jehobanan*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliad*, and *Jehozabab*: for the gross and total is not in that place set down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Abab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the *Mosabites* and *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one half of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat's* Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatness, yet he joyined in friendship with *Abab* King of *Israel*, who had married that wicked Woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at *Samarita*, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Abab's* Daughter.

Abab perswaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the War against the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, and called together four hundred of his Prophets, or *Eadites*, to fore-tel the success: who promised him Victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of *Israel*. Hereupon *Abab* made answer that he had one called *Atichabab*, but he hated that Prophet, because he always fore-told of evil, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Atichabab* was sent for to the King; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise Victory unto them, as they did. But *Atichabab* spake the truth, and repeated his Vision to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who shall persuade Abab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that he would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to deceive. For as it is said by Christ: Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri*

Sri loquitur in vobis. It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kind did the devil in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evil spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, and are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ, For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save and deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evil that he punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to perform the Will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo.* Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are everywhere visible. There are spirits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fire strokes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the will of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets, whose spirit he discovered, was stroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baal's* Prophets, and by *Achab* himself committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaias*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou return in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by me.* Nevertheless *Achab* went on in that War, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to *Jerusalem*, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damascens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Edumians* to invade *Judea*: who pass *Jordan* and encamp at *Engaddi*; and when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his Army, the Prophet *Jehaziel* fore-told him of the Victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: and so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this Assembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, disagreeing with the *Edumians*, and quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of *Ammon* and *Moab* set upon the *Edumians*, and brake them utterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broil *Jehoshaphat* arriving, took the spoil of them all without any loss of his part, as it was fore-told and promised by God. Notwithstanding this Victory, *Jehoshaphat*, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon*

had: but as *Eliezer* the Prophet fore-told him, his ships perished, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprise was overthrown.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram*, the brother of *Ochazias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, the *Edomites* joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their Army.

The *Moabites*, subject to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Juda*, gave themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he was drawn into this War, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Juda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Jehoshaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook *Juda*, and now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to pass by the way of *Idumea*, thereby the better to assure that Nations for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Jehoshaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certain; for in the 2. of *Chron. 14. vers. 8.* it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themselves with the Army of *Juda*. For that they were numbered among the enemies of *Jehoshaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron. 16. 20.* and as plain *c. 21. v. 8.* that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoshaphat's* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumeans* having a purpose to rebel, misled the Army of *Juda* and *Israel*, with intent to infeeble them for want of Water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the Armies of *Cressus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly perished, had not *Elisba* taught them to cut trenches wherinto the water sprang, by which not only *Jehoshaphat* and his Army, but *Jehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God having ever been prone to save the evil for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evil.

The miserable issue of this War, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the King of

of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be seen, faith *Brocard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophratenes* in

Affrya, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Jehoshaphat's* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelos* or *Agosilans* in *Corinth*; and *Archilais* of the same race of the *Heraclide* the seventh in *Lacedaemon*. *Baderis* ruled the *Tyrrians*; *Achub*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, and Ahazias.

§. I.

That Jehoram was made King sundry times.

Jehoram the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda* began to reign at thirty two years of age, and lived until he was forty years old, being eight years a King; but of these eight years, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* war with *Abab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his stead, as *Abab* did his son *Ahazias*. This appears by the several beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehorams* Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, and to *Ahazias* the eldest son of *Abab*. For *Ahazias* is said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazias* succeeded him in the 2. year of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*; that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was designed King by his father; it being (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year of *Jehoshaphat* himself, who went with the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royal office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old King took unto him, as partner in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. years old, his father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25. years, it is evident that his son did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, who did not always reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the Text may seem at first to affirm: but their years were sometimes complete, sometimes only current, sometimes

confounded with the years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing less needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his son as partner in the Kingdom, whilst he was able himself to command both in peace and in war, the like having never been done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honor, to resume it to himself, or at least wise to defer the confirmation of it, until four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a mean to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary business ensuing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Jehorams* that ever entered into any straight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way to make a league offensive and defensive between *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountain of all wisdom: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtless it wanted not fair pretences

1 King. 22. v. 51.

2 King. 1. 17.

1 King. 3. 1. 1. 59.

2 King. 8. 16.

2 King. 12. 42.

2 King. 5.

1 Chron. 19. v. 1. 67. 3.

pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutual fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncommunicated Nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a jewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Abitha* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Abab* King of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned of much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife; that she durst undertake, and could thoroughly perform a great deal more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samarita*. She was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the nobility houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Abab*: as godly Princes very seldom thrive by marching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Abab* designed, as King, his son *Abaziah*, not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like, upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the prophet *Asaiah* (for he despised them) as inviting *Jehoshaphat* by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehoshaphat to change his purpose of sin, in making his son Jehoram King.

Many arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly overruled by his wife, especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That she was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think

that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base women, and meer subjects. The Court of *Abab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad* were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied to honourably, who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good King was fain to make his progress round about the Land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing Judges throughout all the strong Cities of *Juda City by City*. This had been a needless labour, if the religion taught & strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted, by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessity that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, and to the Steward of his house in temporal matters, to be generally over-seers.

This was not till after the death of *Abaziah* the son of *Abab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Abaziah* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehoshaphat*'s son, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet we may not think, that motives thereto, appearing substantial, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondence with

with *Jehoshaphat* that his father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judeans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if we ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their father to put him in possession for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as subject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not only with store of silver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtless had used unto their younger sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils.

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

But all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequel. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sons of *Jehoshaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more ado; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traytors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdom against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their final overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was,

they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the Land, such belike as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his government; in which office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Master; which if he would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone to make invasions in Religion, wherein he was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe conduct unto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sin, whereto it is wonderful that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up Irreligion by force.

Whilst he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto since *David*'s time, been governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esaus* in process of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civil and foreign wars, the Jews by sundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following him, became Lords of the Jews, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedom of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joshua* had a peculiar King, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self in liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so unlike

ly it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerful, cruel, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelites* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither do we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free state. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to do than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the general visitation before remembered, wherein *Jehosaphat* reformed his kingdom, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especial charge to do justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shall be officers before you; Be of good courage, and do it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them against the more powerful, than just proceedings of his son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make them now to feel, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavy indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one month have cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approach.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his father could have levied, there were not many which *Jehoram* could well easier lose, to let one Town goe, then to put likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness to be feared than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadful unto others.

§. IV.
Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was delivered to him, which threatened both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruel persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods judgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the daies of *Jehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to St. Giles.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecy was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Judaea*, and took the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive warre till now; and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were

were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Country affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoil in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the *Romans* the Art of War; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good Soldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seem to have been, that spoiled *Judaea* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Country was always barren and desart, wanting manual Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousy, as in *Saul's* time by the policy of the *Philistims*.

It may seem that the house of the King which these invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we read not that they did sack the City, or spoil the Temple; which would have invited them as a more commodious booty, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it self by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it

was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoil they could, withdrew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and forty brethren of *Abaziah*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruel massacre wherein all the Royal seed perished (only *Josiah* excepted) under the tyranny of *Abaziah*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murder began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavy blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, until it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not until his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carcass. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore he was denied a place of burial among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own son succeeded him in the Kingdom, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatness, to retain her favourites in their authority, and to place about her Son such Counsellors of the house of *Abaziah*, as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much of the peoples eyes, with a stately funeral of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things pallid be laid upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self and hers, which it now did concern her to avoid. Such is the quality of wicked Insigators, having made greedy use of bad employments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evil inclinations their sinister counsels have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a busy time, when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult War against the *Aramites*; and therefore could have no better leisure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according

to her own mind, than he had (perhaps through the same hindrance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistines*; Yea, rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembered in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgments to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandments, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.
Of the reign of Ahaziah, and his business with the King of Israel.

Obazias, or *Ahazias*, the son of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Juda*, in the twelfth year of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much dispute, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Tornelius*, alleging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, Anno Domini 1588, which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that do give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsel by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill success. He accompanied his

Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they won, but not without blows: for *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not un wounded.

The Town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* withdrew himself to the City of *Jezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahaziah* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scanty one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work for to leave his kingdom, having no other business than by way of complement to go see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had relented at this time to put in execution that heavy judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtless was one; whose malicious purposes it will shortly be needful, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.
How Ahaziah perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Family was destroyed by Jehu.

The whole Army of *Israel*, with all the principal Captains, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elzeas* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the Prophecy of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet

meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over-heard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him King. For the Prophecy of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections, who joyed with him, in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The first care was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezrael*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his Wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahaziah* coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royal there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the son of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecy of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majestic face of the Court, wherein to great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this security, whilst these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies; or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already achieved, and the Queen-mother dressing her self in the brave manner to come down amongst them;

tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company coming. These news were not very troublesome for the Army that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be ready against all attempts of the *Aramites*; was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumb shows bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the Watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himself by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* in his company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with terms of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow King, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcass into that field, which, purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Ahaziah* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a Wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the City, where *Jezabel* might soon be advertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her, when the least expected it. But the full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her self ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some Apophthegme that should express her brave spirit;

spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did he think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith the armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew near, she opened her window, and looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in meer humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuchs that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants to know which of them would be on his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein the

had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord; and she perished miserably, struggling in vain with base grooms, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy late on horse-back, adding indignity to her grief by scornful beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcase that was left without the Walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Abazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was overtaken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound in the Kingdom of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers sake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was entered with his Ancestors, having reigned about one year.



CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; and whose son he was that succeeded her.

§. I.

Of Athalia's usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might force.

After the death of *Abazia*, it is said that his house was not able to retain the Kingdom: which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispossessed of her son, upon whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupy the Royal Throne her self, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is

very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobility, had made the people tame, and fearful to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldom or never so shameless as to refuse the commodity of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the *Philistines*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificial practice, into fair likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husband

bands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great view of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, should by any accident fail (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to pass) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthiness, would not care what aspersions he laid upon that Royal house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authority, not only his successor, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crown might never be subject to any rising, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared coming to pass, his own posterity could not retain it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the only way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her heir the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen's Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husband's time, yet might she do it in her sons. For *Abazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the security of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his own-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely forgotten. But if this mischievous woman forgot her self so far in her wicked policy, that she lost all opportunity which the weakness of her husband and son did afford, of procuring unto her self some seeming Title; yet could she afterwards feign some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certainty of her son or husband in another World. But I rather think that she took order for her affairs before-hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husband's issue by other

women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews of *Abazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the quality of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Jehazels* house would only have been more formal, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queens, will find cause enough to think no less. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heirs by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validity than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentiful examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing wherof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath been al- Eccles. i. 10 ready in the old time that was before us.* That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his natural Heirs, *David* had given proof; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entering into another. *Jer. 34* *horam slew all his brethren, which were better than he: David purchased the Kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if Jehoram, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleasure; or if Abazia fought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehojada* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*: Behold, the Kings son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the son of David. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence, and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming security.*

§. II.

How Jehu spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest Athalia.

IN all this time Jehu did never goe about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemy to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posterity of *Abah*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much less attempt upon others. Of the line of *Abah* there were seventy living in *Samarra*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in less than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyed by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtilty, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them all together into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impiety.

Concerning the Idolatry devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruel Tyranness; he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal exprest in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remain in his Family to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needles Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole t. st. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of superstition, so long practised as

was that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecy of *Elisha*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shall thou set on fire, and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not only the wickedness of *Abah* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery upon all the Land. For the fury of *Hazaels* victory was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he smote them in all the coast of *Israel*, and wasted all the Country beyond the River of *Jordan*.^{2 King. 10. 12.} Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatry; (For in those daies the Lord began to visit *Israel*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Abah*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, & had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make woful shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him; to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & the pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wilidom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of Athaliahs Government.

THESE calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home: as having little

little to do abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondency with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her Husbands Grand-father King *Aza*, who had done the like. And some probability that the did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we find, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicated for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon *Baalim*. Such a sacrilege, though it proceeded from a desire to let out her own Idolatry, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successor was faine to do the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the Religion taught by God himself, howsoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few and small; and the store, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet they up-held in all this misery the service of God, and the daily sacrifice keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no less than in those daies wherein their entertainment was far better.

§. IV.

Of the preservation of Joas.

Jehojada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wife, and religious man. To his carefulness it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort up-held in those unhappy times. His Wife was *Jehoshabet*, who was daughter of King *Jehoram*, and sister to *Athalia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her Mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Joash* the young Prince that reigned soon after, was conveyed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to pass that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policy, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoyded that cruel blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the less conformable to their present government. So *Joash* was delivered out of that slaughter; he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor Woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that the her self should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, whereto was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyful tidings.

§. V.

Whose Son Joas was.

§. I.

Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the Son of Ahaziah.

NOW concerning this *Joash*, whose son he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controvercie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the son of *Ahaziah*, seem plain enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give title of Son unto him, in regard that he was his Successour, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the natural son of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Ahaziah* was not able to retain the Kingdom; some do inferre that this *Joash* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as son in the inheritance of his Father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For the perceiving that

the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom the had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruin of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrify both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had little concerned her, if her own grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and less envy, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authority she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others, and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life she might have made greater use than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephews, is little less than the Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all natural affection should be cast aside, when as neither necessity urgeth, nor any commodity thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policy doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

¶ II.

That *Joas* did not descend from *Nathan*.

BUT (as it is more easy to find a difficulty in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joash* is, by them which think him not the son of *Ahaziah*, set down in such sort, that it may very justly be suspected. They say, that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a History (I know whence) of two Families of the race of *David*, saying, that the line of *Salomon* held the Kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the Family of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathshua* the daughter of *Amnes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet.

Gregory Nazianzen (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulentis*, have likewise held the fame of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods to have been the children of *Oriah* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundry of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenst*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expolitors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himself the only begotten of his mother, do approve this exposition: for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathshua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* only of her children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have been the children of *Oriah*, and are thought to have been *David's* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not been the son of *Ahaziah*, then must that pedigree have been false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only been of his line by courtesy of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have been. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posterity of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annus* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo*, hath any such matter; but *Annus* can make Authors to speak what he list.

¶ III.

That *Joas* may probably be thought to have been the son of *Jehoram*.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amiss to open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise he would give him a light, and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a son left him, save *Jehoahaz* the youngest of his sons. Now if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it

not be thought that he was said to have escaped in whom the line of *David* was preserved? for had all the race of *Salomon* been rooted up in these woful Tragedies, and the progeny of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jehoahaz*, in whom the Royal branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legal issue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a step-dame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *David's* line, by Gods especial mercy, in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himself, there were two and forty of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little less than extirpation of that progeny, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhuman murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the History) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, only *Jehoahaz* his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Ahaziah*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest son of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahaziah*, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many children before he was eight-

teen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitful, and beget no more in twenty years following; each of which must have bin true, if this were true that *Ahaziah* was the same *Jehoahaz* which was his youngest son. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causeless cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Joas* are easily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehoahaz* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion; For he was seven years old when he began to reign; which if we understand of years complete, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural son of *Jehoram*, though called the son of *Ahaziah*, than it were to say, as great Authors have done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the posterity of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer, which had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahaz*, that soundeth much more near to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an English ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilful in that language) through the diversity of certain letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Ahaziah* himself be also called *Azaria*, and must have had three names, if he were the same with *Jehoahaz*; in which manner *Joas* might also have had several names; yet, because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

¶ IV.

Upon what reasons *Athalia* might seek to destroy *Joas*, if he were her own Grandchild.

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passions of ambition and zeal to her Idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some unnatural desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the blood Royal. For whether

ther it were so that *Athalie* (as proud and cruel Women are not always chaste) had imitated the liberty of *Jezabel* her sister in law, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the Crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policy, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if he were his Grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that Women do commonly better love their daughters Husbands, than their sons Wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son; for she made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his Wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutors. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was *Athalie* fain to go roundly to work, and do as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were only stepdame to *Joas*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of using conjecture in Histories.

THus much concerning the person of *Joas*, from whence, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diversity between it and others, the less me thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty of conjecture. For all Histories do give us information of humane counsels and events, as far forth as the knowledge and faith of the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at random, and many times fallily. This we often find in profane Writers, who at-

tribute the ill success of great undertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the less wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jewes* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their Wils, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of heaven*, as they and their Fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to do: For then (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil*: adding, that all manner of miseries were befallen them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wisdom of man, in looking into the counsel of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written Will not perverted by vain additions.

But this History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of merely humane Authors: it setteth down expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-frowardness in battle; the ruine of his Family, to the security of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; nor the Victories of *Elihu*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel* by the coming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these Books nothing largely described; nor perhaps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians do borrow of Poets, not only much of their Ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not always true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions which do set them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I speak of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livy* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Astruculus* in *Italy*, fitting all to another business,

Jer. 44.
17, 18.

Sir Phil.
Sid. in his
Apol. for
Poetry.

ness, or any practice of that kind, is neither Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or the instruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every business; and so figuring as near to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsel, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pry both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their own close temper, or by some subtilties, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the afflictions themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industry of an Historian, having to many things to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions work to the same end, that one small matter in a weak mind is more effectual, than many that seem far greater. So comes it many times to pass, that great fires, which consume whole houses or towns, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not seen; when the flame is discovered, having fastened upon some Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, proceeded from desire of the *Persians* to enlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprise of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of *Queen Atossa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bond-women, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this War before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Hier. 11.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in bed with her Husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seem-

ing upon substantial reasons, have issued indeed from such petty trifles, as no Historian would either think upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Frier, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate, been his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest man, than any cunning Politician, to attain unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfy the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant Engines, by which the course of affairs is moved, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needs or can. But if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme Governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Jupiter*.

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Pentostum, & urbes, regnaque tristitia,
Divosque mortalesque iurmas,
Imperio regit unus equo.*

Who rules the duller Earth, the Wind-sworn streams,
The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms,
Who th' Host of Heaven, and the mortal Band,
Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things disposed to his own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad

broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightful as it seems at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body; all which if any few escape, they have onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever; though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them with themselves at their journey's end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for ever.

Psal. 66. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to reach by example of times past, such Wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvel though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which is most requisite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some Prophet after the captivity: we may well believe that the counsel of God therein, and the executors of his righteous Will, should have occupied either the whole or the principal room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the business at *Sardes*, with other occurrences, been the less true, though they might have been omitted, as the less material: but these things it had been lawful for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbore to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the business that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgment will tax me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not feign, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illu-

strate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every mans belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawful, nor mis-bebecoming anti-fistorian.

§. VII.

The conspiracy against Athalia.

When *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and had found neither any foreign enemy, nor domestical adversary to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wickedness meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shameful death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seem the child of some poor man (as for his safety it was requisite) when his capacity required to have been induced with the stomach and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Priest considered, and withal, the great increase of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to spread it self over all the Country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the Captains, in whose fidelity he had best assurance; and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings son, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdom. These drew in others of the principal men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repair to *Jerusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many persuasions to win them to the business: the promise of the Lord unto the house of *David*, was enough to assure them that the action was both lawful, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, and other associates of *Jehojada* able by close working, to draw together so many trusty and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the business. To help in this

case,

case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart until they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new comers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyranness did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it self on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents, were bestowed in the outer Courts: As for Weapons, the Temple it self had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readiness, and the day come, wherein this high design was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queen was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seem: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with the very good liking. Some carried home the news, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of peril, under the windows of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing, and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of folks in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may be, that she thought it some especial solemnity used in the Divine service, which caused this much ado; and

hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the town, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Jehojada* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the Text, *she came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was near to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, she rent her cloaths, and cryed Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or fear, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her self, as one cast away, and cried out in vain upon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Jehojada* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entered alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither do I hold it credible. For had the truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madness in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of seven years old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not think that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certain it is that the counsel of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet we need not so cut her throat with any moral impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more easie success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have been expected; so that at his appointment, she was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slain, *yea so*, that no blood, save her own, was shed in that quarrel; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

MOST like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashness of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Israelite*, who did foolishly cast himself into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet his her self, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a suitable death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her Husband; was an Idolatress and a Murderess. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious; So that each of them surviving her Husband about eight years, did spend their time in satisfying her own affections; the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the sudden by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies, hories; *Athalia* slain at her own horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leisure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignity, and shame of body. Touching their burial, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogs, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* we do not find. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slain the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her burial there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The service of *Baal* erected by these two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they

were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priests of that Religion, slain. Herein also it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who seems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrel to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; she had sons living after she was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were slain with her, we do not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jerusalem* when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as nearly, and been registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not have saved these ungracious limps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man should die for his own sin. Seeing therefore that they had been professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawful cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had been esteemed as heirs of their mothers Crown, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular business of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his Wars against *Jehoi*) absent from *Jerusalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Arms against their Mother, that was desolate.

Deut. 24. 16.



CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of Joas his doings, whilst Jehojada the Priest lived.

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Country of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietness; wherein *Joas*, a child of seven years old, or thereabout, began his reign, which continued almost forty years. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Priest, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, and restored him unto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two Wives, and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the Family of *David* which was almost worn out. The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should uphold the Temple, whom the Temple had upheld. This business he followed with so earnest a zeal, that not only the Levites were more slack than he, but even *Jehojada* was fain to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the tax imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver; and with all other Utensils. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had been, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funeral seems to have been given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the City of David*, As for the King himself, who did owe to him no less than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavy debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellor; but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea and God himself, the Author of all goodness. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen years, that thirty years, or thereabout, of the reign of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised; were not able to clear it from that mischief: The King himself, when once he was entered into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proof of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the former admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, and Apostasy of Joas.

BUT this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed before his Country could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*; as he

§. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians invading Juda in the dayes of Joas.

BUT God, from whom he was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men;

men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Town of the *Philistines*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartened by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretexts) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had afflicted the *Israelites* in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdom of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessor, this was thoroughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, and leaving the ten Tribes in their extrem misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dog, and stir up against himself a powerful enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdom, if some opportunity had not performed such ease and good success, as might rather advance, than any way disturb his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sons of *Abathia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually do) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutral in the war between him and *Israel*, but to join all their forces with his, as they had done, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queens, their mother, even the whole house of *Abah*, to which he was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdom of *Juda*. Howsoever we find, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore took all the hollowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasure of the house of the Lord, or in his own house, with which present he redeemed his peace: the *Syrians* (questionless) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazard the assurance of this for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich booty of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, which was the fiftieth of *Jeboabaz*, he made this purchase; but in the same or very next year he died, leaving all that he had unto his son *Zebedad*, with whom these

treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael*, is, by some, confounded with that war of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the second book of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleged by them that hold the contrary opinion, do forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battle, wherein being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life. In the one *Hazael* himself was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrarywise, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may seem to have been the son of *Hazael*) is said to have been at *Damascus*. The first Army came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; the second was a small company of men, which did animate *Joas* (in vain, for God was against him) to deal with them, as having a very great Army.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jeboabaz* the Priest, because that story is joined to the restoration of the Temple. It had been probable, if the death of *Jeboabaz* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the second book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasy of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will and pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Joas* that righteous man, or the death of *Jeboabaz* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgement upon the house of *Abah*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therein, which are joined together, were used in the house of the Lord continually all the days of *Jeboabaz*; soon after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is, (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixt, or thirty seventh year of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foul Idolater.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his saints being

15.

being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment; and either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amerites*) till their wickedness be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appears that he dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had stroven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

§. IV.

How *Zacharia* was murdered by *Joas*.

Sundry Prophets having laboured in vain to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the son of *Jeboabaz* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and son to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Abah* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought he in common honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unaccountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though he had been otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Price, as long

as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any form of open Law, as was practiced upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publick judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*.

§. V.

How *Joas* was shamefully beaten by the *Amerites*, and of his death.

His odious murder, committed by an unthankful snake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence, which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last year of his reign; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed without controulment. When that year was expired the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to perform any great action: for they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend, is in my judgement proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might have levied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the war, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when he might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encour-

2 Kings. 13.

11.

Luke 20. 14.

chro. 24.

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a very great Army, so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making them as if he would fight for his Country, and expose himself to danger of war, when as indeed all was meer ostentation and no peril to be feared; he going forth to strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. This might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret; considering what ado he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this vain-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* and King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders or by some amencement happening among the soldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose persuasion the King had become a Rebel to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransom.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgments; and that departing from him, they dismissed him, in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favoredly. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehoash* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Israhel* over the *Syrians*, in *Damascus*: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country, the other inferior every way to his father, of whose purchases he lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearful heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doores, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the (per-

haps as unsuspected) ill success, which the *Aramites* found in their following was against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakness of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdom of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that only fifty Horsemen, ten Charriots, and ten thousand footmen were left: prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found, and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* laden with spoil, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves being like falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonitess*, and of a *Moabitess*, whom some (because only their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, left (as Tyrants use) he should revenge disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells us plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of* ^{15.} *Jehojada*, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazias*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdom was established: but contrariwise his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his son, upon the Traytors, which well deserved death.

of

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of *Joas*: of the time when Carthage was built: and of *Dido*.

Here lived with *Joas*, *Mezades*, and *Dionetius* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Arifonides* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Aladins*, were Kings of the *Albans* in Italy. *Ocraxapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King succeeded unto *Opratanes*, began his reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sefac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdom of Egypt, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Phigalion* in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years younger than *Rome*, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight months from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Phigalion*. The particulars of this account (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make clear the total sum. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoned in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hyram* to *Phigalion*, we may well enough believe, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books he gives us the whole sum, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

*L*lla ego sum Dido vulnu quam confixit Auson. ep. 117.
hospes,
Assimulata modis pulchraque virificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxit,
erat mens,
Vita nec incestus leta cupidinitibus:
(Namque nec Aeneas vidit mo Troius unquam,
Nec Elyham advenit, clausibus Ithacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma precacis Iarboe,
Servatus, fletore, moris pudicitiam;
Pecore transfixo cello quod perituli enses)
Non furor, aut lesio crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere fame,
Vlti vitum, postis manibus appeti.
Invida cur in me simulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret in nostra daemna pudicitia?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furti Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiiis.

Which in effect is this:

I Am that *Dido* which thou here dost see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not such a foul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Aeneas never with his *Trojan* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Revenge'd my husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stir up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, believe Historians; not those
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice
expose.
Poets are liars, and for Verses sake,
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the first *Punic* war, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we find in many Histories: but in particular we find little of the *Carthaginian* affairs before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of *Sicily*. We will therefore defer the relation of matters concerning that mighty City, until such time as they shall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amasia his reign: of Joas King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.

Amasia, the son of Joash, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdom of Juda, wherein he laboured so to demean himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensive. The Law of Moses he professed to observe; which howsoever it had been secretly despised since the time of Jehoram, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himself unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himself, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amasia* from following the way, which led to such an evil end. He therefore, having learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not only forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King Joas, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it self into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handy-work of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heat of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgments, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a

revenging son. This being done, and his own life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts, *Amasia* carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amasia* gathered strength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the *Israelite* grew as fast in power, by following the war hotly against the *Aramites*. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this sin had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazeael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his son *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this pollitic Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Israel*, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when he and his miserable subjects, were oblate in following their own abominable ways. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God which had been infinitely more worth, I do not find, nor believe that they sought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amasia*, the Lord is not with *Israel*, neither with all the house of *Ephraim*.

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavy cares attending those unhappy Syrian Wars, by laying the burthen upon his hopeful son; we find that in the thirty seventh year of *Joas*, King of *Juda*, *Joas* the son of *Jehoahaz* began to reign over *Israel* in *Samaria*; which was in the 15. year of his fathers reign, and some two or three years before his death.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor stock that he received from his Father, often Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no less. For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus, O my father, my father, the Chariots of *Israel*, and the horsemen of the same: by which manner of speech he did acknowledge,

acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his kingdom in more stead than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This prophet who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Joram* the son of *Abah* King of *Israel* died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that he did not only raise a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when he himself was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcase, which touched them in the grave. In fine, he bestowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the kings of *Damascus* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amasia his war against Edom; His Apostacy, and overthrow by Joas.

The happy success which *Joas* had found in his war against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amasia* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himself might purchase the like honour. His Kingdom could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the Wars, and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exercise of War (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) he held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with soldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Josephus* diminisheth the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand.

This great Army, vvich vvith so much cost *Amasia* had hired out of *Israel*, he vvvas faine to dismiss before he had employed it, being threatened by a Prophet vvith ill success, if he strengthened himself vvith the help of those men, vvhom God (though in mercy he gave them victory against the

cruel *Aramites*) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismissal, as an high disgrace, vvith to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But *Amasia* vvith his own forces, knowing that God vvould be assistant to their journey, entered courageously into the *Edomites* Country, over vvhom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand prisoners, all vvich he threw from an high rock; holding them, it seems, rather as Traytors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* vvith the subjection of the Crown of *Juda*, vvich might be the cause of that severity, vvich vvvas used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount *Seir*, *Amasia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they vvvere the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, vvhereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the vvhole countrey. Howsoever it vvvere, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoils of the *Edomites*, vvvere carried away their gods, vvich being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrari vvise, I know not by vvhat strange vvitchcraft, so vvell as the unworthy King *Amasia* that he left them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense unto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, vvho made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the vvorse. If either the costly stultie, vvhereof these Idols vvvere made, or the curious vvorkmanship and beauty, vvith vvich they vvvere adorned by Artificers, had ravished the Kings fancy; methinks, he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as household ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded, vvith such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account vvherein the *Edomites* had held them, vvvere able to vvork much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service vvich they had done to their old Clients, have moved him therewith to laugh, vvith the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that

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the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is said, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him fail of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was that *Esaia* having broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amaziah* did hope to reconquer all the country of *Edom*, he failed of his expectations; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contended with him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industry, courage, or foresight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entering into battell, are careful to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgment of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their own ex-ploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canons, every one striving to magnifie himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans virtue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meer wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those virtues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being so truly heroical, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth it self with confidence of acceptance, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition.

*Aude hostes contemneré opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.*

With this Philosophy *Amaziah* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehoshaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *David*; of which honour he saw no reason why the prophets should rob him, who had made him loose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was dis tempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiety following) *Josaphat* doth testifie saying, That he despised God, and that being puffed up with his good successe, of which nevertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Authour, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Sovereign, as they had done his Ancestours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrel to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injury done to him by the *Israelites*, whom he dismissed in the Journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himself neglected thirteen, or fourteen years. Nevertheless it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amaziah* desired onely recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that he should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amaziah* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, fitt perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobility, as might be made (according to that which *Josaphat* hath written) between a King of ancient race and one of less Nobility than vertue.

It is by *Sophacles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance a coward could get victory, but he would get it alone without such help: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himself in a madness, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received,

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was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amaziah* did utter such words, I do not find, but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with successe accordingly. The very first counsell wherein this war was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise Prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his Parastites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equals abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the feat of their Country, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himself to such strength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a long victorious war. But as *Amaziah* discovered much want of judgment, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the business, when it was set on foot, he behaved himself as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in War there was nothing else to do, than send a defiance, fight, and win. *Joas* on the contrary side, having been accustomed to deal with a stronger enemy than the King of *Juda*, used that celerity, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in & wasted his Country, but presented himself with an Army in *Juda*, ready to bid battell to *Amaziah*, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*, who (besides the impression of fear, which an invasion beats into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the spoile of *Israel*, fully persuading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were so far disappointed of their expectation that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomach enough to challenge the patrimony of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which fool-hardines might easily have been fore-seen in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the War. But meer humane wisdom, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon *Amaziah*. For as soon as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose help this wretched,

man had so despised, did (as *Josaphat* reports it) strike such terror and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift for himself; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseness. That the Army which fled, sustained any other loss than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Josaphat*; it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shameful, made it also the more safe. But of the mischief that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amaziah* himself should sustain the whole disgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he bad him procure that the gates may be opened to let him in and his Army; threatening him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captive, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other than persuade the Citizens, to yeild themselves to the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly dismaied, when the King that should have given his life to save it, used all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* were opened to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but the more to despise *Amaziah* and his people, he caused 400. cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entered the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he sack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so taking hostages of *Amaziah*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Joas from uniting Juda to the Crown of Israel, when he had won Jerusalem, and held Amaziah prisoner. The end of Joas his reign.

WE may justly marvel how it came to pass, that *Joas*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly with a little spoil, when he might have seized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cause to hope that the issue of *David* might be dispossessed of that Crown; his own nobility, being the son and grand-child of Kings, together with

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the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might also have preferred his form of government before that of their own Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have ensued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelite* (as afterwards in the victory which *Pekah* the son of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his present advantage to the best use, we do not read. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the question, why a Prince so well exercised as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the assurance of so fair a conquest, as the Kingdom of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been most material, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainly seen, that entering *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own prosperity. For, the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not only into the City, but into the Royal Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty (especially having sure means of compulsion) he might have made his own, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunity presented, he did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise, and more meanly busied, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this error might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entering as an enemy, and shewing what he could do, by spending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done his courtesies began, and sought to please itself with that which is commonly most ready to the spoiler, yet should be most forbore. The Treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazeael*, and the *Philistines*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternal God, whose Temple was at *Jerusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him

take his way directly to seize that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the family of *Obed-Edom* (whose children had hereditary charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had been officers of his own exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Israelite*, and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most virtuous King of our age (taking it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoided; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few days, might, by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his Soldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferior in number to the inhabitants of so great a City. It is not so easy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised fear. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such half-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired, than the City of *Florence*, which through the weakness of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the State, entered the Town, with his Army, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrelling ministred between them and the Towns-men: so far forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge sums of ready money, and the absolute Seigniorship of the State, as conquered by him, who entered the City in Arms. But *Peter Caponi*, a principal Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretary, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptory words made the French bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement

ment, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not only depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave Army, which in few months after was the Kingdom of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous City. It is true, that *Charles* had other business (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houles, usually draws every Citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the Soldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench, as fast as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of destroying a Town, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversity of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Jerusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soever *Joas* might hold himself within *Jerusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his booty safe, if the Army of *Juda*, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce itself, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his Army being upon return, and better laden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the City and without, serving to cool the ambition of *Joas*, and keep it down from aspiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisba* the Prophet; who, when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probability, referred unto the fifth, sixth, and seventh years of *Joas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, ill might the King of *Israel* have likened himself to a stately Cedar, and worse could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Elisba*, that after three victories *Joas* should find some

change of fortune and suffer loss; we must needs conclude, that the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the last of his Reign. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his absence gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his return was not able to remedy, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes which increased the calamities; we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam* his son. For it is said, That the Lord *Jaw* the exceeding bitter affliction, of *Israel*, and that having not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from under the Heaven, be preserved them by the hand of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Joas*. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastening his misery and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazeael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craspus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his own Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence (if not by all of these) *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the Kingdom of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad welcome, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few months after, leaving his Kingdom to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant son.

§. X.

The end of *Amaziah* his Reign and life.

Any man is able to guess how *Amaziah* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his own great prowess and skill in Arms, threatening to work wonders, and set up a new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncased of his Lions hide, and appeared nothing so terrible as a beast as he had bin painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such as held him in dislikes; which at this time doubtless were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amaziah*, (besides

(besides that the multitude are always prone to lay the blame upon their Governors, even of those calamities which happen by their own default) there was no child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himself a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the City, that with his own eyes he might see what spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain by hear-say. The father of this *Amazias* was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered, should they have made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelites* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soon have been rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trusted up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to persuade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his pains taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in *Jerusalem*: a manifest proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seek his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were less welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereto themselves might always be masters, wanted no plausible matter to revive him. For he was not the first, nor second of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battle. *David* himself had abandoned the City, leaving it before the enemy was in sight, unto *Abishon* his rebellious Son. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily

have been kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sefac* in? *Asa* was reputed a virtuous Prince, yet with his own hands he emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if so, he should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had he given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their Masters Commandments to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his own Person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it self, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he been as hasty to fly as others were, he might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage by his Royal example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yield; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the field, he had them stand to it and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprize of a Lion that was Captain, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazias*, were able to persuade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But he that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good success foretold by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seems that he meant to keep himself safe from her by sitting still; for in fifteen years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruine. He that suspecteth his own worth or other mens opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority in purchasing the name of a

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severe man. For the affected sowness of a vain fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the fear wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carries a shew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually mispend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course; procuring, in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perturbed with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therefore *Amazias* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to believe that he did not love them? the best was, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance (or upon whom?) of such a murder, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given commandment or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the blood of his Anointed. Yet as *Amazias* careless of God, was carried headlong by his own affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such headlong fury, that being unable to defend himself in *Jerusalem*, he was driven to forsake the City, and fly to *Lachis*, for safeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived against him, and so general, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capital City, nor his presence in the Country abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionless he chose the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kill him with their own hands; for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raising an Army for the matter) sent pursuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmost City of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of *Juda*; so that he might have made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Territory of the *Philistines*, or the

Kingdom of *Israel*. Therefore it may seem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treason to the general infurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, have carried away his body to *Jerusalem*, where they gave him burial with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Inter-regnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of *Juda*, after the death of *Amazias*.

IT hath already been shewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were sometimes to be measured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last years of his fathers Reign, or the foremost of his sons. But we are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay void eleven whole years: a thing not plainly set down in Scriptures, nor yet remembered by *Josephus*, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazias*, King of *Juda*, lived after the death of *Joas* 15. a. & King of *Israel*, fifteen years; whereupon it follows, that the death of *Amazias*, was about the end of fifteen years compleat, which *Jeroboam* the second (who in the fifteenth year of *Amazias* was made King over *Israel*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the succession of *Uzzias*, who is also called *Azarias*, unto his father in the Kingdom of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expressed, that *Azarias* began to reign in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*; the sixteenth year of his life, being joyned with the first of two and fifty that he reigned. So the Inter-regnum of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the Text otherwile than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any void time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth year of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azarias* was eleven years under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth year might

might concur with the seven and twentieth, of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text itself might have suffered some wrong; by miswriting twenty seven for seventeen years; and so, by making the seventeenth year of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be saved. These are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himself doth easily let it pass, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question; which could not be falsified in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five years old; but then must we add those eleven years which passed in his minority, to the two and fifty that followed his sixteenth year, which is all one in a manner, with allowing an *Inter-regnum*.

But we should we be so careful to avoid an *Inter-regnum* in *Juda*, seeing that the like necessity hath enforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few years, in the Kingdom of *Israel*? The space of time between *Jeroboam's* death, and the beginning of *Zachariah's* reign, and such another gap found between the death of *Pekah*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easily to be admitted into *Samaria*; which the consideration of things as they stood in *Juda*, when *Amaziah* was slain, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the necessity of computation were not so apparent.

For the publick fury having so far extended itself, as unto the destruction of the Kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redress of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to pass, that they which already had thrown themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheless exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetful subjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have been King but one and forty years, after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harshly with the Text. The best opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven years of reign with his Father, before he began to

reign single in the fifteenth of *Amaziah*; did it not swallow up almost the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of those which reigned in *Israel* (by making such of them complet as were once current) and take at the shortest the reigns of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and see mine more plainly in the Chronological Table, drawn for these purposes.

s. XII.

Of Princes Contemporary with Amaziah, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

The Princes living with *Amaziah*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylusius Aladus*, and *Sylusius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Arpilron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedaemon* *Theclaus*, in whose time the *Spartans* was from the *Acadians*, *Geranthe*, *Amycla*, and some other Towns.

But more notable than all these, was *Affrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amaziah*, succeeding his father *Ocraxapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty years, and was slain the last of the eleven void years which fore-went the reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as most agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate Pailiard he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet seen he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruin. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding means to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himself and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Belshis* or *Belofus* a *Chaldean*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdom of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleased with the Prophecy, did promise un-

to

to *Belofus* himself the government of *Babylonia*; and so concluding how to handle the business, one of them stirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Persians* into the quarrel, the other persuaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himself, but gathering such forces as he could out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that War, answer to the manner of his retiredness. For in three battles he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearful terms, that had not *Belofus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it upon the way, persuaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joyned themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemy seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Army, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through overgreat security was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his Wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the City of *Nineve*; which, till new aids that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nineve* should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Town. Of the greatness and strength of *Nineve*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well vitualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrow the Kings Army, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to win it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seems that he wanted Engines and

skill to force those walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to pass upon the rampire. But that which he could not do in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swollen with rains, it not only drowned a part of the City through which it ran, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuchs, and all his Treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a Monument of his, that was in *Anchiale*, a City of *Strab. l. 5. Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription; shewing that he built that City and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example testified that his nature was more prone to sensuality, than to any virtue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more general consent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Achilles* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*; where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Affria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive, or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatsoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed them*.

CHAP. XXIII.
Of UZZIA.

S. I.

The prosperity of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, and Pekahia.

Uzzia, who is called *Ahazias*, the son of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas* King of *Israel*. He served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good success in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a Town that stood near to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistines*, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the mastery over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous Wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehearseth his acts) he began with the *Philistines*; and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Army consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of War, over which were appointed two thousand and six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields*, and *spear*s, and *helmets*, and other Arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessors had held, who thought it better policy to use the service of the Nobility, than of the multitude; carrying forth to war the Princes, and all the Chariots.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the achievements of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equal, if not superiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are won to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happiness to get. He turned his lands to the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dresters of Vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattel feeding; whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*; that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasture. For de-

fence of his Cattel and Herdsmen, he built Towers in the Wilderness. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith, questionless he took the only course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundry Towns among the *Philistines*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he wan the Royal City of *Damascus*, and he wan *Hamah*, with all the country thereabout from the entering of *Hamah*, unto the Sea of the Wilderness; that is (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had been in the reign of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction wherinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the succession of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of those whom they

they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel* unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the son of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* was held so precious, that neither the Kingdom it self given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, unto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but being almost expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghes at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it seems in all reason that *Zacharia* his son should forthwith have been admitted to reign in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the virtue of the last King having been so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did pass before *Zacharia* the son of *Jeroboam* was, by uniform consent, received as King. The true original causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did stand; yet second instruments of this disturbance are likely not to have been wanting upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards slew one another so fast, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the Kingdom asunder, holding each what he could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with dissention, and the principal of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yield all quietly to the son of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy lasted almost three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year

of *Uzzia*, which was the last of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his seven and twentieth concurring with the first of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Uzzia*, in the last six moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the interregnum in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the same reason abridge this Anarchy that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time sufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the ten Tribes was no less disordered than as is already noted. But I chuse rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; which was it self indeed so long, that he may well seem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God blessed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Israel* was void, before the reign of *Zacharia*; a little may suffice to be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a little while. Six months only was he King; in which time he declared himself a worshipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to justify the judgment of God; whereby he was slain. He was the last of *Jehu*'s house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophetic having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the slaughter of *Jeroboam*, and for the eradication of *Abrahams* house.

Zacharia having been six moneths a King, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned after him, the space of a month in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I do not find; save only that he was a Traytor, and the son of one *Jabeesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himself, and now when all other Competitors were fitten down, thought easily to prevail against that King, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for *Tippah* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemy and supplanter

planter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one month, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slain by *Menabem* who reigned in his place.

Menabem the son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, for he not only destroyed *Tiphaz*, and all that were therein, or therabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharia's* death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Disdain, and other private passions, to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menabem*, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*, whom this new King appeased, with a thousand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantial men in his Country. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not only the peace of his Kingdom, but his own establishment therein: some factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-beloved King. *Josephus* reports of this *Menabem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Son occupied his room.

Of this *Pekahia* the story is short: for he reigned only two years: at the end whereof, he was slain by *Pekia* the son of *Ramiah*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crown of *Israel*, as, in time coming, another mans Treason against himself shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menabem* and his son, save that they were both of them Idolaters, and the son (as we find in *Josephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened unto those Northern Nations the way into *Palestina*: it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Belofus* (called also *Belshazzar*, and by some *Phul Belochus*) who joyed with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who out-lived the happiness wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of Uzzia his Reign and Life.

As the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Priest was the mean to preserve the lineage of *David* in the person of *Joas*, so it appears, that the care of holy men was not vinting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, vvhhen the hatred born to his Father *Amaziah* had endangered his succession. For it is said of *Uzzia*, That he sought God in the days of *Zacharia* (which understood the visions of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of *Vesle*: the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by meddling in the Priests office, vvhose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meer gratitude and civil policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from inchoating thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, the King forgot his duty, the Priests remembered theirs, & God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him to understand how little to his honour it would prove, that he took upon him the office of the sons of *Aaron*. There were vvvith *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant men, but their valour was shewed only in assisting the high Priest, vvhhen (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough the rest God himself performed. We find in *Josephus*, that the King had apparelled himself in Priestly habit, and that he threatened *Azaria* and his Companions, to punish them vvvith death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed enlargeth the Story, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the high-ways, and spoiling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake he faith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, vvhich was presently infected vvvith leprosie. All this may have been true; and some there are vvhho think that this Earth-quake is the same, vvhich is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*: vvhewherein they do much mis-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the days of *Jereboam* King of *Israel*, vvhho dyed seven and thirty years before *Uzzia*, so that *Joatham* the

the son of *Uzzia*, vvhich supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, have been then unborn: for he was but five and twenty years old, vvhhen he began to reign as King. Therefore, thus far only we have assurance; that while *Uzzia* was vvvith the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his fore-head, before the Priest. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, & to live in a house by himself until he dyed, the rule over the Kings house, and over all the Land, being committed to *Joatham*, his Son and Successour. *Joatham* took not upon himself the title of a King, till his Father was dead; vvhom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other Countries.

In the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed set down, when *Joel* or *Obadiah* did prophecy but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hierome's* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these five was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath so plentifully been sought, without reprehension, how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seems to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Jereboam* King of *Israel*, and therefore is like to have prophesied in the days of *Joas*, whilest the afflictions of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it self intimating no less: by which consequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whose works are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdom of *Israel* are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seems, not without reason unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose days *Nineve* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings, now extant: in all the rest are found express promises of the Messias.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that,

Esay, the first of the four great prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of great and lesser prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as *S. Augustine* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger Books. The prophet *Esay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the son of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellency both of his life and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.

Bocchoris was King of Egypt, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the Kingdom of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Aschis* followed in the Kingdom of Egypt: unto him succeeded *Amphis*, and these two occupied that Crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of Egypt, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Uzzia* his Reign and Life. Of these and other Egyptian Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermeddled with the business of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Arifbron* his twenty, the seven and twentieth of *Theophrastus*, the twentieth of *Agamemnon*, and the three first of *Egchilus* his three and twenty, made even with the two and fifty of *Uzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Silvius Aventinus*: his seven and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* began his new Kingdom in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty years, his son *Sofarnus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the story of the *Assyrian* Kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

Joseph. ant. 9. 11.

Joseph. bibl.

Joseph. ant. 9. c. 11.

2 Chron. 26. v. 15. 26.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 18. c. 19.

Hier. in Pref. super Isaiam.

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian Kings, descending from Phul: and whether Phul and Belofus were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a part in Nineve and Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of Sardanapalus his death, it is apparent, that the chief therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*: to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that War, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of his power, was shewn upon *Belofus* the *Babylonian*, by whose special advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannical a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he used the counsel of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embellishing wherewith his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) jointly the Sovereignty to himself, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhor. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty; which he himself so greatly loved, that by slacking too much the reins of his own Sovereignty, he did more harm to the general estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedom which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Country was pared narrower by *Salmanassar*, (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom we find in the Scriptures to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civil administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces* the first of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter terms of obedience,

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdom, wherewith the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a part the severall authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somewhat of weight, or of clearness one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine own, but merely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, until of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Phul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtle, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglas-phalassar* his son, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid; for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they asseme. They

They, who maintaine this Tradition, justify by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not meet to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aspiring to recover the Sovereignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romans*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage* and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politicke, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistrresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Phul*? or what must this *Phul* have been (of whose deserving or entermidding, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell either by general consent in division of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*; whose neer neighbourhood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And questionless, to restore such a City as *Nineve*, was an

enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had, which *Phul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had *Phul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easie matter for him, to pass quite through another mans Kingdom with an Army, seeking booty a far off in *Israel*: the only action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Phul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Beleser*, and *Belus* (in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledge, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the son of *Asiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxeres*) then is this scruple entirely removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus* having settled his affairs in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, merely for the love of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to pass over *Emphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitfull Province, adjoining to their barren quarters, might yearly do them inestimable pleasures, was not only likely to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they who loved not *Israel*, should for their own behoofe have given him intelligence of the destructions and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Phul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavy neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*. (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hama*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Emphrates*, hold together in so good terms of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity, the memory whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in

Tull. centur.
Sardanap.
2.

Herodot.
1.

Jos. Act.
1. 11. c. 12.

in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Haddazer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so far off as *Nineve*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdom had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the business which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, left it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchy that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairest and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did pass the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leisure would have afforded better opportunity, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer, hereunto we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans* was in a manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* do concur, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardful only of self. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Affrya* was given to *Belofus* (as an overplus, besides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that he did only inchoate upon that Province by little and little; whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himself. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menabens*

his Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest of *Affrya*, and settling of that Country, was work enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restauration of *Nineve*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own days. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belofus* could find leisure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his business in some other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Affrya*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of for his victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affryans*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affryans*, in the quarrel of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate war, which overwhelmed the whole Country, ending but with the ruine and utter desolation of *Nineve*, must needs have so weakened the state of *Affrya*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineve*, had, in all their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Country, did help to enable *Belofus* to subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Country, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdoms, whereinto civil dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, Friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Phul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belofus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Ahasuerus*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countreys, have called

called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, or need to trouble our selves or others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Phul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affryan* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabopolassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Beljes* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aser*, from whom *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabopolassar* the *Babylonian* King, among those Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanassar*, who is known to have reigned in those years which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabopolassar*. As for *Meredach*, who supplanted *Afar-baddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disparuation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into peices, hope to overthrow all the premises upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabopolassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affryan* Kings, then it is manifest that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were several Kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabopolassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabopolassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Affrya*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salmanassar*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name, is proper to the *Affryans*.

It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which preceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affryans*, do shew that *Nabopolassar*, from whom *Ptolemy* draws

that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Affryan*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabopolassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, *Eisy 39. 1.* but more briefly in *Eisy* his prophetic, *Mero-dac* by the former Part of his name; or *Meredach* Baladan the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Meredach* the son of *Baladan* King of *Babel*, were the sonne of *Nabopolassar*, then was *Nabopolassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Affrya*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabopolassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek*, or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it self. To conclude, *Meredach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the first year of *Hexikia*, at which time *Salmanassar* King of *Babylon*, therefore if *Salmanassar* were took *Samaria*, then must we say that he and *Meredach*, yea, and *Nabopolassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofs from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul* *Belofus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belofus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painfull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annus* his Authors, given such offences that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I beleieve nothing that *Annus* his *Terminus*, *Metaphases*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so flegmatick, but that I can well enough digest a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it! I have (somewhat peradventure to often) already spoken my mind of *Annus* his Authors: Nevertheless, I may say here again; that where other Historics are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees

with that little which elsewhere we find, and ferveth to explain or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painful men (as *Scaliger* terms them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Affrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Aunius*, though disliking him in general) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doors with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be refuted or avoided. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Affria*, some men doubt whether *Scaliger's* reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affrian*; yet what hinders us from believing that one man in two languages might be called by two several names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them. *Prophetas, nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Afircenonum suis in somnis viderunt; Propheti Isteque not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer.*

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative: But as his being Lord over the *Chaldeans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have been also King of *Affria*. The Emperor *Charles* the first, who was born in *Gent*, and *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men far more learned in all Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematics, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any. Yet I think, Posterity will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Affrian* Soldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it seems, that he and his posterity, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation; lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as like-

wise King *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two unanswerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* terms them, being me thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike found and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likeness of found, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted, which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the Prophet *Esay* concerning *Merodach* the son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, and *Mardokenpadu*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the first year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficulty, than can be answered in half. I will therefore defer the handling of these objections until I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here satisfy him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himself did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have fashioned their Story, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belysiur*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to fall in *Ajabudon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confess my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this History, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof; but *sebas Calosius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaliger's* learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been careful to give us notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Triglat Palassar* did reign; (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same

same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himself revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided Kingdoms, in such sort as I find it conceived by *Angustinus Tornilius*; who only of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts of those that reigned in *Affria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posterity, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornilius* is a Regular Clerk of the congregation of *S. Paul*, whose Annals were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of a curious industry, sound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, willfully) forgetful of thanking, or mentioning those *Prosperant* Writers, by whose Books he hath received good information, and enriched his works by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this business he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himself, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to do right unto *Tornilius*; but confess my self to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and emboldened me to write more fully and less timorously in other things, which now I have no leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other mens constructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how he hath ordered these last *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the most mighty, fought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belosus*; in which contention, one *Phul* a powerful man in *Affria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornilius* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of uncertainty) that *Arbaces* made himself Sovereign Lord of all, and placed the seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belosus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Affria*. But

in short space, that is, in four years, it came to pass by the just judgment of God, that *Phul* and *Belosus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and instead of being Vice-Roys, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this later opinion *Tornilius* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposing, resolving to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guess. Having thus devised how *Phul* and *Belosus* might, at the first, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglathpalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversely, according to the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversify them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Asarhaddon* his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Affria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belosus* usurped the Kingdom of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did pass, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadu*; four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*; and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabolasar* the father of *Nebuchodonosor*; who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the original of these *Affrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdoms, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belosus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither do I think, that *Tornilius* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Affria* (for how *Belosus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden King of *Affria*; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his

defects (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this division it self, and the civil Warres that caused it, were never heard of? Questionless, the enterprising of some treasures by *Belofus*, with his Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequel, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Belofus*, against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in foure years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belofus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were vnder his own Government, to doe what they listed.

But it is now fit that we peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times, but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be soe unlawful to think, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Assyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painful and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionless he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not believed for his own sake; though for our own sakes we make use of his boldness, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein

we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing after a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reigns of *Theglathabalsar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Tornielus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the latter of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, save our good *Metaphenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senaccherib* and *Asarhadon*, *Tornielus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metaphenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Tornielus*; and yet I could wish that he had forbore to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this business, wherein he himself hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he used in the measuring the reigns of the *Chaldeans*, filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight years of *Belofus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belofus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threecore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been a little less at such time as he joyined with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which *Tornielus* adviſedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither do reprehend the boldness of *Tornielus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Setius Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend onely upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in

in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith.

— Neque seruidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitibus latus,
Durat æque sole Nives,
Marecatorem abigunt, horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Navita,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subjects Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtle Shipmen way to find,
Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serve only to mis-lead such discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses or well deserved scorn; but to keep their owne credit, they cannot serve always. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy Spanish gentleman, who had been employed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked, him being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wives Island*; saying, That whilst the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for hers that she in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be soe scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time shall runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good Copy of any ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties: would it be more shame to have believed in the mean while, *Annius* or *Tornielus*, than to have believed nothing? Here I will

not say, that the credit which we gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornielus*, than *Annius*, yet him than them, of his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as *Pacruvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the State-house, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty: for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him dye: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or sufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected: so that finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

AFTER the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same King *Degeta* and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so general, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the *Hebrews* to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs, it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we joyne them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured

measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the state and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, near unto *Elis*; where also *Jupiter's* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the Wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtful or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reign of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Ensebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Polybins*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first account, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyrius against *Julian* and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Ostas*, or *Anasiah*.

Ensebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundredth and sixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Erastosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius*, *Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere.

The distance between the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Erastosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his posterity into *Pe-*

loponnesus, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbing the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the four hundredth and eighth year current after *Troy*, we may reckon back to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use we have, the ensuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the same *Erastosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lyfander*, seven and twenty; to the battel of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole sum ariseth to 453 years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomical calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reign as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that he reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Justin*, *Ensebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexander's* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations do. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*,

and we shall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*; wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, or (taking the word *Monarch*, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdoms) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find compleat two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seventy years of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred threescore, and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*, which by this account is the one and fiftieth of *Uzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For examples sake; that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore and seventh year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a fair way through the threescore and ten years unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the reigns of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzziah*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein the first *Olympiad* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting; and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots fighting with whorle-bars, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises that served only for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make trial of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having plaid the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those Games, whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palm, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their several victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Adoree*, *Diagoras*, non enim in calum affensus es, that is, *Die*, *Diagoras*, for thou shalt not climb up to heaven: as if there could be no greater happiness on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them.

Quos Elea dominum reducit Palma Caelestis.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elean* Garland home.

Horat.
Carm. l. 4.
Od. 1.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had won these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have won the victory at Running or wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a Province.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moon; and upon the fifteenth day of the Month *Hecatombæon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Month begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, and leave the merry *Greeks* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrels draw the body of the History into the coasts of *Ionis* and *Hellepont*.

§. VI.

Of *Jotham* and his Contemporaries.

Jotham the sonne of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty years old, and in the second of *Pekahs* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophe*: besides divers Cities in the Hills

1 Kings. 15.

Hills of *Judea*, and in the Forrest, Towers and Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned fix and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimony: *Ejusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo Pie colerit, hominibus suis adeo iusto preseruit, urbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix: justum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit*. This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him: he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the City, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his vertue and prowess he made his whole Kingdom not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happy.

This is all that I find of *Joatham*: his reign was not long, but as happy in all things, as he himself was devout and vertuous.

Auchomen about this time succeeded *Phelstus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from year to year. And yet *Pausanias* in his second book with *Strabo* & *Plutarch* in many places are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglatphalassar, or *Teglatpileser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murdered his master *Pekiah*) was King thereof. In which expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephthali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglat* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metaphenses*. But *Krentzheimius* finds, that with his son *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two years longer; which years I would not ascribe to the son, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglat Phalassar* himself, who therein reigned 27 years.

Alcibiades, the son of *Agamemnon*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25 years. *Alcarnenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witness the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60 years, and out-lived the *Messenians*

war: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the son of *Nicanor*, his royal companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the city of *Nineve*, which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred and fifteen years after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sofarsmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

S. VII.

of *Achaz* and his Contemporaries.

Achaz, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Joatham* in the seventeenth year of *Pekah*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last year of his fathers reign, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned 16, but not complete years. This *Achaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idol *Moloch*, or *Saturn* which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calf, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gebinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gebennus* is used for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carcasses of this Idol, and as the fire encircled, so the sacrificers, with a noise of Cymbals, and other Instruments, filled the ayrs to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which unnatural, israel, and devilish Oblation, *Jeremy* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which *S. Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible fire was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomy*, it is called an abomination which God hateth: That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judea*, divers Authors witness; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids*—*Sanguine Placasti, &c. and Silius*—*Postere cede Deos. Saturn* is said to have brought this custom into *Italy*, besides the casting of many souls into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devil also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butchery, in so much, that when their City was besieged, and in distress, the Priest made them believe, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to be offered, that therefore *Saturn* had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies

Euseb. de
Prep.
Euseb. lib. 6
Dion. lib. 1.
Diod. lib. 10.

Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their City to be slain, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodian*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messene*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagetes*, and others, in these his services. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the souls of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devil unto this fearful servitude, in which he alloweth the *Floridians* and *Virginians* at this day.

Acosta de
Indior. nat.
cap. mor.
Ind.

For the wickedness of this King *Achaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Judea*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, posselt himself of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Jezes* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Judeans*, of the ablest of the Kingdom, at which time *Maasiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz*, was also slain by *Rezin*, with *Azrikam* the Governor of his house, and *Eleanath* the second person unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* lead away to *samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back again.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North, so the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judea*, entred upon them from the South, and took *Bethsemer*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Shobcho*, *Tinnab*, and *Gemoze*, slew many people, and carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himself environed on all sides, and that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, he sent to the *Assyrian Tiglatpileser*, to desire some aid from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings house.

Tiglatpileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the trouble that rose in *Palestina*. His Father having lately made himself from a Provincial Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judea*, invited by *Atanabem*, King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochur* himself, he was content to assign some other time for going through with this enterprise: because (as I have said before) he was

not firmly settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglat*, having now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his Army, first invaded the Territory of *Damascus*, wan the City, and killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adadis*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglat*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, sent it to *Tribal* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*.

In the mean while *Tiglat* posselt all *Babylon*, and the rest beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the River, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdom of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was invaded and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoil of *Israel*, he posselt himself of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it seemeth, enforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the second of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Assur*, or rebelled against him, and therefore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Achaz* had beheld and born these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of his reign he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Achaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40 years, saith *Eusebius*: *Diodorus* and *Ctesius* find *Anticarminus* instead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Sofarsmus* his successor, to whom they give 50 years.

Tiglat Pileser held the Kingdom of *Assyria*, all the reign of *Achaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Son may seem to have reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Achaz* did send unto the Kings of *Abur* to help him. The *Geneva* note says, that these Kings of *Abur*, were *Tiglat Pileser*, and those Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I do neither find any History, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I think that these Kings of *Abur*, were *Tiglat*, and *Salmanassar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath been said before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fiftieth Olympiad. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then

Euseb. in
Chron.

King 18

Plutarch. in
vita Sola.

joynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen every year, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their Kings as the Roman Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Abaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever since the fiftieth year of *Vorgia*. *Alcemenon* the thirteenth of the *Mc-dontide*, or Governors of the *Athenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of their Governors: he ruled only two years. For the *Athenians* changed first from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcemenon*, they erected a Magistrature, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Master*, or Governour of their City for ten years.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Book begins in the first year of the eight *Olympiad*,

Ensebius and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten years rule.

The Kingdom of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred year by the *Silvii*, of the race of *Æneas*, took end in the same *Abaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* and *Remus* in the eighth year of the same King, *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Abaz*. *Euchobæus* in the eighth, as I think he should; others somewhat later, and in the reign of *Ezechias*, *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others square the time of the foundation to the third year of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus* *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Ensebius*, to the first year of the seventh; who seem not only to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best account.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Antiquity of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Abaz.

§. I.

Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations posselt it before the arrival of *Æneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Aufonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Aufones*, a people inhabiting part of it; the one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotrii*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, thinks to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*; concerning which, changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere olim, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

There is a Land which *Greeks* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,

That by late ages of Posterity,
Tis from a Captains name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have bin, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Country, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Country, *Reyneccius* hath made a very painful search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, *italicus*, who speaks of a Colony which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it; Secondly, upon that of *Justinus*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colony of the *Ælians*; Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temesa* or *Tempha*, a City of the *Brutii* in *Italy*; Lastly, upon the authority of *Pliny*, who shews that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ælians* who

Just. lib. 1.
Strabo lib. 6.
Plin. lib. 3.
c. 5.

who (as he shews) had one original; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common; and the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Island near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætholians*; and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætholians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertains that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greeks* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Original of the *Greeks* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Javus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on Coins, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greeks* and *Latines*; who sailing over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies between *Ætholia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reyneccius* thinks, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, &c. thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seem strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in *Italy* with *Eleëtra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*; and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and Nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the time of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Country, not long before the War of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Eleëtra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*, but calleth *Eleëtra* and her sister *Asia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* been one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the less to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreams wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last

rehearsed, wherein he would not have said, *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name been heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Country, But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few years before the War of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colony of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætholians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began; and seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldness to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any such *Greek* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* written in *Greek* *Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætholians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætholian* Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætholia*. So may *Virgil's* authority stand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captain, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; and the *Latines* by the virtue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in a few ages whatsoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Western parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassæus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) think to have bin *Arcadians*; and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Original, or Native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have always usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moon; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seats so oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Country was less fruitful in land, mountainous, and hard of access, and they themselves

(as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, and held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitlesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous company to seek another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelagii*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greeces*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Anjones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturnus* was brought to some civility; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturnus* *S. Augustine* calleth *Stercor* or *Sterculinus*, others term him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturnus*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionles a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fled from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did mainely and darkly expresse (for so they feigned a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life: and because this passage is hateful, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of hate; *Cocytus* of lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Pain: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and because the *Greek* word, people, and *laos*, tones, are neer in found, therefore they feigned in the time

of *Ducalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones: in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturnus* hiding himself was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Aëtii*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus absconditus*. For it cannot be in vain, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some think) from the *Hebrew* *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reynecius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who defended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their war. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reynecius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in *agro Elaitico*, in the *Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Eoliens* held in *Asia*, called *Elaa*, or *Elaita*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidemis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neer sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*Th*) differing only in the strength or weakness of utterance, which is found between many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans*, being descended of *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Kittim*, the Son of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greeks*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Eleiter*, or *Elaiter*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Thocians*, *Etolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Eolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountain *Elaus*, the Haven *Elaen*, the people *Elaitae*, the City *Elaeus*, *Elaita*, and *Elaitaia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elaitini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language & similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in found and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabinus* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatius* (of which name they had a Prince that

founded the City *Elateja*) be named of the *Ceteans* *Latinius*. *Reynecius*, pursuing this likelihood, thinks that when *Euripylus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Son of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Ange*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was slain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* War: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euripylus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should go ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reynecius* farther thinks, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian* *Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Ange*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatius*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinius*. That this name of *Elatius* may have bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Iphidas*, the other of *Elatius*, who were Sons of *Aras* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Country: and between these two families the succession in that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* war it fell into the hand of *Hippoborus* of the race of *Elatius*, in whose Posterity it continued untill the last. Again, the name of *Latinius*, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reynecius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproof, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latinius*.

§. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill *Aeneas* his coming.

The Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrival of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, & *Latinius*. Of *Saturnus* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greeks*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturn* of the *Greeks* called by them *Chronos*, or some other, stiled *Saturn* by the *Aborigenes*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit of him to have bin the same: but the names of *Stercor*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this

name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the foil the idols which they laid on their grounds had that of the appellation from him) do rather make him seem some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a *Py*, may well seem (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slain by mischance his father *Echeneus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the walled grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatna*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree, she was held a Prophetess, and highly commended for her chastity, which praise in her must needs have bin much blemished by her marriage, it self being merely incestuous. It is not mentioned that *Faunus*, had by his sister any child, neither do we read of any other Wife which he had, save only that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latina* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, save onely that her abode was about the River *Liris* near *Minturne*.

Of the name *Latinius*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice only of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*; and the people anciently named the *Ceti*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reynecius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reynecius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinius* having obtained the succession in that Kingdom after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heir *Latina*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinius* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be embarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinius* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance, with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Aeneas*, which himself had heard of in the war of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*: who incensed herewith, fought to avenge himself by war: which was soon ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certain, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrival of *Aeneas*; unless we should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last year of the Trojan War. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Asiaticque*, and thinks withall, that *Lavinia* was born before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassensis* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seem by *Varro*'s who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name *Palas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nun of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister. *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdom of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Country, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Governours of *Alba*.

AENEAS himself being of the Royal blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his Wife *Cressa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a son called *Aecianus*; whose surname was *Julius*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) been surnamed *Iulus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his Wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with child by him, and fearing the power of this *Aecianus*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of *Lavinia* was so civil taken by the people, that *Aecianus* procured her return, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queen, did foster her young son his half-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place, *Aecianus* leaving to his mother in law the City *Latini*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new Wives name, founded the City *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was according to some, eight and twenty

years: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention between *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and *Julius* the son of *Aecianus*, about the Kingdom: but the people inclining to the son of *Lavinia*, *Julius* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdom to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reign of the *Alban Kings*, with the continuance of each mans reign, I find thus set down:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Atis</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8 years.
9	<i>Sylvius Agrippa</i> .	41
10	<i>Sylvius Aladinus</i> .	19
11	<i>Sylvius Aventinus</i> .	37
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
	<i>Itha</i> , called also <i>Ibea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus Remus</i> .	

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Towns in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prixi Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some think that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius* the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Ensebius* as father of another *Julius*, and grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Agrippa* was slain, and *Itha* his daughter made a Nun of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some man of war. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which

so

§. V.

Of the beginning of *Rome*, and of *Romulus* birth and death.

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdom, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, having been the work of many Ages; whereof I now do handle only the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius Cato*, *Calpurnius Piso*, *Sempronius* and others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Jannus*; but *Herodotus*, *Marcellus*, and many others of equal credit, give the *Gracians* for their Ancestors: and as *Strabo* strab. 5. bo reporteth in his fifth Book, *Cæcilius re-f. 159. rum Romanarum* Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, *Romanos à Græcis esse conditam*, quod *Romani Græcorum, antiquo instituto, Herculem sacrum faciunt: matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romanos*; *Cæcilius* (saith he) a *Roman Historiographer*, doth by this Argument gather, that *Rome* was built by the *Greeks*, because the *Romans*, after *Greekish* fashion, by ancient ordinance, do sacrifice to *Hercules*: the *Romans* also worship the mother of *Evander*.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembereth many Founders of that City: as *Romanus* the son of *Ulysses* and *Circes*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drove the *Tuscan* out of that Country, built it. *Solinus* bestows the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, saying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Gracians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Februs*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witness *S. Augustine* in his third Book de *Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his comfort, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their original, answered in these Verses:

*Attamen ut longè repetas longæque revolvam,
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille torum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so far;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that I'll forbear
meaning, either a Shepherd or a Thief.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father; that he was nurs'd by a Wolf, found and taken away by *Fausula* a Shepherds wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heir of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdom; the other, to satisfy his appetite, because she was fair and goodly. For the being made a Nun of the goddess *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to break her chastity. I also find in *Faucher* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroüez*, King of the *Franks*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Faucher* says, *Let them believe it that list; ille croira qui vovra*: Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to answer these imaginations in general, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and virtues, then did many women greatly born, cover such slips as they made, by protecting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* consents to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that he had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of War, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battel, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüez* might fancy a Sea-Captain, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Utrachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Encas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some fair Harlot, called for her beauty *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurs'd by a Wolf, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesians in those dayes were called Wolves, *que nunc* (saith *Halicarnassus*), *honestiori vocabulo antice appellatur; which are now by an honest name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken

up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great form of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Encas* vanished away by the River *Numicus*: but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storm was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor *Anastatius* was slain with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slain with a thunder-bolt: so *Carnus* the Emperor (who succeeded *Probus*) whilst he lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of War, and by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the Roman Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (saith he) *Romulus* himself died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They (saith he) who dream nearest to the truth, say that he was slain by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancy, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sun was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkness like unto night; and that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles, which had soon been forgotten, if the Roman greatness built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travel, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine and delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, and neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdom, that he himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slain, as is already shewed: after which time, the Sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-like:

like: wherein *Rome* it self in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long bin sole Governess, till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greek Emperour was crushed by foreign enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyle of Imperial power, the fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith vi-

gorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxury to defensive arms, and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her self again to the Crozier staff.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the story of the times of King *Abaz*, during whose reign in *Jury*, the foundations of this famous City were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

S. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemy, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the history of the Bible.

AS the first year of *Abaz* his reign was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the later end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of *Ezechias* his son. This appears by the Reign of *Hofea*, over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hofea* was the first of *Ezechia*; so it follows, that *Ezechia* began to reign in this Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that the third year of *Hofea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaz*, was almost spent when *Ezechia* began, and so the fifteenth year of *Abaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezechia*.

By supposing that *Hofea* began his Kingdom, when the twelfth year of *Abaz* was almost compleat, some would find the means how to dis-join the first of *Ezechia* from the fifteenth of *Abaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which year, *Abaz* may perhaps have lived not many days. But seeing that the fourteenth and fifteenth years of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vain labour to alter the first year.

2 Kin. 19.
35.

In the fourteenth year of *Ezechia*, *Sennacherib*, invaded *Juda* and the Countries adjoining, lost his Army by a miraculous stroak from Heaven, fled home, and was slain. The year following it was that God added sixteen years to the life of *Ezechia*, when he had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same year was that miracle seen of the Suns going back; of which vvonder (as I hear) one *Eurtholomew Scalliet*, who is much commended

for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fifth of April, in the Julian year, being then Thursday. I have not seen any vvorks of *Scalliet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth year of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore vve may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usual in like cases, that *Abaz slept with his Fathers*, & *Ezechia his Son reigned in his stead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not vvith his Father, than the like saying doth infer the like at the death of *Jehosaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; vvhereof, as concerning the beginning of the Son to reign vv whilst his Father lived, vve have already said enough. Of this godly King *Ezechia*, vve find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeale. For vv whether it were so, that his unfortunate and ungracious father (who had out vvorn his reputation) gave vvay to his Sons proceedings, vv which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think) of the first year and first month of his reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doors of the Temple, vv were to be understood as the beginning of his sole government; vv we plainly find it to have been his first vvork, that he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, vv which *Abaz* had shut up, cleansed the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices and estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many years neglected, and brake down the brazen serpent of *Moses*, because the

people burnt incense before it, and he called it *Nebuchitan*, which signifieth a lump of braile. He did also celebrate the passe-over with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this feast: But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezechia* to scorn.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* servitude, fell into a new servitude; out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with so King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Affria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve* in whose Seats and Places the *Affrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*: as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamab*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These latter *Affrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first of whom we find mention made both in *Prophane* and *Sacred* books. These therefore serve most aptly to joyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise then fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, vvith other *Affrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speak of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, vvho reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, and of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, vvhom he carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolemy* makes mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he was the same whom *Ptolemy*, calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Euchlerus* hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact

calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same *Euchlerus* alledged out of *Erasmus Reinboldus*, in the *Prænotick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolemy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Hezekia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Funnius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three years: the self-same distance of time is found in *Ptolemy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For whereas *Ptolemy* seems to suffer from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, we are to understand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the account of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolemy*, *Ptolemies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seven years. Now if we add to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nebuchadnezzar* years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we have the sum of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofes are needless, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolemy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar*, one hundred twenty and two years after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in account of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematical observations do so thoroughly concur.

Yet so far as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, where by he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the

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next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolemy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign is, according to *Ptolemy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven years, seventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the account from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty six of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolemy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Son of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Son of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if he might be either the Nephew, or the Son; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Country-man *Lidat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, do hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*, I have taken the pains to search, as far as my leisure & diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet cannot I find in the *Almagest* (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or adverse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this business) any sentence more nearly proving the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as near succession of *William the Conqueror*, declares him, to have been Son, or Grand-child to *Edmund the Confessor*. This considered, we may safely go on with our account from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, so far as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon*

and *Affria*, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolemy* are assigned to *Belofus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good History naming any others that reigned there in those ages; and all Astro-nomical observations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of *Judæa* from *Senacherib*.

WHEN *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Senacherib* in possession of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grandfather of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanassar*, invited by *Abaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damascus*, and delivered him from the dangerous War which *Israel* had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgment when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it seems) a purpose to invade *Egypt*, sent one part of his Army to lye before *Jerusalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerful Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, wherewith he presented *Senacherib*, now set down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hostages, the *Affrian* invironed *Jerusalem* with a gross Army, and having his sword in his hand, thought it the fittest time to write his own conditions.

Ezechias directed his three great Courtiers, to parly with *Rabfases* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who used three principal arguments to perswade the people to yield themselves to his Master *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezechias*, desired *Rabfases* to speak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the *Jewish*, yet he with a louder voice directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a short time be informed to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judeans* hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whosoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should help them, *Ezechias* had formerly

broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by some) the brazen Serpent, which had been preserved ever since *Moses* time: and withall he bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown down; and for God himself, in whom they trusted, he perswaded them by no means to rely upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerful Army, he himself left the *Assyrian* forces in charge to others, and fought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judea*, either to inform him of their resolution in *Jerusalem*, or to confer with him concerning the Army of *Turbaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly advised, and partly threatened to submit himself, using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerful God, as before. But *Ezechias* sending those Counsellors to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabfacer*, received from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also besought aid from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Senacherib*'s letter, before the Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, That the King of *Asshur* had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the works of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.

Thereupon that moved *Senacherib* to desire to possess himself in haste of *Jerusalem*, was, that he might thence have retraiated his Army, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelufium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Turbaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these Books of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, I speak but of the affairs of the Jews in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria*: which he might justly do, because *Tiglat* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petraea* adjoining: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcan*'s Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Senacherib*'s return from *Pelufium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an in-

numerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in funder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Turbaca*, remembered by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the seven and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise ^{fol. ent. l. 10. c. 1. Her. l. 1. cap. l. 1.}, reports *Senacherib*'s retreat in these words: *Pugnasse autem Senacherib Regem Assyriorum contra Egyptum, & obsidisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiende, venisse Taracham Regem Aethiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem, centum octoginta quinque milia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corripisse, narrat Herodotus: & plenissime Berosus Chaldaice scriptor Historie, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That Senacherib King of the Assyrians fought against the Egyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Moats were built for the taking of the City, Tarbachas King of the Ethiopians came to help them, and that in one night, near Jerusalem, one hundred eighty five thousand of the Assyrian Army perished by pestilence; of these things (saith Hierome) * *Herodotus reports: and more at large Berosus a writer of Chaldaean Story, whose credit is to be taken from their own Books. Out of Herodotus Esay it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Army was in this manner: Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with thunder and shaking, and a great noise, a whirlwind, and a tempest, and a flame of devouring rustles, fire. But Josephus hath it more largely out of the same Berosus, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacheribus autem ab Egyptia bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem sub Rabfacis imperio reliquerat peste divinitus immisiss delectum, prima nocte post eamque Urbem oppugnare cepisset, abnuptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque milibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regium quem Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Seniorum & filius suis, Adramelech, & Sennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur Araci, quem precipuo cultu dignabatur; quibus ob patricidium a populo rursus pulsus, & in Armeniam fugientibus, Astarcolidas minor filius in Regnum successit; Senacherib (saith Josephus) returning from god, the Egyptian War, found there his Army, which he had left under the command of Rabfacer, destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault**

assault the Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withall afraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sons, Adramelech and Sennemur or Sharzer, he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to Araceles, or Nefroth; Whom he especially worshipped. These his Sons being for their paricide chased away by the people, and flying into Armenia, Astarcolidas his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of Assyria to Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father Salmanassar. What this Nefroth was, it is uncertain: Hierome in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that Venus Urania was worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was Jupiter Belus, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his Sons had to murder him; but the most likely it is, that he had formerly disinherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Affaraddon*. *Tobit* tells us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacherib*'s returne, ere he was murdered by his Sons, during which time he flew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineveh*, till the most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

§. III.

Of *Ezechias* his sickness and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

AFTER this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiab* that he must dye: but after he had besought God with tears for his deliverie, *Isaiab*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* somewhat doubtful of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a sign to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiab*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it self the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moved *Ezechias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *David*, or at least of his Seed. His diseale seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit,

a masse of Figs, laid to the Borch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wife-men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezechias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiab*, who told him; The dayes are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, shall be carried into *Babel*, nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how *Ezechias* should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezechias* richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezechias* had rest, and spending without noise that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twenty years. One only offensive War he made, which was against the *Philistines*, with good success. As for his other acts (shortly remembered in *Ecclesiasticus*) he devied to bring vvater to *Jerusalem*.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoiced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason vvith moved *Ezechias* (speaking humanely) to entertain the Embassadors of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, vvas because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakened the house of *Senacherib*, his fearfull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, usurped that State himself, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Affaraddon*; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembering that their ancestor *Paul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawful for himself to take the opportunity which this Kings weakness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the others wickedness, and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerful, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed, the assertion of this history is made by the same arguments

ments that were in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut afunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

<i>Phul Belochus</i>	} reigned	{ 48 27 10 7 10 } years.
<i>Tiglab Philaffar</i>		
<i>Salmanaffar</i>		
<i>Senacherib</i>		
<i>Affabaddon</i>		

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanaffar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdom, so have been an hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezekia*, under *Salmanaffar*, *Senacherib*, and *Affabaddon*.

§. IV.

The Kings that were in Media during the reign of Ezekia: Of the difference found between sundry Authors in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of Ezekia: Of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezekia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in several Histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, have caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion, or whether the Copies themselves of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversly reported of these *Median* Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reigns thus:

<i>Arbaces</i>	} reigned	{ 28 50 30 50 22 49 22 } years.
<i>Mandanes</i>		
<i>Sofarmon</i>		
<i>Articarmin</i>		
<i>Arbaces</i>		
<i>Artues</i>		
<i>Astybanus</i> , with his son <i>Apana</i>		
<i>Apana</i> alone		
<i>Darius</i> with <i>Cyrus</i>		
<i>Diodorus Siculus</i> following <i>Ctesias</i> (as perhaps <i>Annius</i> made his <i>Metasthenes</i> follow <i>Diodore</i> , with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus;		

<i>Arbaces</i>	} reigned	{ 28 50 30 50 22 42 22 40 } years.
<i>Mandanes</i>		
<i>Sofarmon</i>		
<i>Articas</i>		
<i>Arbaces</i>		
<i>Artues</i>		
<i>Artines</i>		
<i>Artabanus</i>		
<i>Astybara</i>		
<i>Astyages</i>		

the continuance of these two he doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon *Ctesias* and *Metasthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbaces*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces</i>	} reigned	{ 28 30 40 15 54 24 32 38 } years.
<i>Sofarmon</i>		
<i>Medidus</i>		
<i>Cardiceas</i>		
<i>Deioceas</i>		
<i>Phraortes</i>		
<i>Cyaxares</i>		
<i>Astyages</i>		
<i>Arbaces</i>		
<i>Sofarmon</i>		

These names, and this course of succession I retain; but adde unto these, *Cyaxares*, the son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent,

concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Aphanes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I hear nothing, save that *Rome* was built in his first year; of which perhaps himself did not hear. Of the second and third I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be locked up in a Horle, giving to neither of them any food; so the Horle, constrained by hunger devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the first King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reign both before, and somewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the last King ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called *Aeonia*. *Lydus* the son of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe such authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcaeus* the son of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heracidae* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the son of *Myrillus* was the last of his race, who doated so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the son of

Dafylus to behold her naked body, and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So *Gyges* being brought again into the same chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the last of *Ezekia* one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halysattes*, fifty seven, and finally *Cresus* the son of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who lost the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Persia*.

And here by the way we may note that as the *Lydian* Kings whom *Cresus* his Progenitor disposed, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which governed several Countreys very long; as in *Asia*, the *Myrians*, in *Greece*, the *Lacedemonians*, *Messenians*, *Rhodian*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewise from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracians*: besides many great and famous, though private families.

But of the *Heracidae* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled myself to take notice of the time of their several reigns: for little is found of them beside the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekiah in Juda when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Vice-roys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his History of the Holy War.

THE emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mighty Kingdoms of *Egypt* and *Assyrians*, do require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and letting down briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the mastery. Of *Cham* the son of *Noah*, who first planted that Country, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings that reigned there, until the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fall in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned

reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as Joseph was, and such as were the Soldans in latter ages. Therefore I will not only forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names only are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amiss to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our Saviour Christ was removed only forty two descents; which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the Persian Empire, there could not have passed away time as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest whose names we find scattered here and there; any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the Holy Warr, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily persuade himself, that it is not hard to find names enough, of such as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahadeb* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtle man, made himself Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of *Jerusalem*, and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalrick* made upon Egypt. hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt. Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damisco*, for ayde, who sends an Armie of

his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, against the Soldan *Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: For in few days after, he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and freinds of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the Caliph *Elhadeb* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdom, whilst he might have the profit of it, and his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do neerly touch the Caliph himselfe. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They sitze upon the Town of *Belleis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damisco*, for the conquest of all Egypt. The Soldan perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much lesse to expell the Turkish Armie that was likely to second them: He therefore sends Messengers to King *Amalrick* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises he gets to bring him ayde, and so drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble the great Caliph hears nothing, or not so much as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the Caliph *Elhadeb* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the Turks that had been in Egypt, goes to the Caliph of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Soveraignty over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakness of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing service in those parts; offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into Egypt. The noyle of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Amalrick*, that with all his forces he hasteth into Egypt, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to keep the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him:

him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drove the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the Caliph, as yet, seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in title only, who meddled so little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to King *Amalrick*, upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of Egypt, for this behoveful assistance. But the Christians understanding that the Soldan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the Caliph himself. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cesarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are sent unto *Elhadeb* to ratifie the covenants. Now shall we see the greatness of the Caliph and his estate.

These Embassadors were conveyed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great Troops of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders lead them into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of Embassadors, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with embossed Works, curious Pavements, Fishponds of Marble with clear Waters, and many sorts of strange Birds, unknown in those parts of the World, as coming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was their magnificence; for the Caliph his Eunuchs conveyed them into other Courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpass ordinary houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how the further they entered, the more high state they found, and cause of marvelle; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they

were brought into the Caliph's own lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded; where entering the Presence, the Soldan having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the Caliph sat. Presently the traverse wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the Caliph himself discovered, sitting with great Majesty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his most inward servants and Eunuchs about him. When the Soldan had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his coming, the danger, wherein the Land stood, and the offers that he made unto King *Amalrick*, desiring the Caliph himself to ratifie them in presence of the Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That he would thoroughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the Egyptians that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatness condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cesaria* saw that the Caliph gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holes to hide it self; Princes that will hold Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and sincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much ado there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yield so far. But when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheer (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earl spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors with such rewards as testified his greatness.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the mean season, using all Royal power; making War and Peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary.

to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to Joseph, when Pharaoh said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I do not commend this form of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the Egyptians ever since Joseph's time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for Pharaoh. Herein I find his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs practised by the Pharaohs. For we find, that even the Ptolemies (excepting Ptolemaeus Lagi, and his son Philadelphus, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom to Women, Eunuchs, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life, and the awful regard wherein the Egyptians held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroys governing Egypt, is set down by Moses, and that a lively example of the same is found in William of Tyre, who lived in the same age, was in few years after Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and had full discourse with Hingul Earl of Cesaria touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have honoured with that title; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

§. II.

Of Acherrres; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. Of Osymandyas and his Tomb.

IN this business I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as Diadorus varies from Herodotus, Eusebius from both of them; and late Writers that have sought to gather the truth out of these and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this case Amnius would do good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him when others do either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in laying somewhat of Osiris, Isis, Orus, and those antiquities removed so far out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice that Herodotus, Diadorus, and Eusebius have not been silent, and that Reineccius hath taken pains to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, unto the reign of Thooris (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call Proteus) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in Eusebius, and give to every one the same length of reign.

Acherrres was the first of these, who succeeded unto Chencres, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seems to Reineccius to be the same whom Diadorus calls Uchoreus, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in Diadorus of a great King named Osymandyas, from whom Uchoreus is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that Timans (as Reineccius conjectures) was the great Osymandyas; or else that this Acherrres was Uchoreus: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mercator judgeth Osymandyas to have been the husband of Ancheres, Orus the seconds daughter; thinking that Manethon (cited by Josephus) doth omit his name, and insert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for Uchoreus, it troubles not Mercator to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes Ogdous, not to signify in this place of Diadore (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an

Egypt-

Egyptian name, belonging also to Uchoreus, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the unprofitable use of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that Diadore hath found of this Osymandyas, was wrought upon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the siege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which Diadore so particularly describes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroys; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many statues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement seat, the receiving of Tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattell and food: all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the severall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of Osymandyas was this inscription. *I am Osymandyas King of Kings; if any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my works. Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, or where I lie, it should seem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was Joseph, whose body was preserved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of Canaan; and this empty monument might King Orus, who out lived him, erect in honour of his high deserts, among the royall sepulchres. To which purpose the plenty of Cattell and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of Osymandyas doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing Joseph had one new name given him by Pharaoh, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another to his increase of honour. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerberg, as the Turkish Bassies are called, that is, Great above the Great.*

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of Joseph & Acherrres (for Acherrres was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great Orus, whose Viceroy Joseph was) yet will I hereby seek, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching Joseph, nor to infer any likelihood of Acherrres his being Uchoreus. For it might

well be that Memphis was built by some such King as was Gebour, Lieutenant unto the Caliph Elcain; who having to his Matters else conquered Egypt, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great Cite of Cairo (corruptly so pronounced) naming it El Cabira; that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistrifles, though he himself were a Desolation slave.

§. III.

Of Cherrres, Armeus, Ramesses, and Amemphis. Of Myris, and the Lake that bears his name.

WHEN Arherres had reigned eight years, Cherrres succeeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then reigned Armeus five years, and after him Ramesses threecore and eight. Of Armeus and Ramesses is that Historie understood by Eusebius, which is common among the Greeks, under the names of Danaus and Egyptus. For it is said that Danaus, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers sistre sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that only Hiparamestra, one of his Daughters, did save her husband Linceus, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloody sisters, when they dyed, were enjoined this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessel with water.

The reign of Danaus in Argos was indeed in this ages; but that Armeus was Danaus, and Ramesses, Egyptus, is more than Reineccius believes: he rather takes Armeus to have been Myris, or Meris, who caused the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can easily believe, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom we spake before; so do I not find how in so short a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finished, which was required unto the Lake of Attris, and the Monuments therein; whereof his owne Sepulchre and his wives being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of Myris, and of all other Kings, whose age is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them

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were those of *Joseph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehor*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributary; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fifty fadoms deep. It served to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow, being too great, was harmful to the Country: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the sluices of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the lake it self defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy sweet Ointments and other Ornaments for her body. In the midst of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramid, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fifty paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armenus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armes* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reigned one year and odd months of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After *Rameses*, his son *Amenophis* held the Kingdom forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already spoken in the first Book.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the *Larthes*.

Sethos, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty five years. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftris*. But the state of the World was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesoftris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten

in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronological Table, and consider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynasty of the *Larthes*; which *Reimceus* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Larthes*, (the *Hetrurians* being illud out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The Wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the *Ethiopian*s: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Country of *Palestina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert sands, on the other hand, to seek matter of conquest, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But these Generals (if the *Larthes* were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the first; in such sort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unsuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the Viceroy. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroy, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For so we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Sovereignty to himself) had under him a Viceroy, (titled *Eddagadare*, who had authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almost as great as the Soldans own. Yee was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Soldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroy continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it kills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diopolitans*; or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth

Dynasty

§. V.

Dynasty was called of the Shepherds, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sefac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

Rameses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethos*, threescore and six years. He is mistaken for that second *Sesoftris*, of whom I have spoken in the first book. I find nothing worth rehearsal of this *Rameses*, or of *Amenophis* and *Anememes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the latter six and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Thoris, the last of the *Larthes*, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have been that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helen* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thoris* his reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seem to be under-Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about *Pharos*, and the sea-coast where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is said that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himself into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptune*'s Seal-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admiral, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Remember the son of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramissitus*, and tells a long tale fit to please children of his covetousness, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

Of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of *Egypt*, according to *Cedrenus*. Of *Vaphres* and *Sefac*.

Many other names of Egyptian Kings are found scattered here and there; as *Tonepheris*, of whom *Suidas* delivers only the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepor*, mentioned in *Macrobins*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas* for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iceland*; and that he consulted with the Devil, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had been, or after him should be so mighty as himself. The answer or confession of the Devil was remarkable; which I find Englished in the translation of *Pleffis* his work Of the truest of Christian Religion. The *Greek* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First God, and next The Word, and then
The Spirit,
Which Three be One, and joyn in One all
Three:
Whose force is endless. Get thee hence frail
Wight,
The man of Life unknown, and wretch thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath heretofore, as the form of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause of his giving name to the Island: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture; but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of old

old Egyptian Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets down, is *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: *Nimrod* the son of *Chus* was also called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to Wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chafing his Father out of *Assyria* into *Italy*, reigned in his stead thirty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned only two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdom, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italy* to visit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forthwith reigned the Kingdom unto him. *Picus* *Jupiter* reigned in *Italy* three years and two years, had three score and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lies buried in the Isle of *Crete*. The Principal of *Jupiter*'s sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercury*: he reigned in *Italy*, after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury* *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sofis*, *Ofiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their several reigns is not set down. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesoftris* King twenty years. His successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narcho*, that held the Crown fifty years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long posterity.

These reports of *Credennus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiosity, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the assiter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clement* *Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in

the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Army, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomon*'s wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept to many Wives and Concubines, besides this Egyptian Princess. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been fix and twenty years, if he were that *Sennacherib* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth Dynasty.

Now so far as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unless therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jebojakim* King of *Juda*, in which *Pharao* *Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which account, the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomon*'s reign, and the twenty six of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Sesac* spoiled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacrilege no longer than *Josias* the *Israhelite*, and *Cassius* the *Roman* did; who after him spoiled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those Kings that I find in the Greek Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor A^d recorded elsewhere, save only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Aethiopian*, which got the Kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esa*, that the Councilors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, in so much that they said of *Pharaoh*, I am the son of the wife, *Esa* 19. I am the son of the ancient King. But that which overthroweth the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This error grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israhel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israhel* is made to reign three years

years after *Ahabaz* of *Juda*; *Samar* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezechia* was King; and in a word, all, or most of the Kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

Of *Chemnis*, *Cheops*, *Cephrenes*, and other Kings recited by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* *Siculus*, which reigned between the times of *Rehoboam* and *Ezechia*.

Following therefore the Greek Historians, I place *Chemnis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemmis*, first in the rank of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramids, which was accounted one of this Worlds Wonders. The Pyramid hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottom upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being four-square, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was about six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand years, without complaining of any injury that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus* *Cesar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand years; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramids, late Writers do testifie, that they have seen them yet standing.

After *Chemnis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his Brother; but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabres* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabres*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reigns may argue the latter to have been son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty years; *Cephrenes* fifty six. These were, as *Chemnis* had been, builders of Pyramids, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had overlaboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramids were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, and to have called their Monuments by the name of an *Heardman* that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poor fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies;

otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother or son, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did prostitute her, and that the getting of every man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike he was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Father's provisions.

Mycerinus the son of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father six years. He would have built as his fore-goes did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatened him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt* should have been assisted an hundred and fifty years; which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six years. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Country impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lye in the power of a King to alter destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were Egyptian gods. The true god was doubtless more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemnis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his Egyptian superstition? Most sure it is, that his reign, and the reigns of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to de-lude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reineccius* fifty years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have been some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversights: For I know no Author that

that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, and excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyrus* whom *Sudas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certain ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Afchis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Afchis* made a Pyramid of brick, more costly and fair, in his own judgment, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Afchis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Amyris*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reigns of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six years; and so long doth *Fundinus*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable that the reigns of two Kings should have been so soon spent; he may do it by taking some years from *Seton* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To add unto these without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witness of *Herodotus*, who, concurring here in with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacherib's* War, at which time *Seton* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore add years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Seton* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envy to leave both *Afchis* and *Amyris* out of the roll, which were easily done by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years

further, or more (if the like abridgment shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the Kingdom from *Amyris*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a merciful Prince, not punishing all capital offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toil he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Country. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hofea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seems, that the encroaching power of the *Affrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phalassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so far into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his days (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Pul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacherib's* Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed ^{1 King. 18.} had *Hofea* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabshake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Chariots* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needful, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it self, which *So* left unto *Seton* his Succellor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired unto *Ethiopia*, because it was often signified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reign should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he flew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdom. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to do them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had property

property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be some device of the fearful old man, who seeing his Realm in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and withdrawing himself into *Ethiopia*, whither he had been bred in his youth. What if I should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, wherof *Tirhaca* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Army against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? but I will not trouble my self with much enquiry. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* house) but only so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the Kingdom from *Amyris*, who was his opposite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the Kingdom so long without an Army, and many other circumstances argue no less, but whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speak of *Seton* his next Succellor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

Of *Seton* who reigned with *Ezechia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

The first year of *Seton's* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fifth of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; to the two great Kingdoms of *Affria* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a War, the issue whereof was to determine whether of them should rule or serve. The *Affrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better provision of necessities: the *Affrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered half Subjects of *Affur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Affrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his own great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so near and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia*

and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his especial confidence in God, held that court of policy, which he thought most likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judea* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to fear any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the *Affrians*, and so became forgetful of God, taking counsel, but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giving the people of *Juda* to understand, that the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and their *Esay* 31. 1. *Horses* flesh, and not spirit; that God himself should defend *Israel* upon repentance, and that *Affur* should fall by the sword; but not of *Esay* 30. 7. *man*. As for the *Egyptians* (said the Prophet) they are vanity, and they shall help in vain: their strength is to sit still. *Esay* 3. 4.

According to the Prophets words it came to pass. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Loan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jews* by *Seton*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of *Horses* and *Chariots*, that they did not look (as *Esay* saith) unto the holy One of *Israel*, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, and awakened them out of these dreams; for *Seton* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did seem far off, being unready, when his help was most needful. It may seem that he purposed rather to make *Palestina*, than *Egypt*, the stage whereon this great War should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Affrians* and *Jews*, weakening one another, should yield unto him a fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with money; for he sent *Horses* and *Camels* laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures mis-carried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in fore distress, till the sword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Affrian*, who did go, for fear, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Ninewe*, where he was slain. *Esay* 31. 9.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Seton* their King, who had taken away their allowance, re-

fused to bear arms in defence of him and their Country; that *Setbon* being *Vulcan's* Priest bemoaned himself to his god, who by dream promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Setbon*, with such as would follow him, (which were craft-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelsum*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the Camp of *Senacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to fly away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription, *Let him that holds me serve God*. Such was the relation of the Egyptian Priests, wherein how far they swayed from the truth, being desirous to magnify their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Setbon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest, happy it was (if *Setbon* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if the merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were half against the gods will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the Egyptian manner of expressing things) the shameful issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Army, by means which came no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to piety. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief

Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Devil helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Devil, I hold it very likely, that *Setbon* finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods; that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as were most given to Idolatry) would have been ashamed of the confidence which they reposed in the Chariots of *Egypt*, because they were many, and in the Horfemen, because they were very strong; had it been told them, that *Setbon*, instead of sending those Horfemen and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good luck; or else (for these also were Egyptian gods) addressing their prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the Prophecy of *Esay* took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame & also a reproach*. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it will hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Setbon* to have been set down by *Eusebius* under the name of *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Setbon*. These have well observed that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at least an enemy to *Senacherib*, in the war last spoken of; the *Ethiopians* (as they are englihed) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chushites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirbaka* is placed in the room of *Setbon*, and therefore give to *Setbon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his account, after the death of *Senacherib* and of *Ezechias*, in the first year of *Manasses* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Setbon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Setbon* reigned; *Fundius* peremptorily citing no Author, nor alleging reason for it, sets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him are not careful

ful to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first; for measuring the reigns of these Egyptian Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Reboam*, unto the fourth of *Jochojakim*, I do divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Setbon*. By this account I find the thirty three years that are set down

by *Fundius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Setbon's* reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year less. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the Egyptian affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it meet that I return.



CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.

Manasse the Son of *Ezechias*, brought upon them the Captains of the Host of forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was rehed by that aged and reverent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet near unto the Fountain of *Silo*, to be lawn in sunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord

brought upon them the Captains of the Host of forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devil was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Devil *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

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§. II.

Of troubles in *Egypt* following the death of *Setbon*: The reign of *Pammiticus*.

That the wickedness of King *Manasses* was the cause of the evil which fell upon

on his Kingdome and person, any Christian must needs believe: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the World such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends, desirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the Kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civil dissention, and after two years ill amended by a division of the government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meer *Anarchia* that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the Kingdom following it, is placed by *Diodore* who omitteth *Setbon*; but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocracy*, or twelve Governours immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Setbon*.

The occasion of this dissention seems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that Kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled until one had obtained the Sovereignty.

These twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made fruit covenant and alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcan's* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilst this unity lasted, they joynted together in raising a Monument of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, vvho be- holding it, affirms) no vvords could give it commendation answerable to the stateliness of the vvork itself, I vvill not here set down that imperfect description vvich *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say that he prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of vvich (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest vvorks in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the work of *Atarus* or *Menides*, a King vvich vvith five generations before *Proteus*; that is before the Warr of

Troy, and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Deidalus* took the pattern of that vvich he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Atarus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reyneccius* takes him to have bin *Annenes*, vvich reigned immediately before *Thorus*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*, for *Dadalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annenes* was King. Belike *Reyneccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Atanethon*, *Cheremon* and others, that are found in *Josephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children to the story of *Amasis* and *Affianes*; the *Ethiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethon's* *Amonophis* to be *Deidorus* his *Amasis*; that *Setbon* should be *Affianes*, and that *Annenes* should be *Atarus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times vvich we now handle are those about vvich *Reyneccius* hath erred in making search *Amasis* was *Avstis*, *Affianes* was *Sabacus*; and *Atarus* was one of these twelve Princes to vvhom *Herodotus* gives the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Affianes* the *Ethiopian* deplored *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deplored *Anstis*; *Affianes* governed vvell, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marns* the next King after *Affianes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (saying *Setbon*, vvhom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same vvork, according to *Herodotus*, vvho was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and the difference of times wherein *Diodore* believed the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, vvich was familiar vvith them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might add, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, do help to prove that it was the vvork of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcan's* Temple, vvhen they were to make their drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth no more than eleven Cups. Hereupon, *Psammiticus*, vvho standing last, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor; yet, vvhen they found that it was done by him vvpon set purpose or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, vvich

I believe to have bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by vvhole aid he vvanguilt his Companions, and made himself sole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fifty four; according to *Eusebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly vvith the Princes, before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme age, if he ruled partly vvith others, partly alone, three score and nine years. I therefore vvield rather to *Eusebius*; but vvill not adventure to cut five years from the *Aristocracy*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, vvich troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the fit of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jobshakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Setbon's* reign, that was of uncertain length, or else (vvich I had rather do, because *Fundius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself alledged, in giving to *Setbon* a time so nearly agreeing vvith the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign vvith the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, vvich are set down in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many years as are ascribed unto them, vvithout any fractions: it is enough to think that the surplusage of one mans times supplyed the defect of another. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, vvherein the twelve Princes ruled, vvith the first of *Psammiticus*; vvho surely did not fall out vvith his Companions, fight vvith them, and make himself Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt* vvho entertained any strait amity vvith the *Greeks*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to vvhom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left vving of his Army, vvich

his Mercenaries held the right vving (vvich was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made in *Syria*. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their natural Country of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messages, nor by the King himself, vvho overtook them on the way; but vvhen he told them of their Country, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Country, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such sort, as they might not hear any vvord spoken; by vvich means, he hoped to find out vvhat Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that Language vvich men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Becus, Becus*, vvich vvord being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnify the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius*, *Beccanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in vvich the vvord *Becker* signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that vvill turn over any part of *Goropius* his vvorks, may find enough of this kind, to persuade a vvilling man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarchs used none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*, the name it self of *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talk one knew not vvhat.

But I vvill not insist upon all that is vvritten of *Psammiticus*. The most remarkable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about vvich he spent nine and twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any City endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Town of *Azotus* had been vvon by *Tartian* a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemed, relieved, but in vvain, by the *Babylonian*, vvich made it hold out so vvell.

§. III.

What reference these *Egyptian* matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of *Manasses*. In vvhat part of his reign *Manasses* was taken prisoner.

Where it certainly known, in vvhat year of his reign *Manasses* was taken prisoner,

soner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think we should find these Egyptian troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their own business, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civil Wars of Egypt that followed upon the death of *Setbon*, or the rearing of the Kingdom, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the War between *Psalmitticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Psalmitticus* into Syria, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister unto the Babylonian, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or such necessity of sending an Army into those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure work with the King of *Juda*. The same occasion sufficed also to procure the delivery of *Manasse*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, win his Country, but onely wast it. So that the Jews, having learned wit by the ill success of their folly, in redeeming *Amazias*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the Babylonian (to whom the Egyptian matters presented more weighty argument of hope and fear, than the little Kingdom of *Juda* could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the Jews, he might make his way the fairer into Egypt.

Now concerning the year of *Manasse* his reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornielius* three opinions: the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasse* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chronology, who affirms, that it was in his twenty seventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who saith, that he was forty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen years after his repentance. The first of their conjectures is upheld by *Tornielius*, who rejects the second, as more improbable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Tornielius* in defence of the first, and refutation of the opinion, are such, as may rather prove him to favour the Cardinal as far as he may, (for

where need requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgment. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon* the son of *Manasse*, is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasse* grown old in his sins, it is like that he should have continued, as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manasse* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them works of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve years old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) until he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearful thing, to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not foraken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with final impenitence. But against these two collections of *Tornielius*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manasse* continued longer in his wickedness than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the second book of *Kings*, the evil which *Manasse* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life: the storie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of *Manasse*, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of 17. the Chronicles of the Kings of *Juda*? the other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the same Book, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehoiakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasse*, it is said; Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon *Juda*, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of *Manasse*, according to all that he did, and for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasse* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seven years old, he repented, and

and becoming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civil dissensions in Egypt fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdom was weakened by partition of the Sovereignty: the war of *Psalmitticus* against his Associates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasse*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the Babylonian, whose men of war had continual occasions of visiting his Country. All which I will add hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasse* was the last year of *Setbon* in Egypt, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Ashaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasse* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psalmitticus*, and the fifth of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Merodach*, in Babylon: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

This was the first great masterie that the Babylonians had of the kingdom of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* never paid it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Senacherib*'s enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasse* being preffed with great necessity, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the Babylonian would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the Egyptians, whilst they were enemies to Babylon. This appears not only by his fortifying with men of war all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psalmitticus*, whose party he had forsaken than against the Babylonian, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason and policie, if it had not been his duty by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Wars, which were in the reigns of *Ezechias* and *Manasse*, Kings of *Juda*.

Now concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasse*, the most remarkable were the Messenian Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, between the Trojan and Persian Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first Messenian War began and ended in the daies of *Ezechias*; the second in the reign of *Manasse*: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needless, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driving the Iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Acheans* out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdoms of *Lacedaemon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a vvhile, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; whereof these Messenian were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Messenian war are scarce worth remembrance, they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it; yvherewith the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alledged, namely, that one *Polycharis* a Messenian had slain many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yielded in to their hands, could not obtain it. The Messenians on the other side, excused *Polycharis*, for that he was grown franticke, through injuries received from *Euphros*, a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Euphros* had bargained to give pasture to the Catel of *Polycharis*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Catel, and slaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive he carried the son of *Polycharis* home with him, but having him at home, he villanously flew him: Wherefore the *Lacedaemonians* having refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father,

Father, to do him right against this Theife and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of thofe things which he did in that madnefs, whereinto they themfelves had caft him. So faid the *Meffenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compremife, or ftand unto the judgement of the *Amphigyonians*, who were as the general Council of Greece, or to any other fair courfe. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great defire to occupy the fair Country of *Meffene*, that lay clofe by them, were not content with fuch allegations. They thought it enough to have fome fhew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and fo without fending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold War with *Meffene* till they had maffered it: which done, they feized upon *Amphias*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few efaped.

Hereupon the *Meffenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battel was fought between them, which ended not until dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Meffenians* did ftrongly encamp themfelves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the fecond year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firft of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lafted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces, the *Lacedæmonians* wafting the inland parts of *Meffene*; and the *Meffenians*, the Sea-coaft of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both fides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Meffene*; the *Spartans* had, befides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a fecond, third, and fourth battel were fought, with as great obftinacy as the firft; faving that in the fourth battel the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was ftill uncertain, though in one of them the *Meffenians* loft *Euphaes* their King, in whole ftead they chofe *Ariftothemus*.

Many years were fpent ere all this blood was fhed; for peftilent difeafes, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caufed the war to linger. And for the fame reafons, did the *Meffenians* forfake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, vvvhich vvvas a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as fome Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* vvvere fo obftinate in this War, becaufe of their vow, that having abfented themfelves

ten years from *Sparta*, their wives fent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reafon that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they fent back all their ableft young men, promifcually to accompany the young women, who got fo many of them with child; as they became a great part of their Nation; and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of thefe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in procefs of this *Meffenian* War, when the Devil in an Oracle had advifed the *Meffenians* to facrifice a Virgin of the flock of *Ægyptus*, that fo they might be victorious againft the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyficles*, *Epibolus* the Prieft, willing to fave her, faid, the was only a foftered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyficles*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyficles* feeretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariftothemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwife he could not prevail, faid openly that ſhe was no Virgin, but that he had defoured her, & got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly to difprove the Lovers ſlander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other ſuperftitions, into difpair of prevailing againft the *Lacedæmonians*, he flew himſelf, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loved moft dearly. For after his death the *Meffenians* loft their courage, and finding themfelves diſtreſſed by many warts, eſpecially of viduals, they craved peace, which they obtained with moft rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to fend unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make ſolemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were alfo ſworn to live in true ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was given to the *Aſines*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this War.

This peace being made upon ſo uneven terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Meffenians* not finding how to help themſelves) and then brake out into a new and more furious War than the former. The able young men, that vvvere grown up in the room of thoſe *Meffenians* vvvhom the former War had conſumed, began to conſider their own ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelves equal to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore ſcorned

to ſerve ſuch Maſters as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chief of theſe was *Ariftothemus*, a Noble Gentleman of the houſe of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform deſires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpoſe, began open war upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their own without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battel was fought between them, and a doubtfull; ſave that the *Meffenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords to think them their equals. Particularly; the valour of *Ariftothemus* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, reſuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their General. Within unto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to help; the *Meffenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloody fight; but *Ariftothemus* did fo behave himſelf, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of ſuch importance was this victory, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to beſthink themſelves of making ſome good agreement. But one *Tyrtaeus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their ſpirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariftothemus* took by ſurprize a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all thoſe victories of *Ariftothemus* perriſhed, in the loſs of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariftothemus*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meffenians* expoſed to a cruel butchery. The loſs was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their principal City, all the Towns of *Meffene*, ſtanding too far from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was convey-

ed into a place of ſafety. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For beſides that *Era* it ſelf was a ſtrong piece, *Ariftothemus* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meffene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all proviſions, neceſſary for his own people, the Slaves and houſhold ſuffice he changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this miſchief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Ediſt, that neither *Meffene*, nor the adjoining parts of their own Country, ſhould be tilled or huſbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almoſt undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtaeus* appeaſed this uprore with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariftothemus* grew ſo bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, ſurprized, and ſackt *Amycla*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſervices, thrice *Ariftothemus* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very ſtrange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to ſet upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and ſelled to the ground, was taken up ſenſeleſs, and carried away priſoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt head-long ſuch as were condemned to dye for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariftothemus* and his companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poor men dyed with their falls; *Ariftothemus* (howſoever it came to paſs) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be impriſoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmall glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he be-thought himſelf, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, ſaved himſelf from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, until the way was too ſtrait for him; and

then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through a hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Arifomenes* delve so long with his nails, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Arifomenes* was returned home, their tale founded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was received. But when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily believed, that *Arifomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilest the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Arifomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lowdness the wife of a *Messenian*, and vvas entertained by her, vvhhen her husband vvent forth to vvatich. It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, vvhilst the Adulterer vvas within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by vvhhat good fortune hee vvas returned so soon. He told her, that the storm of foul vveather vvas such, as had made all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himself had done as the rest did; as for *Arifomenes*, he vvas vvwounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad neither vvas it to be feared, that the enemies vvwould stir in such a dark rainy night as this was. This slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Camp with the news. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Alarm was presently taken; and the extreame darkness, together with the noise of wind and rain, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruel fight; one part being incited by meer hope ending a long work, the other enraged by meer desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowness of the streets and other passages, which admitted not many to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continual toyl; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meat and sleep, and then re-

turning supplied the place of their weary fellows vvvith fresh Companions. *Arifomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for vvant of relief vvere no longer able to hold out, (as having been three days and three nights vexed vvvith all miseries, of labour, vvvatchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continual rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to break out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this; and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arifocrates* their fall-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Arifomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste into *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town secure, and ill manned, the people being run forth to the spoyl of *Messene*. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Arifocrates* marred all, by sending speedy advertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Arifocrates* was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falsehood, which being published in open assembly, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his body unburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note, That the Perjuror cannot deceive God.

Of *Arifomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people, to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governours, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make abroad in those parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally *Arifomenes* went with his

his daughter to *Rhodes*, when he purposed to have travelled unto *Arady* the Son of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* vvere invited by *Anaxilas* (vvhose great Grandfather vvas a *Messenian*, and vvent into *Italy* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhugians* in *Italy*, to take his part against the *Zanclean*s in *Sicily*, on the other side of the Strights. They did so; and vvvinning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, vvhich name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* war ended in the first year of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*. Long after vvhich time, the rest of that Nation, vvhoh staying at home served the *Lacedæmonians*, found means to rebel; but vvere soon vanquished, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they vvent into *Acarnania*; vvhence likewise, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Country-men into *Italy* and *Sicily*; some of them vvent into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourcore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customs, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country; with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, the great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair City; which by the name of the Province, was called *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *Manasses* reigned. Whether *Deioceus* the Mede were that *Arphaxad* which is mentioned in the Book of *Judith*. Of the History of *Judith*.

Arady King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war, *Arady* succeeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and forty years, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his father, vvhoh encroached upon the *Ionians*,

in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Arady* won *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grand-child, by whom they were driven out. He had not only broken into *Lydia*, but won the City of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadel thereof was defended against them and held still for King *Arady*; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King until the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was six years after the *Messenian* war ended; the same being the last years of *Manasses* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioceus the father of this *Phraortes*, vvas King of *Media*, three & fifty of these five and fifty years in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioceus* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioceus* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for defence of his person; he seldom gave presence; vvhich also vvhhen he did, it vvas vvvith such austerity, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awful regard, and highly upheld the Majesty which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that vvas done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others, but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioceus* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great City of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tamir*; and therefore he should be that King *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Judith*, as also *Beir* *Rhodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Nislofernes* sent to work wonders upon *Thul* and *Lud*, and I know

know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deiotes* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath been much labour spent with ill success. The reigns of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Oebus*, have been sought into, but afford no great matter of likelihood and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmino*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as Iain would) agree with him. Whilst *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the story of *Judith* is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, and who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this History; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Oebus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the business. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a return from captivity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Priest; and a long peace of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jews*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refused to assist; one that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy or Captain General knew not the Jewish Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivity, is found concurring, with either the time of *Manasse* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite,

are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivity of the *Jews*, and desolation of the City. Wherefore the brief decision of this controversy is, That the book of *Judith* is not Canonical. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deiotes*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he adds, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is, five or six years, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have been so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebellion; and that *Nabuchodonosor*, having vanquished and slain *Arphaxad*, might then seek to make himself Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth unto *Holofernes*. So should the *Jews* have done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereign Lord, and retreating one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affairs of *Jury* were agreeable to the History of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we shall need to think him: But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief from this conjecture; and the supposition itself is very hard, that a *Rebell*, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seventeen hundred thousand men, should presume so far, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horse back, as to think that he might do what he list, yea that there was none other God than himself. It is indeed easie to find enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonical, I would rather chioose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That he lived not in the Reign of *Manasse*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the

the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantasie, it is so plain that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stony field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Surely, to find out the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the South, and over against Arabia; or the Countries of *Phuland* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not buse my self here-with; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasse*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

The first year of *Manasse* was the last that *Romulus*; after whose death, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* chosen, a peaceable man, and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to some good civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstitions; as perfwading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were in his own judgement, no better than meer delusions, that served only as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of thieves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boisterous and wild natures were otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that

belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latine letters, which said, that *Numa Pompilius*, the son of the one *Cosius* was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and other seven of Philosophy. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the City desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived wherunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself unto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poison wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he late in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Books not come to light until the days of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure general) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confusion, without remedy, of idolatry that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and forty years in continual peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fortieth of *Manasse*, and reigned two and thirty years, buied, for the most part, in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thyrcanes*, caused them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionysius* says that they were Cousin Germans) of equal years and strength, who were appointed to fight for their several Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Companions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livy* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when

two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equal speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and set upon him at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* History, both in regard of the action it self, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were in a wager, against *Alba*; and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the City of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her own Colony, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governor, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother City, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, and divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) until such time as the fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subject of this History.

The seventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Governours for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Ablander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governours for ten years were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himself to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of

times; but hath noted alwaies the years of *the Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first year of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midras*, whom the Poets feigned to have had *Asies* ears, held the Kingdom of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch might immediately be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been starved (his meat and drink being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to swallow himself in the River *Pactolus*, the stream whereof hath ever since, forsooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moons Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesans*, or, (as *Ensebins* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a City on the East of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Milesans* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colony in *Egypt* by force.

About this time *Archias* and his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusa* in *Sicily*, a City in after times exceeding famous.

The City of *Nicodemia*, sometime **Asiacus*, whence was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samos*, first *Asiacus*, then a part of *Propontis* where this City stands.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusa*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedaemon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them

the first
43: 41.

*Penf. l. 5.
Hil. l. 5.
Strab. l. 6.
Justin. l. 3.
Penf. l. 10.*

them conquered and amplified: and about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the City *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Orbin* in *Italy*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenjes*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the o-

ther side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have been done in the five and fifty years of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough; the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.



CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon and Josias.

AAmmon the son of *Manasse*, a man no less wicked than his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his own servants against him, who slew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Eusebins*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda* and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his sight the Altars of *Baalim*: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stamp to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he crested the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and upon thee (saith the Prophet, speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee: a prophecy very remarkable.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Book of *Moses*, called *Deutronomy*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments there-

in written, the prosperity promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to ask counsel of the Prophets *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book; who answered the messengers in these words: *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book which they have read before the King of Juda, because they have forsaken me, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the King himself, because he was a lover of God and his Laws, it was promised that this evil should not fall on Juda and Jerusalem in his daies, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace.*

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to do the like, promising thereby to observe the Laws and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries; that had been part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight and death of *Senacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asorbaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdom of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding him self

2 Kin. 21.
2 Chro 33.

2 Kin. 23.
2 Chro 34.

2 Kin 13.

2 Chro 33.

2 King 23.
2 Chro 34.

S. II.

Of Pharo Neco that fought with Josias:
Of Jehoahaz and Jehoikim Kings of Israel.

OF these Wars, and particularly of this Victory, *Herodotus* hath mention among the Acts of *Neco*. He tells us of this King, that he went about to make a Channel, whereby Ships might pass out of *Nile* into the Red Sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the midst of the work, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toylsome business twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a loss great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. However it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this Expedition, he used the service, as well of his Navy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdala*, and the *Jews Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judea* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdala* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battel was fought. After this, *Neco* took the City of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Carchemish*, by *Eufrates*, and made himself Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josephus* witnesseth.

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians* one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Asia*, setting sail from the Gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed Corn for their subsistence in that long voyage, which lasted three years. This was the first Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the *Portingall* found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and straits of *Hercules* (as the name was then)

own borders, left unto the *Jews*, a lawful excuse of fear, had they torn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I believe that this religious and virtuous Prince *Josias*, was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdom was obliged, either by Covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasse*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians*, what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemy.

Some think that this Action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I do not find in the Prophecies of *Jeremy*, nor can find reason to believe. Others hold opinion that he forgot to ask the Council of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might believe that an enterprize grounded upon fidelity and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root; as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionless far from hearkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret Will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias* levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Magdala*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, encountered *Neco*: and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His loss was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremy* the Prophet, who inserted a sorrowful remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

2 Sam. 4. 10.

ordinary valour of the mercenary *Greeks*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt*; or if self could afford; and the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could do. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the war; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldeans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Eufrates*; whither *Pharo Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their Swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory yet in the midway between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it was so that *Neco* himself desired, by his Embassadors, leave to pass along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians* only, yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechias*, whilst that good King and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasse*, were documents of sufficient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbours though they were) were always unready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the *Jews* renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did, soon after this, out-face *Nabulassar* upon his own

self unable to deal with *Phammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Acotus*, though the Town held out nine and twenty years) did give unto *Manasse*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withal by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the *Jews*, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasse* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captains of War in all the strong Cities of *Juda*; it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much pains, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himself against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions only for his minds sake. The earnestness of *Josias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrel, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasse* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thankfull requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharo Neco* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Eufrates*.

The last year of *Josias* his reign it was, when as *Neco* the son of *Phammiticus*, came with a powerful Army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to pass that way, being the nearest toward *Eufrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Cercassium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travail of *Phammiticus* had not been idly consumed about that one Town of *Acotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* less than his Fathers had been, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which war, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affairs and hopes: the extra-

Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 7.

Herod. l. 4.

Jer. 32. 32

2 King. 34. 34

then) called now the freights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* still on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the same freights, leave *Africk* on the Larboard, and bend their course unto the East. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that such a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busied at *Charchemish*, had made *Jeboabaz* their King, in the room of his father *Josias*. The Prophet *Jeremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one month; *Jeboabaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Josias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequel. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his business in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judea*. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himself came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdom to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here *Jebojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdom; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But however *Jebojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdom Tributary, without any stroke stricken; which three months before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to wait his forces upon *Judea*: but now the reputation of his good success at *Meziddo*, and *Charchemish*, together with the dissention of the Princes *Josias* his sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have storned at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did for-

bear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jews* had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrel, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessity to forsake that party, and to join with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithful, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; seeing they were such a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the present some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of greater punishment than verbal anger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Jeboabaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The reign of *Jeboabaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jebojakim* his successor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three months of this short reign, into the first year of the brother, than into the fathers last, the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of dispute; and so I leave it.

Jebojakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedness of these last Kings being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by general words, with reference to all the evil that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poison where-with *Ahas* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodness of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Ten, unto the Priests* Chron. 36. 14. also; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royal authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to profess, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jebojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel; and

as we find by that example of his dealing, with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgments against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jebojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassadour, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custom used, both in those dayes, and since, among all civil Nations. of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhuman crimes, as for the general good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jebojakim*: for the *Affiryan* Lyon, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nile*, threatening to make himself Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Mero-dach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to pass that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their business in Syria; which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the son of *Badadan*, who taking the advantage that *Sennacherib*'s misadventure and death, together with the dissention between his children, presented, made himself King of *Babylon*; was eleven years troubled with a powerful Enemy, *Asharaddon* the son of *Sennacherib*, reigning over the *Affirians* in *Nineve*; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was fain to omit all business in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezeckia* some part of the Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asharaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Affria*, if not (as is commonly, but less probably thought) the whole Kingdom. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Affirians*; will not here stand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little inter-

meddling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten. *Jeophus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* itself, which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Pharaores* the *Median*. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldean* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Affiryan* King, whose Captains took *Manasses* prisoner, but I rather believe those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I find little cause why *Mero-dach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the *Jews* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was until the time of *Panmitticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successor of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for so much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known sum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his son *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in *Syria*; where *Panmitticus*, by the virtue of his Mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdom of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his Father *Ben Merodach*, had greater business in his own Kingdom, than would permit him to look abroad: inasmuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-sight of *Panmitticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Pharaores* King of the *Medes* invaded *Affria*, and besieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of the *Syrians*, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these *Syrians*, and the Lordship that they held in *Asia*, it is convenient that

that I speak in this place; shewing briefly a-
fore-hand, how the *Medes*; upon whom they
first fell, were baffled in the same times with
hopes of conquering *Assyria*.

Ptraortes, the son of *Deioeces*, King of
the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarg-
ed his Dominions, conceived at length a
fair possibility of making himself Lord of
Nineve.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having
been a Sovereign Lady was not forsaken of
all her dependants; yet remained in such
case, that of her self she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Mero-
dach* had gotten possession of this imperial
seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the
Country, yet it found the means to set it self
at liberty: as after this again it did, when
it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his
Grand-child.

Sharp war, and the very novelty of sud-
den violence, use to dismay any State or
Country, not inured to the like: but custom
of danger hardeneth even those that are un-
warlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of ma-
ny valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it
had suffered, and resisted, all the fury, where-
with either Domestical tumults between the
sons of *Sennacherib*, or foreign war of the
Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it
is the less wonderful, that *Ptraortes* did
speed so ill in his journey against it. He and
the most of his Army perished in that exp-
edition: whereof I find no particular circum-
stances (perhaps they undervalued their for-
ces, and brought a less power than was need-
ful.) It is enough, that herein we may believe
Herodotus.

Cyaxares the son of *Ptraortes*, a braver
man of War than his Father, was as much of
Asia the less, as lay Eastward, from the River
of *Halys*; he fought revenge upon the *Assy-
rians* for the death of his father, and besieged
Nineve it self, having a purpose to destroy it.
I rather believe *Enfchims*, that he took the Ci-
ty, and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than
Herodotus, that the *Scythian Army* came upon
him whilst he lay before it. For where equal
authorities are contradictory (as *Enfchims*,
though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having
seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to
be valued according to his great reading)
there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best
likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon
Cyaxares, whilst he lay before *Nineve*, were
to accuse him of greater improvidence than
ought to be suspected in one commended as
a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was
fain to leave the Town, when a War so dan-

gerous fell upon his own Country, doth well
agree both with the condition of such busi-
ness as that *Scythian* expedition brought into
those parts, and with the State of the *Chal-
dean* and *Assyrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both
foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there set
down as happening about these times; of
which Book whosoever was the Author, he
was ancient enough to know the story of
those ages, and hath committed no such error
in reckoning of times, as should cause us to
distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of
Nabum, though it be not limited unto any
certain term, yet it appears to have taken
effect, in the final destruction of *Nineve* by
Nabuchodonosor, according to the common op-
inion. For the Prophet hath mention of a
conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity,
whereof we will speak in due place. Some
that ascribe more authority than the reform-
ed Churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*,
are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to
assure, that about these times, *Nineve* was ta-
ken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the
victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needless
conjecture, if the place of *Enfchims* be well
considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Na-
bulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach* did seize
upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein,
about such time as the Country of *Assyria*
was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scy-
thian* War overwhelmed *Media*. For then
was the Conquest wrought out ready to his
hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninevites*
were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so
much allwaged, that it might be thought a
great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto
them a peculiar King, took him and them in
protection: though afterwards to their con-
fusion, this unthankful People and their King
rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the
Reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the *Scythians*, who rul-
ed in *Asia* eight and twenty years.

||. I.

The time of his expedition.

Now that I have shewed what impedi-
ment was given by the *Assyrians* and
the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby
were much disabled to perform any action
of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is
time that I speak of that great *Scythian* ex-
pedition,

pedition, which grievously afflicted not only
the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*,
with the Countries adjacent, in such wise,
that part of the trouble redounded even to the
Egyptians themselves. Of the *Scythian*
people in general, *Herodotus* makes very
large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter
ill known, with many Fables; of this exp-
edition he tells many particulars, but ill agree-
ment with consent of time. Concerning his fa-
bulous reports, it will be needless to recite
them; for they are far enough distant from
the business in hand. The computation of
times, which by inference out of his relations,
may seem very strange, needeth some an-
swer in this place: left otherwise I should
either seem to make my self too bold with
an Author, in citing him after a manner differ-
ent from his own tale; or else to be too
forgetful of my self, in bringing to act upon
the Stage, those persons, which I had already
buried. Eight and twenty years, he saith, that
the *Scythians* reigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxa-
res* delivered the Country from them. Yet
he reports a War between *Cyaxares* and *Ha-
liattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of
Nineve; the siege of *Nineve* being ere the
Scythians came. And further he tells, how
the *Scythians*, having vanquished the *Medes*,
did pass into *Syria*, and were encountered in
Palestina by *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who
by gifts and entreaty procured them to de-
part from him. These narrations of *Herodotus*
may, every one of them, be true; though
not in such order of time, as he hath mar-
shalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead be-
fore *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares*
had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyat-
tes* was King of *Lydia*, so that he could not,
after those *Lydian* Wars, reign eight and
twenty years together with the *Scythians*.
It is true, that *Enfchims* doth also call *Psam-
miticus* the son of *Pharax Neco*, by the name of *Psam-
miticus*; and this King *Psammitis* may, by
some strained conjecture, be thought to have
been he that met with the *Scythians*: for he
lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But
Enfchims himself refers all that business of
the *Scythian* irruption into *Palestina* to *Psam-
miticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaves
dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. There-
fore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this
matter, otherwise than to believe him, that
such things were in these ages, though not in
such order as he sets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can,
those memorials which I find of this exp-
edition scattered in divers places: a work ne-
cessary, for that the greatness of this action
was such, as ought not to be omitted in ge-

neral History; yet not easie, the consent of
those that have written thereof, being no-
thing near to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of
Ardis King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* over-
ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled,
until *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardis* got the
upper hand of them. In these times therefore
of *Ardis*, *Sardiatres*, and *Halyattes*, are we to
find the eight and twenty years, wherein the
Scythians reigned over *Asia*. Now so far as
as *Psammiticus* the *Egyptian* had some deal-
ings with the *Scythians*, even in the height
of their prosperity, we must needs allow more
than one or two of his last years unto this
their Dominion. But the beginning of *Haly-
attes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and
twenty years compleat after the death of
Psammiticus, leaves the space very scant,
either for the great victories of the *Scythians*,
necessarily supposed before they could meet
the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for those many los-
ses, which they must have received ere they
could be driven quite away. To increase this
difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchod-
onosor* in *Babylon*, is of no small moment.
For how may we think it possible, that he
should have adventured the strength of the
Kingdom against the *Egyptians* and *Jews*,
had he stood in daily fear of losing his own,
to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his
neck? To speak simply as it appears to me,
the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyat-
tes* over these warlike people, were not
obtained against the whole body of their
Army, but were the defeitures of some
troops that infested their several Kingdoms;
other Princes, and among these *Nabulassar*
having the like success, when the pleasures of
Asia had mollified the courages of these har-
dy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may prob-
ably annex the eight and twenty years of
the *Scythians* rule, to as many almost the last
of *Nabulassar*'s Reign, in compass whereof
their power was at the greatest. This is all
that I can say of the time, wherein *Asia* suffer-
ed the violence of their oppressors.

||. II.

What Nations they were that brake into *Asia*;
with the cause of their Journey.

Touching the expedition it self, *Herodo-
tus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being
driven out of their Country by the *Scythi-
ans*, invaded and wasted some part of *Asia*;
and that the *Scythians*, not contented with
having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did

did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the World, so (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and base people; or the *Scythians*, as mischievous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Country-men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievously ravaged. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbri* is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greeks* is insufficient to stain them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Western World; and whose re-flow did overwhelm no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely inform himself of their original and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonicus*, of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to have spoken of all *Goropius* his works, that it is easy to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we find it proved, by such arguments and authorities as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*, whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as near unto the Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being far from the Sun, and covered with eternal darkness; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrel to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his Works the names of such as lived in his own time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himself defected. And for this reason it is proved by *Eustathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps that invasion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very fame, which *Eusebius* noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians*, with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Asia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Asia*; which though it be not in express terms written, that they did with joint-forces, yet seeing they invaded the self-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the freights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that *Diod. lib. 4. c. 11.* the *Scythians* therein gave them assistance. The same Author, before his entry into those discourses of the *Amazons*, which himself *Diod. lib. 4. c. 11.* acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been Wives of the *Scythians*, and no less War-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to have slain the great *Persian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their Wives along with them to the wars; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leisure to speak of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were near allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the sending of a Colony of them forth into *Asia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* also were companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Russia* (which Country is the same that was called *Sarmatia*) stood in their way home-wards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was up in Arms; and therefore it is no marvel though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they issued from their parts about the Lake *Meotis*; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the *Scythians*, their neighbours; they had in their Army above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally,

finally, thinking to have settled themselves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more easy passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battels by the *Roman* Consuls. Meer necessity enforced these poor Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitful of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their over-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civil, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardships, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very far; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner be rid of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

§. III.

Of the Cimmerians War in Lydia.

The first Company of these, consisting for the most part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the *Euxine* Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, and behind them, the great Mountains of *Caucasus*. These having passed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mongrelia*, entered the Country of *Pontus*, and being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the Promontory, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it seems that they bestowed the weakest and most unserviceable of their train, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to try the utmost hazard. For in like sort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where *Antwerp* now stands, when they drew near unto *Gaul*, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchaser. From *Sinope*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was fair and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any

ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all to stay their march: for *Iris* and *Haly* they had already passed.

What battels were fought between these Invaders and the *Lydians*, and with what variable success the one or other part wan and lost, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got possession of *Sardes* the capital City of *Lydia*; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Cyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Craesus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did against the *Cimmerians*, and all, save burning the *Milefians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this business, that he could turn them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seem, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those Wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of War are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their own seats, labour to root out the established possessors of another Land; making room for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, and *Plutarch* bring so little with them, that they yielded all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattel, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking Infants. The mercileless terms of this controversy, arm both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either win, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in *Europe* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by such invasions. But our Isle of *Britain* can best witness the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the

the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are also of the *Chimmerian* blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the *Chimmerians* in *Lydia*, and *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battels the *Danes* won, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Chimmerian* War in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* and *Halyattes*, that the River *O. Taurus* should divide their Territories. For *Halyattes* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Chimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrel ensuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutual slaughters, should have joyined in a league of mutual defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdom so far Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the War between these two Kings, which

Herodotus relates, I find it of little weight, and less probability. He tells of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certain Boys, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it fo fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless other-whiles mis of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being forward and cholericke, bitterly reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys that was under their charge, whom, dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fled unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a War that lasted six years between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdom, of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

§. IV.

The War of the *Scythians* in the higher *Asia*.

AS the *Cimmerians* held their course Westward, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colchene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entred into *Media*. The *Medes* encountered them in Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilest *Panmiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the first year of *Nabulassar*'s Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then do the eight and twenty years of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of *Syria*; which

which expedition he began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to undergo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding still the Countries pleasanter and better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be persuaded, that a little more travail would add a great deal more to their content. For they relied so much upon their own valour, that they feared no resistance, and being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* persuaded them into *Egypt*, I do not think; *Babylon* was near enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the midst between *Media* and *Egypt*; as also, that they made all those parts of *Asia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Panmiticus hearing of their progress (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*. lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or persuasion that he could use would send them going. Therefore he met them in *Syria*, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keep them back. *Egypt* was rich, and half the riches had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Panmiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wilderness in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southernmost border of *Palestina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as far as *Ascalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he assaile them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so

much the better, by how much the worse they were plagued with the heat of a Climate so far different from their own. *Panmiticus* had at his back a vast wilderness, over the scorching sands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill have endured to pursue him through unknown ways, had they fought with him and prevailed, especially the Kingdom of *Egypt* being ready to entertain him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (besides that hee preserved his own Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hiring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well repayed in the process of his wars in *Syria*, where the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves with the return of their oppressors. For the *Scythians*, resolving now to seek no further, began to demand more than the tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the Country, taking what they listed from the owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher *Asia*, that is, over the Country lying between the *Caspian* and *Red Seas*; and between *India* and *Asia* the less. Happy it was for the poor people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any *Scythian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in general upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seems that the heaviest burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Country, not far from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies there also it was that they had the fatal blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this Herod. extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer lib. 1. for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force resolved to prove what might be done by

stratagem. The managing of the business is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his Medes, seized the better part of the Scythians, made them drunk, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was revenged by their Countrymen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloody feast made any stir in Media, I do not find; neither do I read that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by invasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very strong, & encountered with opposition (as Herodotus reports it) no less than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of Cyaxares to free his Country, took good effect, with less blood-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtless in eight and twenty years had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, & might be permitted, without any danger, to remain in the Country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the business, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might go joyn with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seek their fortunes in other Provinces among their own Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have been with Nebuchadnezzar, it may be understood, that a great part of the Scythians, upon hope of gain, or desire to keep what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto Nabulassar; mens love of their wealth being most effectual, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that Nebuchadnezzar, as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, did beat the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deal with the Babylonians after another fashion: and this new success of that King may be imputed, in regard of human means, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, divers authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kindred and friends, in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their

wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were only the children of slaves, which compounded an Army (as Herodotus would have it, who tells us, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very boys, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I find it in Master Doctor Fletcher's exact discourse of the Russ Common-wealth. They understood by the way, that their Chrolopy, or Bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their towns, lands, houses, wives, and all; At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disclaiming the Villany of their servants, they made the more speed home, and so not far from Novograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset; which seemed so terrible in the ears of their Villains, and strook such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coin (which they call a Dingoo Novogradskoy, current through all Russia) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seem, that all the women of that Country have shared the worse ever since, in regard of the universal fault: For such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first present that the Moscowian wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection, being well assured to feel it often on her own loins. But this was a Document unto the Scythians, or rather Samaritans (for Novograd stands in the Country that was called Sarmatia) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus

Thus much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expeditions; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, & terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Judaea, which continues yet a while the center of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

HAVING thus far digressed from the matters of Juda, to avoid all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings, and men of mark, as were between the death of Manasses, and the ruin of Jerusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have spoken as much as I thought needful. In Rome, Tullius Hostilius held the Kingdom until the one and twentieth year of Josias; at which time Ancus Martius succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far by his graciousness among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, dis appointing the sons of Ancus, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of Zedekia, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedemonians bethinking them how to be avenged of the Arcadians, who gave succour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entered their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten out. Cypselus expelling the race of the Bacidae, made himself Lord of Corinth about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years, leaving for successeur his son Periander, one of the seven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparel, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisdom of the Greeks was not excellent in those days, when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were Zaleucus and Draco, famous lawgivers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Laws of Draco were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with

blood: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to Solon by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Laws of Zaleucus were very mild. He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was drunk; or to go forth of the Town by night, unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dress her self up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant ordinances he effected his desire: for none would seem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not therefore need so far to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History; for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soon fall under the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befall them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of Abraham, and the destruction of Jerusalem, we find little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, that in these many ages were erected and thrown down; as likewise many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any near distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unreasonable rehearsal, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Judaea, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW to return to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nabuchodonosor

the second, his Father yet living, entred *Judea* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehojakim* his vassal in despite of *Necho*, that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* halted to the succour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judea*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his Army, it being a Country of an evil affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* horse-men in his Army, it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own Kingdom, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battle, until the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save it self; which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehojakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptians*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldean* the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forbore to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservedness of *Jehojakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Psammis*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoaabaz*, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful brother. Against all such accidents, the *Judean* had prepared the usual remedy practised by his forefathers: for he had made his own son *Jechonia* King with him long

before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoaabaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they had led him captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis* *Apres*, who reigning after *Psammis*, did once adventure to show his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, he was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battle. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that mean to do nothing, use, of their glorious acts fore-past, against *Josias* and *Jehoaabaz*. In this case it was easier for *Jehojakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearful threats, as made the poor *Judean* lay aside all thoughts of *Pharaoh*, and yield to do, as the more mighty would have him. So he continued in the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the *Jews*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopp'd their ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and after the seventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes*, and the *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrought all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the People, and afterwards to the Princes, who offered them to

the King; but fearing the Kings fury, they had first let *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill news therein delivered, made no more ado, but did cut the Book in peices and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptians*; the mighty City of *Tyre* opposed it self against the *Chaldean* forces, and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her: Now forasmuch as the term of seventy years was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it follows of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reign, as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the several beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Jehojakim*, was the last of *Nabonassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharaoh Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his son, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; & then began to reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdoms, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputes; but return unto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his Reign:

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgments of God (denounced against it by *Elsay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) had threatened the destruction; & the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor* had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, undertook a vast peice of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyru*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the mountain of *Lybanus* neer adjoining that was laden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious, and almost hopelesse business. Which needeth not seem strange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosor*'s Piers, and being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven months ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where-with *Alexander* laboured to cover a self, with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume, the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant; whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his own threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favorable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the *Chaldeans*, Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the Town.

When he was entred upon this desperate service, whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely, and so *Josaphus* reports it) some glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave

courage to his evil willers, *Jehojakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt; but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judea*, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entered *Jerusalem*, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*, whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*; but changing counsell, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of an Assie, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom, after three moneths and ten dayes *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus* and *Josedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator, which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in general words, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdom of *Juda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the justice of God. For like as *Neco* King of *Egypt* had formerly displaced *Jehoaiaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehojakim*, the son of another mother, so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdom to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoaiaz*, whom *Neco* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witness in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldea*.

In the first year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Ju-

deans that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evil that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scroll he gave to *Seraiab*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jewes*; and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: Thus shall *Babel* be drowned, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been a way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think, that he had some sute there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* exhorted both him and them. The prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire and pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travell after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the wooden Chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the Captivity of the *Jews*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he laid on all Nations; restore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, instead of his wooden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his reign, he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrrians*, and others that were promised great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had

had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perfwaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perfwaded by his Counsellors and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the kingdom of *Juda* should be extirpate, untill the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his natural death.

Jerusalem being the following year surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao* *Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entered the border of *Juda* with his Army to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had been the principal Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jews* faithfull counsell, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprize, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough, leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the mean while the *Jewes*, who in their first extremity had manumitted their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the state of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himself unto them; assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the City, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some do reckon it) or, according to *Josephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army laid before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or

(as *P. Martyr* hath it) extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the City with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fallly out, nor receive into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Josephus* reports, that they overtopped the Walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own works being guarded by the Walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, laid open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straightly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jews* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hopes at once; and shifted himself, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principal servants, out of the City, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people to the merciless swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perfwaded him to render himself, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Wolpius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, et infelix*: *Woful, shameful, and unfortunate*.

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealthy recovery (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Deserts of *Jericho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Josephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most repoted himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Deserts, as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes, he was conveyed

Gen. 49. 10.
Jer. 31. 5.
34.

Jer. 44.
Hier. lib.
2.

Levit. 25.
39. 40.
60.

Jer. 34.

Jer. 39.

Jer. 39.

2 Kings 25.
2.

Jof. Ant.
Jud. lib.
c. 11.

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veyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as some think) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to do.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had laid before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caufed his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit: I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entered the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the next year following, *Nabuzaradan* General of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet fatiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of War, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*; and leaving the poorest labouring souls, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governor, *Godoliah* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the War: and by *Jeremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonians*;

who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resolute. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jews* that were left under his charge, promising them favour and liberty, so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provincial Governor of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mispha*, the City of his residence, traitorously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jews* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jews*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governor (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jews*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsel of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jews* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and contraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, near unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians*, also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countrymen, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly revered him, buried near the Sepulchre of their own Kings.



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, to the Time of *PHILIP* of *MACEDON*.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time passing between the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Profane History.



THE course of time, which in prophane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of its way hitherto passed, in some out-worn foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eastern Countries by the account from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, and more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruins of *Jerusalem*, to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding Ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progress of *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded Nations could ill be fought in those that were ignorant of the first Creation: as likewise that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afterwards grown up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the history of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us. I hold it now convenient, briefly to shew, by what means and circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metals discovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded Nations could ill be fought in those that were

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Herein I do not hold it needfull to infill upon those authorities which give, as it were by hear-say, a certain year of some old *Affrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* and his Issue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to rely upon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true, that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what Age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnessar* is more precisely applied to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedekias*. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For under *Nebuchadnessar* was the beginning of the Captivity of *Judah*, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the Ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Persia*, by general consent, is joyned with the first year of the 55 *Olympiads*; where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversy. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the World, *St. Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battell of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* Captivity, are marks whereby we

are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the World through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform our selves truly of the Seventy years during which it continued, even from *Nebuchadnessar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. I.

A brief rehearsal of two Opinions touching the beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the errors of Porphyrie, inveighing against St. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the latter of these Opinions is founded.

Many Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when *Jechonia* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*; eleven years before the final destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Zedekias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Nebuzaradan*, in these words 3. *In the fifth and twentieth year of our being in Captivity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the City was fallen.* In which words he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion, that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of *Saint Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of *Saint Matthew*, and the whole Book of *Daniel* have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who not understanding how the Sons of King *Jofas* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large; thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning the Sons, or according to some Translations, the Son, and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious Books written against the Christians, affirming, that these prophecies and visions, remembered by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanius*. This fond supposition of his,

Eusebius,

Eusebius, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For, the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanius*, did also turn this Book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And, were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanius*. For *Jaddus* the High Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this Book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phenicia*.

It is true indeed, that the Jews themselves give less authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the Prophets; accomplishing his Book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they say *Eldras*, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the Book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonical; secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Eldras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Council of *Laodicea*, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Council three and forty years, this Book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in the Epitomy of the same Council it may be seen; and so doth *Melliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonical Books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his Book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add *St. Hierom*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For, the Hagiographa-Books, or holy Writings, the Jews and Rabbines reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ester*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Eldras*, that wrote this Book, Gods commandment unto him by his

Angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphal Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. *Saint Paul* describeth *Antichrist*, out of *Daniel*; and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel's* visions.

§. III.

That the Seventy years of Captivity are to be numbered from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of Jechoniah.

Having thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weaknels of that which *Eusebius*, and some few nameless Authors, have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda*, were carried away captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manasse*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: Thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: Lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these Captivities, the beginning of the seventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a Prophecy out of circumstances, when the

T t 2 Prophecy

Jer. 19. 16, 17.
2. Chron. 36. 19.

Prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it self. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send, and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel, my servants; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof; and against all these Nations round about; and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stone, and the light of the candle; and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit the King of Babel. Here we see prescribed unto the Captivity the term of seventy years: which were to commence, neither when the Prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*: but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such times as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this Prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished; beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the House of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him, and to his Sons, until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to fulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the days that she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But in the first year of Cyrus King of Persia (when the Word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah, was fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of Scripture, so precisely and plainly expounded by another as in this Prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of alteration. For one can hardly devise how either the Desolation could have been expressed more sensibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have**

been more exactly set down, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in evidence a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yields testimony sufficient, unto this exposition of *Jeremiah* his Prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste seventy years. For in the first year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the seventy, *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance, that had been promised, by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by Books the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto Jeremiah the Prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of Daniel's own Captivity be reckoned from the taking of 'Jehojakim', and that the people carried away with 'Jechonia', did accomplish, as well they might, the years of their own Captivity; yet with the general desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the Israelites left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor the great Captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.*

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfy any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the seventy years.

WHAT Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know; forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests, recounted by *Xenophon*, of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hircania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*; for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

seem that he and his Heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no less. For, whereas under *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joining unto it the Continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole or piece of Earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the Enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, though inferior in numbers, adventuring within the distance, offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzar's* wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted, that the Captivity of *Judah*, ending with that Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three foolish Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* servitude; resting satisfied in both, with the general assured sum.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first, and (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who wearily follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Ezra*, and *Balthazar*; Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant; but the Prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a man-

ner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of the Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some Countreys here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, until the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words, expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire, to reconcile the Scriptures unto prophane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all Histories were on the one side, and the letter of the Holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are so slender and insufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some Author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from Father to Son, through five generations, beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the Great, and giving to him 43 years; to *Ezra* 18; to *Niglar* the Son of *Ezra* 18; to *Labaradach* the Son of *Niglar* 9 months; and lastly, to *Balthazar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthazar* the Son of *Labaradach*) *Saint Hierom* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Josephus* as a Se&tor of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that *Ezra* did reign but two years, and that his wickedness and lust, slain by his Sisters Husband *Nizagisforoor*, who occupied the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son *Labaradach*; who being an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the Kingdom given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17 years.

years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority; so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings Brethren, and Sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather believe *Xenophon*, who saith, that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate Successor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath out of any History faced or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Engenius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and Sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his Son. And fo common grew this explication, that *St. Hierom* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the Son.

Annus his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy years of Captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45 years, to *Evilmerodach* 20 years, and to the three Sons of *Evilmerodach*, *Nephews* of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg. Asar* the eldest Son, three years; to *Lab. Asar-Dach* the second Son, six years; and to *Balthasar* the third Son, five.

To this account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed; as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason, than because the Author was of *Annus* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my self herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have contented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his Brother in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and espe-

cially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Annus* his *Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth; which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business: from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit; which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annus* his Impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joynted unto the years following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18 years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbered 28 years; and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach*, should be written 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latter there should have been added the figure of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28 years, whereof five together with his Father, and 23 after his death, and the same number of 22 added to the 25 which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after

after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48, then 4 years of *Niglisar*, according to *Berosus*, nine months of *Labassardach* his Son, and 17 years of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of seventy years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as, if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Aterator*, I purpose to forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44 years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belsazar* 5, and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounted only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the Captivity 11 years sooner, from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But heretofore hath been said already, That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19 of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the days of his life until he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, un-

der this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55 years when he was set at liberty, having been 37 years in the prison, whereto he was cast at the age of 18 years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zerobabel*, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages, threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Belsazar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborassardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niriglisaroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazar* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by *Berosus* to the son of *Niglisar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us, that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, and to his sons (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Aedes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosus*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travel of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any Author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Aedes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdom, not saying that he warr it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Metasthenes* found in *Engenius*, wherein this *Nabonidus*

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Dea. 8. 11

Dea. 5. 11, 12, 13.
Dea. 2. 49.

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

bonidus is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the Greek translation, which, expressing no force of arms, doth only signify that *Darius* took or received the Kingdom; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cared to use the most expressive terms) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdom: seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works Printed at Basil, in the year 1559, I find only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alphexus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cried with a loud voice: O Babylonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither Bell, nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, half an *Ass*, that shall bring slavery upon you: and that, and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I do hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger* Copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us, that *Nabuchodonosor* wan both *Africa* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment so much the less; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median*, the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vanishing away. Indeed that same title (of half an *Ass*) by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the Mothers side than on the Fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within itself, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meer fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one

so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would overthrow himself, in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfy men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the Prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdom of *Balthasar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*; either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethink our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdom with him. For it is not more certain, that *Balthasar* lost his life and Kingdom, then that his Kingdom was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as, by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces; inasmuch that the *Greek* Historians did commonly call those wars which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon Greece, The wars of the *Medes*. Yea, to clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the less regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*; though herein he varied from *Berosus* and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any mans faith or knowledge of those times half so well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alleadge all Authors that had any mention, though imperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Jews*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do *Eusebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same *Ethnick* Philosophers,

Dan. 5. 20.

phers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaliger*s opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

S. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the seventy years of Captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Petrus*; that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Niglisar* and *Laborsadach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jersusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate. Most of Writers have given to him 43 years of reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19 year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11 of *Zedechias* also that his eighth year, was the first year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; the reign of *Zedechias* occupied all the mean space, being

of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs: As for the beginning of his successor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the seven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his Captivity; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his eighth year (which was the first of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the six and thirtieth, so far as much as *Jechonia* was enlarged with so great a favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzar*s reign did well-near occupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining six and twenty years of the Seventy, that were almost wholly spent when his Son began to reign.

It is now to be considered, how the remainder of the seventy years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* until the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole sum being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothful Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole seventy years; for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both unlikely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzar*s death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the *Mede*, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, giving us seventeen years to *Balthasar*, we find left in our hands to bestow upon *Evilmerodach* six and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That *Balthasar* did reign seventeen years, we have the authority of *Josephus* before cited in express words: We have also the general consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long, and *Balthasar* to have been one. But nothing moved me so much

Deut. 8. 1.
Ex. 17. 9.
Gen. 15. 11.
Is. 63. 13.

to believe this Tradition, as first those evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third year of *Balthazar* he followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof sufficient of no few years, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel's* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his wars against the *Affrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans Father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Asia*, which fell out in the mid-way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Ezra* *Merodach* was not short, and that men of great judgement have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the delight of satisfying *Berosus* caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that Books of such antiquity, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of Antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemy: How much less ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they believe that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures have told us, that God gave the Empire to *Nabuchodonosor*, to his Son, and to his Sons Son: How long each of them held it, we find not Expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us, provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus*, or *Josephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to err in writing two for six and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, signifying 6, hath a nearer resemblance of 6 than it stands for, 2, than hath 7 which is used for 3. So that the numeral notes 25, expressing 26, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true Copy, and might be altered, as

ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in *Ez*, standing for 23, I do not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore do not appertain unto this business; unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, let it be; If not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel* when they seem to be his Opposites.

§. VII.

Of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained between the destruction of Jerusalem, and conquest of Egypt.

With what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet, sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their Being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal Sons of greedy Fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restless travel of purchasing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty City of *Jerusalem*, he enriched

riched himself with abundance of spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearful example. From that time forward, he, until his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conquest of those adjoining Regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydotians*, and *Egyptians*; though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose City was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, and whose Fleet was so strong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour-Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, employing all his power to their subversion.

That the City of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrel against the common enemy) it appears by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing the isle is desolate, I shall be replenished*. Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those Prophecies of *Jeremy* and of *Ezekiel*, which appoint unto this desolation of *Tyre* the same term of seventy years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the *Chaldeans*, do plainly shew, that the fall of *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doublets were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless, it seems that this evasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For, not only such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the *Affrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor* caused his Army to serve a great service against *Tyrus*, wherein every

head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army; but was fain to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that City, which in all mens judgements had been held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerful Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldeans* dreadful in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with less pain. The Kingdom of *Egypt* was the Mark at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that, had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful, that before he entered into this business, the Countries adjacent should be reduced unto such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the Decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of State. For, the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoining Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding only their own gain, had come to them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldean* Army, to feed upon the carcases that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Affrian* had satisfied his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession of those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistines* had shewed much malice to the *Jews* when their City was taken. What good service they had done to the *Chaldeans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoice at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession; as if not the *Affrians*, but they had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baal's* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ishmael*, a Prince of the blood

Ezek. 25.
Is. 49. 1.

Ezek. 25.3.
Jer. 49. 1.

Ezek. 29.
Is. 18.

of *Juda*, to murder *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israell*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Country the people that abode in *Mizpab*, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonosor*, with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God; and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these Nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their theevish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the Prophecies of *Ezay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good Authors interpret the Prophecy of *Ezay*, threatening *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Egyptian* Expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Towns in these Regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over-hastily, much less to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*; but lived as miserable Out-laws, or at least oppressed wretches, until the end of seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

§. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by Nabuchodonosor, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who, following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

When by a long course of victory, *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend to the *Egyptian*,

was left at his back, that might give impediment upon his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himself, upon which those other Nations had formerly been depending. Of this Expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Ezay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleaged out of these. Nevertheless, we find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoil in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a Chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they do prefer the Commentator before the Author; and, to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, do carelessly overthrow the History it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former Book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm, that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the War, which he is said to have made upon *Tyrrus* and *Sydon*) that he reigned five and twenty years; and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous Expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land

Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his foreign Mercenaries; the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readiness thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of War. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently entreated by *Amasis* for a while, until the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable burial. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth nearly agree, telling us, that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phenicians* in battle at Sea, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, warr the other Towns of *Phenicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than have the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the Greek Historians followed) and greater probabilities to persuade those that look only into humane reasons. For *Ezay* prophesied long before of the shameful Captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Assur*, should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the *Jews*, who fled then for deliverance from the *Assyrians*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their Prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and go into Captivity; yea, that *Pharaoh* and all his Army should be slain by the sword. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatenings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of

all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* should see *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the general opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which, God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchadnezzar* should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that Prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will visit the common people of No, and Pharaoh and Egypt, with their gods, and their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, and into the hands of his servants.* The clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it; who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek Historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lyes, coynd upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely, it may well be thought, that the history of *Nebuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodorus*; who being meer strangers to this business, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the Greek Historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; methinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having

Jer. 40. 14.
Ez. 41. 2.
Ez. 10.
Jer. 38.
Jer. 39.

Isa. 36. 14.

Diod. Sic.
l. 1. c. 2.

Isa. 30. 4.
Isa. 6.

Ez. 29.
Isa. 37. 36.
Ez. 32.
Ez. 33.

Jer. 46. 25.
Isa. 36.

Jer. in Jer.
Num. 6. 44.
Isa. 36.

For Ant.
Jud. l. 10.
c. 11.

having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion, yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love and honour which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people? or, which may serve to persuade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand soldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: Doth it not argue that he was a forreiner, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their own, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some foreign Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, wherunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

§. IX.

How *Egypt* was subdued and held by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

IT is a great loss, that the general History of the World hath suffered by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Virtue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were

such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his 30 Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritania*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well defended situation of his Country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For, as the labour of this business did more harden, than weary the *Chaldean* Army; so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great River of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the War, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto the Kingdom of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness; yet so, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For, whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the Son of the Wife, I am the Son of the Ancient Kings*; And whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the River failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*; at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried Captives thence to Babylon the Jews whom he found in that Country*. Now concerning

cerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this business, and the business it self, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the Prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away thence unto *Babel*; who inhabited the miserable ruins of that great City, which was in the same three and twentieth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is not improbably thought by good Authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* Expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*; a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted, that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the *Assrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharaoh Necho*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phenicians*; who were, before the *Egyptians*, become subject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might add, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had some *Chaldean* or *Assrian*, than *Egyptian* name, unless we should think that he had been a Traitor to his natural Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of *Egypt*; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any man may guess; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is consequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Josephus*; that his Governour (or some successor of his) was afterwards taken and slain by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to persuade myself, and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the Army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is supposed to have kept of *Ionians*

and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the *Assrian* for the guard of his Vice-roy, and custody of the new subdued Province: as likewise the company returning from *Cyrene* and *Barce*, who, together with the friends of such as were slain in that Expedition, remembered before out of the Greek Historians, deposed and slew *Apries*. I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is, that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified; *At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the Land of Pathros, into the Land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom*. If the *Egyptian* Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* obtaining the Kingdom; then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries disgrace, then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawn from sundry acts of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and of the destruction of *Ninive*, by him; the time of which action is uncertain.

THESE victories brought the greatness of the *Assrian* Empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign in sundry places of Scripture. To speak any more of the questions arising about the supposition of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note, that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third year of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s first year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings presence; It could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, fore-telling the success of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The fame or the like may be said of divers places which refer sundry matters unto their set years; as that of *Ezekiel* before-cited, where he fore-tells, that *Egypt* should be given in reward for the service done before *Tyrus*, dating his Prophecy in the

the seven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependence upon either the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Kingdom, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the Captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eafie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after fuch time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I do not read: excepting that againft *Nineve*, the deftruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Mero-dach* (as in due place hath been fhewed) and together with the reft of *Affria* made fubject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who, rebelling againft the *Chaldean*, as *Jehoakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Juda*, had done, tafted like wife of the fame fortune. That the deftruction of *Nineve* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparifon which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City, that was to fall, and the City of *No in Egypt*, that was fallen already. But, how long after this came to pafs, it is (methinks) impoffible to find out. For, whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the firft of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, the place of *Nahum* laft cited, it is enough to difprove it. Whereas it is referred by fome unto the firft of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum*, which went between the one and the other, argueth ftrongly, that there was a longer fpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this deftruction, or other circumftances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonofor* in perfon, or by his Lieutenants, were fomewhat like unto the vain curiofity of *Tiberius Cafar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle pains which he fhould take, who would feek to learn what woman that *Hecubaz* Queen of *Nineve* was, whole woful Captivity the fame Prophet *Nahum* likewife did fore-tell.

S. XI.

Of the latter time of *Nebuchadnezzar*; his buildings, madnefs, and death.

OF the time which this great Monarch fpent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant, fave thofe which we find among the Prophecies of *Daniel*. Among

thefe we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleafed himfelf fo well, that he brake out into thofe glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built, for the houfe of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majefty?* Surely if thofe things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearfed of him out of *Be-rofus* and *Megafthenes*, he might well delight himfelf with the contemplation of fuch goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is faid, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that, befides other ftately works, he raifed thofe huge Arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the Air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which moft fumptuous Frame, that out-lafted all the remainder of the *Affrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is faid to have been reared, and finifhed in fifteen daies.

But of all this and other his magnificence, we find little elfe recorded, than that (which indeed is moft profitable for us to confider) his over-valuing of his own greatness abafed him unto a condition inferior to the poorft of men. And not underfervedly fell thefe judgments of God upon him. For, whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinefs in his own life, but with a difcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheless became fo forgetful of God, whole wonderful power he had feen and acknowledged, that he caufed a golden Image to be fet up and worfhipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that fhould dare to difobey his Kingly will and pleafure, which was utterly repugnant to the Law of him that is the King of Kings. Hereof *St. Hierom* hath well noted; *velax obliuio vertit, ut qui dudum fervum Dei quafi Deum adoraverat, nunc statum fuis fieri jubet, ut ipse quafi Deus in statua adoraretur: A bafy forgetfulnefs; of the truth, that he who fo lately had worfhipped (Daniel) the fervant of God, as if he had been God himfelf, fhould now command a statua to be erected unto himfelf, wherein himfelf might be worfhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleafed God to reclaim him, by the ftrange and wonderful delivery of thofe bleffed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown into it bound, for refufing to commit Idolatry, were affifted by an Angel; preferved from all harm of the fire; loofened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious

gracious words, and reftored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was not fo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hafty zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, advifed him to break off his fin by righteoufnefs, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his error. Hereby it feems that injuftice and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatened: but this threatening fufficed not unto his information. For, that fo great a Monarch fhould be driven from among men (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation); yea, compelled to dwell with the beafts of the field, and made to eat grafs as the Oxen, was a thing fo incredible in mans judgement, that eafily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more eafily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leifure to repent, was given to this haughty Prince: which refpite of the execution may feem to have bred in him a forgetfulnefs of Gods fentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royal Palace of *Babel*, he was fo over-joyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his own feeming happinefs, that, without all fear of Gods heavy judgement pronounced againft him, he uttered thofe lofty words before rehearfed, in vaunting of the Majeftical works which he had reared, as well befeeming his Majeftical perfon. But his high fpeeches were not fully ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling him that his Kingdom was departed from him, rehearfed over unto him the fentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very fame hour.

That *Solomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any, that were punifhed for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy, or any paffion of the mind, to keep a juft meafure) excepting only this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may befaid of *David*: for other (and fome very godly) Kings have muftred all their forces to the very laft man; but few or none have been known to have been punifhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoyce in thofe good things wherewith God hath bleffed us; but

a note of much unthankfulnefs to entertain them with a fullen and unfeeling difpofition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reverence to God is wanting, are no better than obfcure clouds hindring the influence of that bleffed Light, which clarifies the foul of man, and predifpofeth it unto the brightnefs of eternal felicity; fo that inolent joys, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paffions blaft our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our feeing inherent Greatnefs, forgetting the whifft him, to whom we are indebted for our very Being. Wherefore thefe *Mala mentis gaudia*, The evil joys of the mind were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latin Poets, beftowed upon the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward than frowns, cares, and fears; not far from the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when thefe unreafonable flufhes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a mind, that fhould have been humbled with a juft repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deferving.

This was verified upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whole punifhment was fingular and unexampled. For he ran among beafts in the fields and woods, where for feven years he lived, not only as a favage man, but as a favage beaft; for a beaft he thought himfelf, *fecundum fuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* l. 2. de Reg. pri. noteth, and therefore fed himfelf in the fame manner, and with the fame food that beafts do: Not that he was changed in figure external, according to *Mediana*, in fomuch as he appeared a Beaft to other mens eyes; as *St. Hierom* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) fpeaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens fight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was he changed as *Ipbigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was faid to be, into a Hind; nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but, according to *St. Hierom's* l. 2. de expofitione expofition of thefe words, *At the fame time was my underftanding reftored unto me, &c. Quando dicit (faith St. Hierom) fenfuum fuis redditum, offendit non formam, fe aniffie fed mentem; When he faith that his fenfe was reftored unto him, he fhewed that he had not loft his humane fhape, but his underftanding.* Seven years expired, it pleafed God to reftore *Nabuchodonofor*, both to his underftanding, and his eftate, for which he acknowledged and praifed God all the reft of his life, confeffing his power and everlafting benignity that he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth; and wrought

wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his ways righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely St. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthusianus, and others. And for that place of *Ezra* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the fame to *Balthazar*; because *Ezra*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* jointly.

§. XII.
Of Evilmerodach.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* posterity, the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his Father had gotten; and left his Kingdom burning in a war that consumed it to ashes. He lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fifth of *Cambyses* his reign, wherein he waned *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Pammeniticus*, the Son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could be no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two Greek Historians have been abused by Egyptian Priests in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say, either that the numbers were mis-written, and four and forty set down instead of four and thirty; or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the *Affrians*; and not bear himself as absolute King of *Egypt*, until the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezekiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdom) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the King of the *Medes*, to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces, or whether (as I rather think) some foil received by the *Affrians* invading *Media*, emboldened the *Egyptians* to rebel against him, I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tells, that the first service of young *Cyrus* in war, was under *Affyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Affrian* Prince, who did set upon him; at which time, *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the war began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon proud terms with the *Affrians*, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the *Affrian* Monarchy. For the *Babylonians*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes*, and their Allies the *Persians*, drew unto his party the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain he had fought to weary out with a lingering War.

This happened after the death of *Affyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Affrian* having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdom, which by long distance of place, did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a King within itself, against the far more mighty *Persian*.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way until the fulfilling of those Prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Ezra* and *Jeremy*.

For,

For, the *Affrians* and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Persians* under their thick showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an Army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battle, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. So, that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously cracked under his unfortunate Son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Evilmerodach*, without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of *Balthazar*.

THOUGH I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthazar* was the Son, and immediate Successor to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which, following *Berosus*, insert *Nightsar*, or *Nightsaroor*, and his Son *Labassardach* between them; as also that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible, that some error might have crept into the History of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needless trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wild among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the fuddeness of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtless the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by

the great Ones of the Kingdom, for settling the Government, whilst the King was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely, that his Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, with condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repel it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to supply the utter want of understanding in his Father, as Protectors do the unripe ones of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of Government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his Sister) was an woman of a high spirit; it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying, That she was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and useful works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Affrians*, and amongst them *Nimvee*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothers mis-government, used practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Nightsar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his Sister's Husband; which argues this to have been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the Son of *Nightsar*; if at the end of nine months reign he were for his low conditions slain by the Nobility, as the same *Berosus* reporteth; it seems that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzar's* restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was slain by his Sister's Husband: For the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jecoonia*, do plainly testify that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthazar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had such conditions, as

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God

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young man that should have married his Sister, only for spite and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his javelin had misfed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said, It were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was King. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battle to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet he carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed

him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but wasterfished with a dreadful vision; which had threatened his ruin not in many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventy years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes were the chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joyed first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria*, and of *Media* itself.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provincial Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardaniapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the Line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*; the Princes of which blood reigning in *Persia*, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the *Achamenes*, and Line

of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third Son of *Japhet*. That they had Kings soon after the Flood, *Laëtantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Laëtantius* remembereth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven Sons, slain by the *Assyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

<i>Arbaces</i>	28 years.
<i>Sorannus</i>	30 years.
<i>Medius</i>	40 years.
<i>Cardaces</i>	13 years.
<i>Dioctes</i>	53 years.
<i>Phraortes</i>	24 years.
<i>Cyaxares</i>	32 years.
<i>Astyages</i>	38 years.
<i>Darius Medus</i>	

And

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the Conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Army victorious over *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was, during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius of the Medes* took the Kingdom being three-score and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdom. And so was prophesied by *Esaï* long before: Behold, I will stir up the *Medes* against them, &c. And by *Jeremy*; The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the King of the *Medes*: for his purpose is against *Babel* to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the *Medes*, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

HOW the Kingdom of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians; But rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the Conquest of *Babel* to the *Persians* only. For some there are who deny that *Astyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom he called *Asligon* or *Apamia*) but only that having vanquished him in battle, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited, and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reproved of wilful untruth.

Vignier, a diligent and learned historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such Son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this

opinion the more he citeth *Diodore*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any such Successor. Neither do *Tacitus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Laëtantius*, *Eusebius*, *St. Hierom*, or *St. Augustin*, make report out of any faithful Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet (seeing that this manner of argument ab authoritate negativè, doth never enforce consent) we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirm, that either *Astyages* himself must have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; or else to give him some other successor, according to *Josephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest; *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and (subject to his authority) the strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

But it is very certain, that the honour of that great victory over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument pre-ordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy how powerful soever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Historians over-grew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possessor of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Historians, they took all things from the relation of the *Persians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fifth, and sixth Chapters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that himself not only lived a great Officer under

King

King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniel's* death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned jointly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdom by *Cyrus's* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophon's relation of the War with the Medes and Persians, made with joint forces upon the Assyrians and others.

These Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these Wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries; he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoining, able to make head against him. For, the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threecore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being joined, made an exceeding strong Army.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the less, to his assistance, alladging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoined by league, and many alliances, that it would not be easy, nor not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great Presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threecore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were led by *Cræsus*, who had great cause of enmity with the *Medes*, in regard of the War made by them against his Father *Alyattes*: But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* General of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken: Upon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slain, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great fumes of money out of *Asia* the less, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were also scattered by *Cyrus*,

who following his advantage, possessed himself of a great part of the lesser *Asias* which time it was, as I take it, that *Cræsus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his Sisters Son, prevailed against *Balthazar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart or Sling: So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, with much Poetical addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and groer of his Narration was founded upon meer Historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the fame to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Moral and Political discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times foregoing this great War.

For it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes*, the Son of *Perseus*, being Governor of *Persia*, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victory obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the fame honour and power to their posterity: which in *Media* was not absolutely Regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as *Deiaces* took upon him the full authority and majesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deiaces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years in the last sixty whereof, there reigned in *Assyria* mighty Princes, namely,

namely, *Salmanassar* and his Successors; whose great achievements in *Syria* and elsewhere, witness, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive war against those victorious Kings, it being also probable, that the league continued as yet between these the successors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deiaces* to the first of *Aflyages*, there past about ninety years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had been but an unadvised enterprize of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waited themselves against the *Syrians*, and *Egyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Persia*; and that the *Persians* themselves were not Masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosor's* time; it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governor for the *Babylonians* in *Susa*, or *Susan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares*, or *Aflyages*, or both, had quarrel with *Halyattes* the Father of *Cræsus*, which, after some fix years dispute, was compounded.

How the affairs of *Persia* stood in so many ages, I do not find any memory. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous Country which they then possessed, with the confederacy which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more security than fame: For if their Kings, being the posterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatness which they afterward obtained, would not have suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all *Xenophon's* reports, both of these Wars, and the state of those Countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors; so it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of *Persia* from Father to Son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the Father of *Cyrus* was King of *Persia*; than to those that make him a mean man, and say, that *Aflyages* gave him his Daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her Son (whose nativity he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his Fathers ignobility.

For, what cause of grief could it be to *Aflyages*, that the Son of his Daughter should become Lord of the best part of *Asia*? No,

it was more likely, that upon such a Prophecy his love to his Grand-child should have increased, and his care been the greater to have married her to some Prince of strength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Author, and, as I think, the deviser of the mischief intended against *Cyrus* by his Grand-father, doth confess, That the line of the *Achæmenides* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperity, did thence derive himself, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himself;

<i>Achæmenes.</i>	<i>Teispes.</i>	<i>Hystaspes.</i>
<i>Cambyses.</i>	<i>Ariarannes.</i>	<i>Darius.</i>
<i>Cyrus.</i>	<i>Artabanus.</i>	<i>Xerxes.</i>

Of the *Achæmenides* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose illustrious male failed in his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royal family is thus set down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the Son of *Perseus*, first King of *Persia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyses*, and *Aflyas*, who, married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artabazus* and other Daughters.

Cambyses had *Cyrus* the Great: *Cyrus* had *Cambyses*, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis*, slain by his Brother *Cambyses*.

Of the second, were those seven great Princes of *Persia*, who having overthrown the usurped Royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselves *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, King.

This Kingdom of *Persia* was first known by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamites*; by *Elianus*, *Elyms*; by *Josephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magufai*; which *Magufai*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in general, but for those that were afterward called the *Magi*, or Wise-men. So do the *Greeks*, among many other their sayings of them, affirm, That the *Persians* were anciently written *Artei*, and that they called themselves *Cephenei*. But that

Gen. 10. that they were *Elamites*, *Moses*, and the
 Isa. 11. 21. Prophets, *Ezra*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and
 Jer. 25. 29. *Ezdras*, in many places confirm: Which also
 Ezek. 34. St. *Hierom* upon *Jeremy* the five and twenty
 Dan. 8. tieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and also in
 Efd. 4. his *Hebrew* questions, approveth, saying:
 2 Mar. 9. *Elam* & quo *Elamite* *Principes* *Perſia*; *Elam*,
 1 Mar. 6. of whom were the *Elamites* *Princes* of *Perſia*.

And that City which the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elamais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the

same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof twice attempted, in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander*, at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The first King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Ebedorlagmer*, who lived with *Abraſel* or *Ninings*, and joyned with him in the war against *the Arabians*, who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus his Name, and first actions.

Strab. l. 15. AS touching the Name of *Cyrus* *Strabo* faith, That the same was taken from a River which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper Name: But the great *Cyrus* was the first of that Name. *Herodotus*, otherwife; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a Father, in the *Perſian*-Tongue, and therefore so intitled by the people.

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent virtues he was indeed called a Father: But that the Name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Ezra*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that Name, Thus saith the Lord unto *Cyrus* his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Craesus* himself, are not recounted by *Enchiridius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter achievements: whose opinion for his difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in the last war against *Craesus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; and the glorious vi-

ctory which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* itself, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; as which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprize of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Craesus the King of Lydia, who made war upon Cyrus.

I Have in the last Book spoke somewhat of *Craesus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydius* the Son of *Arys*: which Family extinguished, the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty Generations; *Candaules* being the last; who by shewing his fair wife naked to *Eger* his favourite, he was by the same *Eger* (thereto urged

urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Eger* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Arys* his Son, who was Father to *Sadyattes*, the Father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Craesus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that Kingdom an hundred and seventy years. *Halyattes* the Father of *Craesus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it six years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Afflyges the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Argenes*, *Craesus* Sister, whom he married.

But *Craesus* so far enlarged his Dominions after his Fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joyned *Phenicia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Craesus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Eolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionis*, Provinces posselt by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the less, adjoining to *Lydia*; gave Law to the *Phrygians*, *Bithinians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforced the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their City with *Diana's* Girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Alcibiades* out of *Ereque* (which also confirmeth) makes report of a Signal Victory, which *Craesus* obtained against the *Sacians*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacaea*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo* (whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts) what success he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; *Craesus passing over the River Halys, shall dissolve a great Dominion*. For the Devil being doubtful of the success, payed him with merchandize of both side alike, and might

be inverted either way; to the ruin of *Perſia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Craesus his Expedition against Cyrus.

HEREUPON *Craesus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the soft ilk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom, if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, *Craesus* having prepared a powerful Army, he led the same toward *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Eternium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for, out of doubt, *Craesus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But, as *Craetippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Common-weal against him who fought for the *Roman* liberty, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their increase and period from divine Ordinance: so, at this time was the Winter of *Craesus* prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in gro's troops: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as

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the *Perfians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark vail of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Cræfus* doubting what success the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first City and Regal Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troops of his sundry Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Cræfus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cræfus* had disposed his Army to their wintring garriſons; which being altogether unlooked for, and unfear'd, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Army; Wherein *Cræfus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after fourteen days siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cræfus* having now neither Arms to fight, nor wings to fly, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompass'd, thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremity of passion and fear enabled) cry'd out to the Souldiers to spare *Cræfus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprison'd, deſpoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cry'd out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urg'd again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told

him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune, and his own morality, he commanded his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire, with all diligence, to save *Cræfus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventors and conductors of *Cræfus* War against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierc'd with *Cræfus* answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Bene non caſam, sed fortunam spectat*.

And herein is the real difference discern'd between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis*: A thief sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Cræfus* at the first fight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruel, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that nearness of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his Grandmothers brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the Story hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it pass for current, though the trust repos'd in *Cræfus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanly at the first.

For, as *Herodotus* himself telleth us, when *Cyrus* pass'd with his Army over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cræfus* to accompany and advise his son *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liv'd all the time of *Cyrus*, and did afterward follow

low *Cambyses* into *Egypt*, where he hardly escap'd his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the World took end; so to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthazar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Cræfus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

After this *Lydian* War, ensued the great Conquest of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it seems, that ten whole years did pass between his taking those two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheless I do not think to have been wholly occupied in provision for the *Assyrian* war, but rather to have been spent in settling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Cræfus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battel overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparteha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower *Asia*, grew soon after the departure of the victorious Army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Asia* the less, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Cræfus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; against whom he employed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the rest of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia* the less, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who resolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* itself, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto

the taking of that City, which befide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters unfordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perfians*, who despair'd of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessities: whereof though the Town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the Besiegers were likely to endure much travel, and all in vain, if they did not keep straight watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently allured unto their Commander: The consideration whereof ministr'd unto the *Babylonians* matter of good pastime, when they saw the *Lydians*, *Scythians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occasion were offered than to use much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*; who had, as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. Whilst the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful and vain gladness, that is the ordinary fore-runner or sudden calamity; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inventive, devised, by so many channels and trenches, as were sufficient and capable of *Emperors*, to draw the same from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain banks or heads un-cut, between the main river which surrounded the City, and his own Trenches.

Now *Balthazar*, finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous Feast, to publick

Playes, and other Pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the bescigners know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not only for all needfull uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses, were well near broken in honour of *Bell* his most revered Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equal, but (using *Daniel's* words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven*: for he and his Princes, Wives and Concubines, made earowing cups of the vessels of Gold, in contempt of whom, he praised his own Puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Brass, Iron, Wood, and Stone: *Quanti sunt sustinuit in vasis aureis biberet, lignos et lapideos deos laudare? How great a jolliness was it* (saith *S. Hierom*) *drinking in golden cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone*. While *Balthazar* was in this fort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith fo great a fear and amazement seized him, as the joys of his loyns were loosd, and his knees more one against the other. Which passion, when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldeans*, *Astrologians*, and *Southsayers*, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the Kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy Father, light, and understanding, and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor, thy Father, the King (I say) thy Father made chief of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, &c. were found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This Queen *Josephus* takes for the Grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret*, for the Mother of *Balthazar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings Wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and

banqueting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembered well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, Grandfather to this *Balthazar*, and kept in mind both his Religion and divine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a far different style from that he used towards his Grandfather: for, the evil which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy rewards to thy self, and give thy gifts to another: yet will I read the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation.* Which, before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wife men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness to his Father, whom all Nations: cared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgment of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King, notwithstanding, lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglected the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*, gave the King knowledge, that God hath numbered the time of his Kingdom, and finished it; That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods Justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espials, according to *Xenophon*; or inspired by God himself, whose design he followed in this War, found the time and opportunity to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobility were no less filled with the vapors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear

of Gods judgment, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whose channel running, his Army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected company to the Kings Palaces, which having easily forced, they rushed into the Chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the Prophecy of *Jeremy* fulfilled, and that of *Ezay* two hundred years before this subversion, who in his seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction fo feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His Prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come down, and sit in the dust, O Virgin Daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans; for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms.* For, though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor*, and the *Chaldeans*, to punish the Idolatry of the *Judeans*; yet *Ezay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgments was mixt with a rigorous extremity. For (saith *Ezay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst see them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the Nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: whosoever joyneth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their Wives ravished.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or

that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happened, than *Ezay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors (set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of *Saint Hierom*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three dayes alter. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compass thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had fo great a breadth, that six Chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesius* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five Furlongs, which make eight and forty mile and one Furlong, but finds the wall far under that which *Diodore* reports: and fo doth *Curtius* measure their thickness but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and a half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight Furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs circles; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred Gates of Brass, with posts and Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: and therefore did the Prophet *Ezay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princes and Glory of Kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had won her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure; I can say no more of it, than that it is generally

Jo. 27.
Jo. 47.

Das. 5. 18;
19. 20.

Ec. 47.

Is. 14.
To wit,
Babylonians
and
Balthazar.

Diod. l. 5.

Her. l. 1.

Jo. 47. 13.

Is. 14.
To wit,
Babylonians
and
Balthazar.

rally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven years : in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royal power to themselves and their posterity.

§. VI.

The End of Cyrus.

THE last War, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the less, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen : and that in an encounter between the *Perrians* and these Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it : In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battle beat the *Persian* Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words ; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thyself.*

It should hereby seem, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was persuaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares* Father to *Astyages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the less, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty years.

This War, which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyricus*, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginius*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparethia*, though he deliver the success of that War otherwise than *Herodotus* doth : Therather (saith *Viginius*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh Book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith, he defeated the Son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last War which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorbæus* King of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried

in his own City of *Pasagardes*, which himself had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time ; which is said to have been this : *O vir, quicumque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi : Ego sum Cyrus qui Persi imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidas ; O thou man, whatsoever thou art, or whencesoever thou comest ; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come : I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, do not envy unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.*

This Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies) in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bows, and a sword. The Coffin wherein in his body lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of Gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his Son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so far off from that quarter ; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media* : neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged, and in peace : and that finding in himself, that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis* ; or, after *Xenophon*, *Tanooxares* : and, after a long Oration, wherein he allured himself, and taught others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life ; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia* ; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecy of *Isay*, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jews* from their Captivity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other

other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, used for the chafing of many Nations, and the establishing of a Government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the Grace to be an instrument of Gods goodness, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom upon Earth ; which must last for ever, though heaven and earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of *Cyrus* his Decree for building the Temple of God in Jerusalem.

HAVING therefore spoken of his great Victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodness : I hold it meet at length to speak of the Decree made in the first of his Reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire : That the captive *Jews* should return again into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured and finished the threescore and ten years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabucodonosor*, the Grandfather of *Balthazar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the *Jews* which returned out of *Chaldea* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jesai* or *Josias* the son of *Josadak*, were about fifty thousand ; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their own Law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jews* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other Idolatrous Nations adjoining, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governments of those Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jews*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Provincial Lieutenants, and other officers of less place, but *Cambyses* himself ; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was builded otherwise, countermanded the building

begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition : they may herein resolve themselves out of *Esdra's*. That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, what the *Jews* themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in sitting up, having received so many hindrances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the natural and politick courses which moved *Cambyses* to withstand his Fathers Decree, as well while he Governed under him, as when himself became sole and Sovereign Monarch, we shall finde them in that Epistle remembered by *Esdra's*, written by *Belemus*, *Attribudates*, and the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phenicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jews* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings ; that their City being once builded, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyses* having in his resolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion ; That the *Jews* were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence under *Moses*, when they conquered *Judea* ; their City being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabucodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt* was the confidence of the house of *Israel*.

But it is to be understood, as *Codomain* and others have observed, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counsellors and Governors of *Phenicia* complained against the *Jews*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius* Hystaspes, as in the sixth and seventh Chapters of *Esdra's* it is made plain : and also that those Governors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and enclosing of the City, as by the reasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is evident.

Also in the sixth of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the Kings are named in order as they Governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius* ; as : And they built and finished it (to wit the Temple) by the appointment of the God of *Israel*, and by the commandement of *Cyrus* and

1 Efd. 2.
2 Efd. 5.
1 Efd. 4. 33.

1 Efd. 3. 3.
Efd. 5.
Efd. 4.
1 Efd. 5.
Jof. l. 4. c. 11.

1 Efd. 2. 16.

Efd. 2. 26.
1 Efd. 5.
33.
1 Efd. 4. 5.

Efd. 1. c. 4.

Ezek. 29.

Fig. p. in.

par. 218.

Chr. l. 15.
1 Efd. par.

Strabo. l. 11.

and Darius, and Artabasthe Kings of Persia. Lastly, in the seventh of *Ezra* it is written; Now after these things, in the reign of Artabasthe King of Persia: which was as much as to say, after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Ezdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the City and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other Ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his form and manner of Government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldest Son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaxares* his younger son to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusica*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Justin*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of *Cyrus his Issue*: and whether *Atossa* were his Daughter, or (as some think) were the same with *Queen Hecster*.

Cyrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hytaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to be avenged of the whole Nation

for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Translation calleth a *Macedonian*) had against the *Jews*, though the opinion of *Josephus* was more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be understood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should have been *Eftber*, whose History seems rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hytaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Persia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby the thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*; *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of *Codemus*, who upon the near sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Eftber* was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that *Eftber* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codemus*'s inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Eftber* did at length discover her kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was preferred to the Kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of *Cyrus* to the Reign of *Darius*.

§. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian Kings.

OF the Successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaphanes*, who hath numbered the *Persian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

<i>Darius Medus</i> , and <i>Cyrus</i> jointly.	2
<i>Cyrus</i> alone.	20
<i>Prifcus Artaxerxes</i> .	22
<i>Darius Longimanus</i> .	37
<i>Darius Notus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	55

Artax-

<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	26
<i>Arjes</i> , or <i>Arjames</i> .	4
<i>Darius</i> , the last, conquered by <i>Alexander</i> .	6

years.

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninety and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaphanes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus*, for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Melancthon*) of *Darius* the Son of *Hytaspes*: for *Metaphanes*, as *Melancthon* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second Opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but four *Persian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus*, have also a differing account from the *Greeks*; whom nevertheless *Engelbium*, and most of the *Latins* follow, and so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered; and, as I take it, refused all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this sort do the *Greeks* marshal the *Persian* Kings with the times of their reigns.

<i>Cyrus</i> in all.	307
<i>Cambyses</i> with the <i>Magi</i> .	8
<i>Darius Hytaspes</i> .	36
<i>Xerxes</i> .	21
<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	40
<i>Darius Notus</i> .	19
<i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> .	43
<i>Artaxerxes Ochus</i> .	23
<i>Arjames</i> .	2
<i>Darius</i> the last.	6

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers, and the best learned approve. These *Persian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Pencer* in his historical Animadversions, hath gathered the places; finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, ch. 36. vers. 22, 23. *Ezra* 1. ch. 1. vers. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyses* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the Marginal Commentator upon the *Geneva* understands that place; but, under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hytaspes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great

favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is *Darius Hytaspes* found in *Ezra* the first, c. 4. v. 5. whom in the sixth verse is also named *Athasserus*.

Fourthly, In the eleventh of *Daniel*, verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described; and the great War which he should make against the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembered.

Fifthly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse eleven, who is also called *Artabastha*, c. 4. l. 1. *Ezra* v. 7. and chap. 7. v. 7.

Sixthly, *Darius Notus*, *Ezra* cap. 4. v. 24. and cap. 5. v. 6. *Nehem*. cap. 12. v. 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem*. cap. 2. v. 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arjames*: for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the son of *Atossa*, *Cyrus* his Daughters; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own Sons.

But to proceed, *Engelbium*, with the *Latins* following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Persian* King with their Acts, to some certain *Olympiads*; As the War of *Alyages* (*Cyrus* his maternal Grandfather) and *Alyattes* (*Cresus* his Father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign, to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiads*. The invasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* to the third year of the threecore, and third *Olympiad*, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between several forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this historical demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical computation of *Ptolemy*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the *Era* of *Nabonassar* began on the six and twentieth of *February*: which, conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as do the *Greek* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolemy*, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For *Ptolemy* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Jahals* years, and an hundred and forty daies from *Nabonassar* to the sixteenth of *July*, in the
Z z z
seventh

seventh year of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeventh year, in the fiſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad*: which fiſt of the threeſcore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolemy* the two hundred and ſix and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſerving the differences of *Nabonaſſar*'s *Ara* and the *Olympiad*, viz. eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Joſephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, ſaying that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, The diſagreement and conſuſed accounts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* Kings formerly rehearſed, doth give the greater credit to this of the *Greeks*, which being conſtant in itſelf, accordeth alſo with the computation of other Hiſtorians, and Aſtronomers, and likewiſe with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of *Cambyſes*, and the conquering of *Egypt* by him.

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the Empire of *Perſia* to *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, ſaving the deſire to increaſe the greatneſs of his Empire: whereof he was poſſeſt in his Fathers time, while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Cteſias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeeth with the *Græcian* account before received.

In the fiſth year of his ſolereign, and in the third year of the threeſcore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Enſebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrowen the King thereof, *Iſammeniticus*, he not only cauſed him to be ſlain, but alſo did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the moſt of his children.

Herodotus and *Cteſias* give for cauſe of this War (being no other indeed than the Ambi-

tion of *Cambyſes*) that when heſent to *Amſis* King of *Egypt*, to have his Daughter in marriage, *Amſis* preſented him with *Nitris* the Daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyſes* diſdained.

Howſoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyſes* gathered an Army fit for ſuch an enterprize, and cauſed the ſame to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amſis* died, and left *Iſammeniticus*, whom *Cteſias* called *Amryteus*, his ſucceſſor, who enjoyed *Egypt* after his Father (according to the beſt Copies of *Herodotus*) but ſix months, though other Chronologers give him fix years.

But how long ſoever he held the Crown, in one battle he loſt it, and was himſelf taken priſoner.

It is ſaid that *Cambyſes*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only ſpare life to the conquered King, but that he alſo truſted him to the Government of *Egypt*, and that, upon ſome revolt, or ſuſpicion thereof, he cauſed him to be ſlaughtered. But the race of this King was not to be extirpated, if we may believe *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who cauſed the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Iſammeniticus* was at the fiſt entertained gently by *Cambyſes*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is alſo written of him, That he ſo much hated *Amſis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrival, that he cauſed his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities uſed, commanded the ſame to be burnt, contrary to the cuſtom both of the *Egyptians* and *Perſians*. For the *Egyptians* uſed to powder their dead bodies with ſalt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The * *Perſians* durſt not conſume them with fire, which they eſteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

Neither did the Romans ever conſume their dead to aſhes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who cauſed his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talioſis*, or like for like, becauſe himſelf had overthrowen the Carcels of *Caius Marius* after his death. *Herodotus* l. 2. c. 54. *Strabo* l. 1. p. 67. 88. *Herodotus* l. 3. Sec. 1. 7.

§. III.

The reſt of *Cambyſes* his *Acts*.

AFTER this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Army into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Eucelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him who before held that Iſland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelf in *Egypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that

that Nation, as he cauſed the Images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Army into *Lybia*, to overturn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devil, in defence of his Oratory, raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of the Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choaked and over-wheľmed.

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that, diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conďuct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his fiſt-ſent troops had tried, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the Elements do not obey them; according to that old *Engliſh* Proverb, *Go, ſaith the King; Stay, ſaith the Tide*.

After his return from the attempt of *Ethiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in ſervice of him that only is, and liveth. But ſoon afterwards, when in a dream it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the Royal Throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favourite *Praxaſpes*, to murder *Smerdis* his Brother. And having married his own Siſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws, he committed a moſt cauſeleſs and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelf with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her Brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyſes*. That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiously the Ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges and enquired of them, whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the Brother to marry his own Siſter; it being his own intent to do ſo: The Judges (who had always either Laws or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatiſſie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtoms, that it was always left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings, to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and ſo, as *Naucleus* termſ it, *invenerunt occaſionem*: that is as much to ſay, The Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private ſatiſfaction, he cauſed *Stammus*, one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his in-

ceſtuouſ match, to be ſlayed alive, for an unjuſt judgement given, and the ſame he hide to be hung up over the judgement-ſeat. After which, beſtowing the Fathers Office on his Son, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the Son of his beloved *Praxaſpes*, was very ſtrange and ungrateful. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* answered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; ſo only it was by many obſerved, that he took more than uſual delight in the taſt of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And, Are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell me, that I have in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſs, whether in this report they have done me right: for, if at the fiſt thou I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſs the mark, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects believed. This being ſpoken, he immediately directed an Arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the ſtroak, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the Arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoicing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying inſtead of an Epitaph: Now *Praxaſpes*, thou mayeſt reſolve thy ſelf, that I have not loſt my wits with Wine, but the *Perſians* theirs, who make ſuch report.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *ſelon de ſoy*. For when he was informed, that *Patizaites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedronus* writeth them *ſphen-dants* and *Cimerdus*) Miniſters of his do-mineſtical affairs, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings Brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*, and in mounting haſtily on horſe-back, his ſword diſſheathing, pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſs repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own Brother, he ſoon after gave up his wicked goſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven months in which the *Magi* governed, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male-Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or *Meroe*:
Z z z 2

Z. 12. Co
p. 117.

Meropis: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierom* gives him a Daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a Son called *Orontes*: who being drowned in the River *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, called *Orontes*.

He built the City of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Lutopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his Sister *Meroe*.

§. IV.

of the Inter-regnum between Cambyfes and Darius.

Crus and his two Sons being now dead, and the Kingdom in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Sauerdia*, the Prince, or *Satrapa*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrian*, *Meagabyssus*, *Aspathines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achamenes* the first Persian King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprized and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Jysim*) *Intaphernes* and *Aspathines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth, that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. *Othanes* (one of the Seven) did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobility and Cities should confederate, and by just Laws defend their Libertie in equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyses*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness itself, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that Tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp

upon the Laws of their Country; take other
mens wives by force, and destroy whom
they please without judgement.

Megalyfus was of another Opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of One. For the multitude do all things without judgement, run into businels and affairs with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who pervaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforce'd the election of One Supreme. It were therefore, faith *Darius*, far safer to observe the Laws of our Country, by which Kingly Government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And, to avoid partiality it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-back, and on him the Kingdom should be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-rising, should first ney or bite. In the evening, after this appointment was made, it is said, that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebaze*, who, in the Suburbs of the City, where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six princes defended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his *Laws* affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven Governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

Ит. 3. р.
- 100, 101.

CHAP. V.



CHAP. V.

Of Darius the son of Hyftafpes.

6. I.

of Darius his Linage.

D*Arius* was descended of the antient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achemenide*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineal successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before ;

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispins, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsumnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of
Xerxes.

Cart. L. 4.

Hyft after accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars againft the *Scythians* : at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caufed him to be ſent into *Perſia* : others ſay to be imprifoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Perſian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyle* into *Egypt* ; he then joined with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the nying of his horſe, or, as others affirm, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelf by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Nieces for his wives.

¹³⁷ *Hyfallyer*, according to **Herodotus*, had, besides *Darius*, these three sons, who were great Commanders in the War which *Darius* made in *Afa* the left, *Therax*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Arner*, *Artapherne*, and *Artabanus*, who diffwaded *Xerxes*, from the second *Grecian* war. *Hyfallyer* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrius* the Father of *Mardoni-us*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius* *Artostiftre*, his Cofen german.

Reineccius gives to Hyfaffes five sons, Darius who succeeded Cambyfes, Artabanus, Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two Daughters.

254.
De Reg.
Persar. fol.
32.

§. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

Darius devised equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and three-score talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyses* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Mages*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Emperors gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the fame a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopyrus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this fort diminished and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces: which when *Zopyrus* had obtained, after some small colourable over-throws given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he delivered the City into *Darius* his hands; who had lyen before it twenty months.

Hor: 1.3

§. III.

Of Darius his favour to the Jews in building the Temple.

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should go on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between *Exra. c. 6. Explorates* and the *Phœnician*, and midland Sea (whom *Exra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindered the work in *Cambyfes* his time, *Darius* gave commandment that they should not thenceforth come near unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis: With-draw your selves far from them*; In our *Englisb*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a Decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also, in the same Decree maketh invocation to God; That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and people that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in *Jerusalem*, &c. In four years after which Decree (the Jews being really furnished with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

§. IV

Of Darius his Scythian War.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Tystin* calleth *Laustimus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertook this war against him, because he refused him his Daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia the less*) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the

Asian Grecians to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Hystian* Prince of *Milet*, a City of *Ionia*, which Nation, being a Colony of the *Greeks*, *Diad. l. 11. Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Country, because they joyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Army of *Darius* entering the desert Country called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chirm Tartars*, their posterity, at this day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graziers, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggon they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chirm*, any other City than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messengers to the *Scythians*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the *Perfians* used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an Hieroglyphical answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wit, thought that he did yield all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slain

slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye Perfians, get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows*. And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Perfian* camp, drove the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the Army with continual Allarums day and night; were so fearless of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weak behind him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Perfian* King should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystian* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Perfians in Europe, after the Scythian War.

Darius having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabazus*, who mastered the *Pæonians*, and transplanted them, and posset *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being also soon after subjected, and added to the *Perfian* Empire by *Otanes*, the son of *Sylaxmus*, whom *Cambyfes* had excommunicated for false judgement. So were the Cities of * *Scythia*, and * *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Perfian*, who having now reduced under his obedience the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoining, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Sovereignty over that Kingdom. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemn and magnificent feast; the *Perfians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors, who were well filled with wine, and preluded

upon their greatness and many Victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Perfians* barbarous presumption, beforesight his Father to with-draw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attitudes which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Perfians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder: But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Eubaris*, a principal Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatened to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the less, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§. VI.

The first occasion of the War which *Darius* made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrel grew.

NOW the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after, between the *Perfians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which City endured the hardest and worst ruin of *Darius* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great *Perfian* Monarchy. *Persopolis* the Capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride of their greatness, the *Perfians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were antiently Governed, the same being already fed down, though scattering, and in several times, among other the Contemporary occurrences of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained still their ancient polity under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former Government from Monarchical to Princes for term of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whose death they were called *Medontides*; and of these there were twelve Generations belides *Medon*, to wit,

Ageſtus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourcore years, according to *Fulgius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Enſebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Archippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenes, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans*.

Phereclus.

Aripbron.

Theſſius, in whose time the *Aſſyrian* Empire was overthrowen by *Belochus* and *Arbaces*.

Agamemnor.

Æchylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Enſebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.

Alcemonon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected Decennial Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that Governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æſymeder.

Elydicus.

Hippomines.

Leocrates.

Ablander.

Erictus was the last *Archon* of the decennial Governours, which from continuing threecore and ten years, was then changed into annual Magistrates, *Maiors*, or *Burg-masters*, of which *Theſius* was the first, according to *Panſanias*: others find *Leocratus*; and then

Antioſſenes.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damſias.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinus Priſtus*, and were in after ages derived unto the *Romans*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Roman* Laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Government; the state of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchy by *Piſſistratus* the son of *Hipparchus*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and infolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadel of *Athens*, he made himself Lord of the Town; *Hegſistratus* being then governour. But the Citizens, who in every change of Government had fought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Piſſistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joining their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon

soon after well re-edified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Piſſistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcæmonides*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerful, yet so, that *Piſſistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcæmonides*, and especially *Megacles*, being inclined against *Piſſistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so far, that *Piſſistratus* (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. While time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he again recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and four years, saith *Elianus*, but, as *Justin* hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time be like as well before, as after his several expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineal Successors of a natural Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his Brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And, though *Hipparchus* was charged with unnatural lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince as of many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who, because she would not reveal her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with *Xantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to be great-

ly favoured by *Darius*, to whose Son *Hippocles* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his Brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Piſſistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clisthenes*, one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who, calling to his assistance the banished *Alcæmonides*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so afflicted *Hippias*, as by his composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence embarking himself took Land at * *Sigæum*, whence he went to *Lampſacus* in *Asia* governed by *Xantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty years before the battle of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Xantides*, at other times with *Ariſtophanes* Lieutenant for *Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perſwading and practising the enterprise upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better, the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicit and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between *Greece* and *Perſia*.

Another, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* War, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Seacoast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500 years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Croſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Perſia*.

But as it is the custom of Nations half-conquered

Her. l. 12.
Eretria a
City of
Eubœa, by
others cal-
led Melite
by Strabo
his Eretria
Pel. 5.
Hærod. l.
apud Eſſay.
Pel. 169.
Pel. p. 28.
Her. l. 6.
Thucyd. l. 6.
c. 10.

Lampſacus
a City of
Asia upon
the Helles-
pont. Her.
l. 5.
Thucyd. l. 6.
c. 1.

* Sigæum, a
promontory
opposite to
the Isthmus
of Tauris,
which Ar-
rian calls the
promontory
of Tauris.

conquered (witness *Ireland*) to rebell again upon every advantage and opportunity : so did the *Ionians*, and other *Gracians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seek by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spurn them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perfian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the Government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Perfian*, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when *Darius*, being in great extremity, they used all means to deliver him and his Army (that otherwise had been lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of service *Histians* the Tyrant of *Aleutis* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came so to pass, that *Darius* being more fearful of the harm that *Histians* (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good espial upon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Histians* had subtilty enough to discover the Kings purpose, which ill agreed with his own desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a small Territory, than to sit and feast at the great King's Table, and hear the Councils by which a large Empire was managed; being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which, if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfy the King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Ariflagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Aleutis*, advising him to stir up some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Ariflagoras*, who having failed in an enterprise upon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Perfian* his Associate, stood

in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the King's treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsel : and the better to draw the whole Countrey of *Ionis* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did set *Aleutis* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Aleutians* : and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he took and sold as slaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perfian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admiral in the enterprise of *Naxos*, he had surprized in his first breaking out, together with the principal Officers and Captains; so that now he thought himself able to deal with the great King's forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Asia* would shortly be upon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, unless he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were insufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having assayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedaemonians* : he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better success befought the people to lend him their assistance. The *Athenian* Ambassadors which had been sent to the *Perfian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Asia*, desiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perfians*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the *Ionians*, and the persuasions of *Ariflagoras*, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the *Athenians* furnished for this Voyage; to which the *Eratrarians* furnished five more, in regard of the ancient Kindness that had passed between the *Ionians* and them. With these and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entered the River *Caistrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Ephesus* : by which advantage they surprized *Sardis*, when no enemy was heard of or suspected; in somuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the Castle, which the *Gracians* could not force : from whence he beheld

beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The *Perfians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market-place, strengthened by the River *Paddolus*, which ran thorow it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves, and charged their enemies; who well advising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the Sea-side. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the *Gracians*, and found them near *Ephesus*; where setting resolutely upon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest saving themselves in *Ephesus*. In this fight, *Eucleides*, Captain of the *Eratrarians* perished : but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preserved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before sent unto *Ariflagoras*, and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, nor by their tears, be perswaded to make any second trial of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noise in the world, than the late good success which the *Perfians* had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and sending their Fleet into the *Hellefont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately subdued by *Cambyfes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacy with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aid by Sea, rebelled against the *Perfians*.

These news coming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the War commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes*, against *Athens* : To which the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembered, gave only some form and assistance : the business, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had perished, ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrences in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrel of *Darius* against many of the Islanders, if not against

the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour : the Islanders moreover did help to furnish out a Navy of three hundred and sixty Sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by surprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perfians*, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phenicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished : neither was that victory of any use to them; the *Cyprians*, in whole aid they came, being utterly beaten by the *Perfian* Army at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Perfians* likewise by open War and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon *Hellefont*, with some *Aeolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Ariflagoras* with his friends quitting *Aleutis*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himself in *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time, *Histians*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this Evafion preserved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perfians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Histians had sought to put himself into *Aleutis*; but the Citizens, doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves, without his help. The strength of their City by Land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings; and their good Fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon; and

many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town itself, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the Persians; whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The War which Darius made upon Greece with the battell of Marathon, and Darius his death.

THis War with good success finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable success; Darius obtained in the enterprise and Conquest of Greece (though at first he intended to make the War but against the Athenians and Eretrians, who jointly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia) did now by his Ambassadors, demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Eginets*, and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed, (by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the Persians. Cleomenes led the Lacedæmonians in this War, and caused his companion King Demantus to be depicted: who thereupon fled to Darius, for the more confident victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civil Wars among the Greeks. He therefore gave order to Hippagorus to prepare a Fleet of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the Hellespont: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Army he committed to Datis, accompanied and assisted by Hippias, the Son of Pisistratus, expelled out of Athens twenty years before, and by Artaphernes his Brother, Governour of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the less. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, embarked themselves in six hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the islands, called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between Asia the less, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might

always both relieve themselves in the passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and out-rage.

To this end, they first possessed themselves of *Samos*; secondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Island, the Inhabitants despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautify the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered these & other Islands, the Persians directed their course for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that City (as already hath been shewed) had assisted the Ionians at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Island the Persians took ground, and besieged *Eretria* very straitly, and after six days assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of *Eupubus* and *Philagias*, they took it, sacked it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sails. From *Eubœa* the Persians part their Army into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards Athens.

The Athenians, finding the time arrived wherein they were to dispute with their own virtues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and with all sent away with speed to the Lacedæmonians for succour, employing in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through *Arcadia*, encountered in the way a familiar Devil, which he supposed to be *Satan*, who willed him to allure the Athenians of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battell, to assist them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return, seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was somewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stirred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason.

The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the *Platæans* (who having been formerly defended by the Athenians against the *Thebans*, did in this

this extremity witness their thankfulness & grateful disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand of the *Platæans*. In the end, and after great diversity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the trial by battel, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into three troops: two wings or horns, as they term them; and the body of a battel. The Persians when they perceived so small a troop advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposed of their understandings, than possessed with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and resistless the Persians esteemed their own numbers to be, and that small troop of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withal: But in conclusion, the Victory being doubtfully balanced for a while, sometimes the virtue of the Grecians, and sometimes the number of the Persians prevailed; the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of Darius were disordered and put in rout; the Athenians following their Victory even to the Sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their Ships.

The Persian Army consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; of which there were slain in the place six thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourscore and twelve. For howsoever it came to pass, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Pannic terror*, or by some other affright, it seemed that the invading Army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Justin's* report, That two hundred thousand of the Persian Army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slain, faith *Justin* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

The greatest honour of this Victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the trial by battel, and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsel which he

gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Grecians, of mark and commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegrus* following the Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the three-score and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by *Corollanus* against his fellow-Romans: Alexander the Son of *Antony* being then King of Macedonia, and *Phanippus* then Governour of Athens, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilde*, after *Halgear-naglaus*.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned back into the lesser Asia, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after six and twenty days assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those ungrateful Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battel of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankfull and witless people, brought them, not many years after, from a Victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegespila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his Father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in Justice and good Government.

Now Darius taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the loss received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdom of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of Greece. The diligence also among

Heed. I. 6.
Whether
this City
or People
made on
Europe
side with
variable
success;
Darius
obtaineth
in the
enterprise
and Con-
quest of
Greece
(though
at first he
intended
to make
the War
but against
the
Athenians
and Ere-
trians, who
jointly as-
sisted the
Ionians
against
him, and
burnt
Sardis in
Lydia)
did now
by his Am-
bassadors,
demand
an acknow-
ledgement
from them
all: among
whom, some
of them
not so well
resolved
as the rest,
submit-
ted them-
selves; as
the *Egi-
nets*, and
others.
Against
these, the
Athenians
being in-
flamed,
(by the
assistan-
ce of the
Lacedæ-
monians)
after di-
vers en-
counters
forced
them to
give pled-
ges, and
to relin-
quish the
party of
the Per-
sians. Cle-
omenes
led the
Lacedæ-
monians
in this
War, and
caused his
companion
King De-
mantus
to be de-
picted:
who there-
upon fled
to Darius,
for the
more con-
fident vic-
tory, by
reason
of these
discords,
alienations,
and civil
Wars among
the Greeks.
He there-
fore gave
order to
Hippagorus
to prepare
a Fleet
of Ships,
fit to trans-
port his
Army over
the Helles-
pont: the
same con-
sisting of
an hun-
dred thou-
sand foot,
and ten
thousand
horse. The
charge in
chief of
his Army
he com-
mitted to
Datis, ac-
companied
and as-
sisted by
Hippias,
the Son of
Pisistratus,
expelled
out of
Athens
twenty
years be-
fore, and
by Artaph-
ernes his
Brother,
Governour
of Sardis,
and the
Sea-coast
of Asia the
less. These
Command-
ers having
their Com-
panies
brought
down to
the Sea-
side, em-
barked
them-
selves in
six hun-
dred Gal-
lies and
other Ves-
sels; and
first of all
attempted
the islands,
called
Cyclades,
which lay
in the mid-
way be-
tween Asia
the less,
and Gre-
ce. For
(obtain-
ing those
places)
the Per-
sians had
then no-
thing to
hinder
the trans-
portation
of their
forces
over the
Ægean
Sea; but
on the
contrary
they might

At Athens.

among his Sons, of whom the younger being born after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, Death, who hath no respect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joynd him

to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabanes*, born before he obtained the Kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Abdemenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Majistes*, and *Anabignes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

Xerxes received from his Father, as hereditary, a double War, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Grecians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his Grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozofres*, perwaded by many arguments the *European* War. But *Artabanes*, Brother to the late *Darius*, and Uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late Invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsel: The one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his Enemies both his Army and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbrake himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, though the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of his own nature, which only the Divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanes*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this War (changing opinion and counsel) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the War of *Egypt* was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand Horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts of Carriage, if we may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number less by seven hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the several Nations were the Princes of the blood of *Persia*, either by marriage in the Kings house, or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobrias*, by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joynd some others of *Xerxes* his nearest kindred, as Generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the Immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in Greece.

The

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight furnished by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphylians*, *Lyicians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Hellefontines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their own Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Artabignes*, the Son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certain Gallies furnished by *Artemesia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princes of *Halicarnassus*, and the Islands adjoining, which her self commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himself was imbraked.

§. II.

Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his Bridge of Boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse between him and Artabanus upon the view of the Army.

When this World of an Army was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendezvous*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he entered the border of *Celæna*, he was by one *Pythius* a *Lydian* Herd of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Army. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of Silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting even thousand of the *Persian Darics*; which make so many of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seven thousand *Darics* should be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the Present. But soon after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (because himself was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father fought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his Carcass should be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand

of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (with the half Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountain and the *Cheremeses*, or Neck of Land it self: a work of more ostentation, than of use, and yet an enterprize of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to pass in front. The Cities so severed from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophysus*, *Acrotboom*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the *Hellepont* between *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which, after the finishing, was by a Tempest torn asunder and dissembled: where-with *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were masters of the work, and caused six hundred three score and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the *Phœnicians*, was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into, and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boarded and railed, the whole Army of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and four score thousand Horse, with all the Moyle and Carriages, past over it into *Europe* in seven dayes and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward use. And *Caligula*, that mad Emperor, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought neer to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troops, assembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoining: and after he had gloried in his own happiness, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Army and Fleet, he suddenly (not withstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which

which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troop within that number of years by the King remembered, is, That the life it self which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few days given us in the world, there is no man among all these, or elsewhere, that ever found himself so accompanied with happiness, but that he oftentimes pleased himself better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrows whereto mankind is subject, being to many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcast those joys which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good success? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himself of the Kings resolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it self, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should find, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the World any Port capable of so great a Fleet; inasmuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any safety; and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other inconveniences, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an Army, and the Famine which cannot be prevented, will without any other violence offered, disfigure and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring

perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army it self both by Sea and Land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacy had not misprised them. For to invade by Sea upon a perilous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588, who had belike never heard of this Council of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point; It is very likely that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not have in it less than two millions of Souls, besides his beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few days suffer famine, and using *Machiavels* words, *Mourir sans secours*; die without a knife. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Countrey, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the sharpened points of their Weapons, destroying withall whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylae*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Laundresses, Harlots, and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possessed so many Kingdoms and Nations, as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that war. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this War was answerable

answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in, marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus*; & *impedimenta potius sunt, quam auxilium*: They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aid.

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one Army, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* Commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be refuted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius* who perwaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

§. III.

Of the fights at *Thermopylae* and *Artemisium*.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army over the *Hellaspont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the Lake near to *Pisgirus* by his cattle, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between

the Mountains which did divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas* one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedaemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegate* and *Marineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneseans*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge Army of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first days fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handful of those men whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second days attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runaway *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedaemonians* with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes*, having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the virtue of such as had not been present at these battles, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dioneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* Arrows was so thick as would hide the Sun, he answered thus; It is very good news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the City of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore healked counsel of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that Isthmic neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned, should be sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoil the Country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Island then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of *Rendezvous* upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand so inconveniently for them as it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easie to guess. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes*, Brother to King *Xerxes*, was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* Fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole daies together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magnesia*, four hundred ships of War, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes*, perswaded his Brother not to disperse his Fleet; for if (said he) after the loss of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by Sea to encounter the rest of the Navy, which holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land Army and Fleet, should each of them stand

the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; For about the same time that his Army had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by Land, his Navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at Sea. The *Grecian* Fleet lay at that time at *Artimesium*, in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the Island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas*, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the Sea, which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the fame fort held by a Navy of two hundred three score and eleven sail against the huge *Persian* Armado, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly been maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* Fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirty vessels, forcing the rest to take the Sea; where, being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the Rocks, and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navy of the *Greeks* were increased by the arrival of fifty three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battel at *Artemesium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parts. For, though more of the *Persians* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the *Greekish* Fleet, which being small, could worse bear it: Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crushed in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they weighed Anchors,

chors, *Themistocles*, General of the *Athenians*, engraved upon stone at the watering-place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks*, or stand neutral; which perswasion, he hoped, would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of *Xerxes* upon *Apollo's Temple*: and his taking of *Athens*.

WHEN *Xerxes* had past the straits of *Thermopylae*, he waited the Country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoining: as for the Inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and reserve themselves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his Army he sent to spoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been made by divers Kings, and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnassus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superfluous. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of inriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that license to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who saith, *Will a man spoil his gods?* and elsewhere; *Hadst any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligents heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alleged the burning of *Cybele's Temple* by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the City of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize

against *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousness so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to *Athens*, which finding forsaken, he took, and burnt the Cittadel, and Temple, which was therein. The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's Oracle*, That *Athens should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boards and Palisadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the Prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the Interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

§. V.

How *Themistocles* the *Athenian* drew the *Greeks* to fight at *Salamis*.

THE *Athenians* had, before the coming of *Xerxes*, removed their wives and children into *Traxene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of *Greece*. Nevertheless, this great zeal, which the *Athenians* did shew for the general good of their Country, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed their wives and children out of the City. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the Isle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the Fleet to *Isthmus*: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by Land and Sea, leaving the rest of *Greece*, as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Islands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of security) have been given over into merciless bondage. Against this resolution, *Themistocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with fear of losing their

own, which they would not hazard, that no perfwasions could obtain of them to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonftrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*: As first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the selfsame fear which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to disserve the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own City and Estate: Then to the Council of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he shewed, that the fight at *Platæa* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the Straights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Platæa*; which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by Sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave him so good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided *Themistocles* with the loss of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. A base and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than all his former perfwasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer City than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of War, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a Town in *Italy* belonging of old to the state of *Athens*, of which Town he said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians*, in process of time, should build it

a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant our selves, leaving unto you a forrowful remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*; whose affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and condescend even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they first embraced that Heroical resolution, of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should enforce them so far, for the preservation of their liberty, did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong Fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it came to pass, that, had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either present death, or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by Sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourscore bottoms. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them, were soon perfwaded, by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*; and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsel of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battle: and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean season, the *Persians* had entered into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battle to the *Greeks*, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such advice as they thought would best please

please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this War in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsel was, that the King himself directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to pass, that the *Greek* Navy (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be disfavoured, and every one seeking to preserve his own City and Goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battle; so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the Victory which we desire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is more than they would have done, we fitting still: but if they, as better Seamen than ours, put us to the work, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dash, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captains, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King, well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse counsel of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flattery made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgement, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perfwasion of much good, that his own presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Agialaw*, which is opposite unto the Isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The near approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Army, marching apace thither, did now again to terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no entreaty nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madness to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to

save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if, losing the Victory, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate Island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for *Platæa*; which had presently been done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had stopt up their ears against all good counsel, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholesome decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busie in wrangling altercation. As soon as the Council brake up, he dispatched secretly a truly Gentleman to the *Persian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navy about the Island, which inclosing the *Greeks*, might prevent their escape; giving them withall false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than believed these good news, well knowing that the Victory was their own assured, if the *Athenian* Fleet joyined with them; which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the people with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meer necessity enforce the *Grecians* to undertake the battle in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable Victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battle to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters that befall the *Persian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it self that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that Victory with equal courage, were it not that the principal

principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Agina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did fly towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-Army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Agina* having possesst the Straights, did link or take them, whilst the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battel of Salamis : and of the flight of *Xerxes*.

AFTER this Victory, the *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutiny, to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them, in all this great Service; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but, in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto virtue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the War, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, he advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces he promised to reduce all *Greece* under the subjection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to soothe *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardice of those *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*; with others of the like metal, nothing better than slaves, who had for ill behaved themselves in the late Sea-service, did not concern his honour, who had always been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the War was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to sail to *Hellspont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greeks* had

no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his Army not so strong, as it should have been, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* give counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved; which counsel *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were (so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to imbarck himself in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly material: though the *Greeks* did most willingly embrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as *Locusts*, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between *Mardonius* and the *Athenians*, as also between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedemonians*, after the flight of *Xerxes*.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself into *Thessaly*, whence he sent *Alexander* the son of *Amyntus* King of *Macedon*, as Ambassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that War.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians*, understanding what fair conditions this Ambassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatch their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, used the best of their perswasion to retain the *Athenians*

nians firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of War against the rest of *Greece*, but had only threatened the subversion of *Athens*; till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the *Athenians* without much cruelty of injustice could not leave them. We know, said they, that ye have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the Town, the houses thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the War shall continue, hoping that ye, who have always procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needles to use many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sun continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the *Lacedemonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Army to march, so far as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessaly*, having once received such a peremptory answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius*'s readines to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For he, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them; and thence City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agents unto them, with instructions, not only to persuade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, & to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges; Or, if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederats, whose succors did very slowly advance forwards, yet per-

haps the leaders might be won with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should fail, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to please his Master, King *Xerxes*; who mult thereby needs understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their own Country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrillus*, advised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Council-house, heard what he had said, immediately set upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, and in the Isle of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsel, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slackness of the *Peloponnesians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themselves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardness in those whom, it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slackness, and threatening withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded athwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedemonians* waxed careless and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* Fleet lay upon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Navy contained it self within the Harbours upon *Europe* side; both to do service where need should require at home, and withal to shun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being distracted from the rest) had ventured over-fer. So mutual fear preserved in quiet the Islands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Isthmus* would serve

serve to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: considering that many doors would be opened into that Demy-Iland, as soon as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athena*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better perusal of their own dangers, were very careful to give satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pausanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readiness; deeply swearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thousand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the final conclusion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing slack in fending forth Companies, whose near approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athena*, beating down the Walls offit, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battel of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bootia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to be the seat of that War. Much time was spent before the quarrel was decided by the trial of one main battel: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assail them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoynd the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persians*, furnished his Camp with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their

Confederates, had leaved an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two Armies having eleven days confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose vituals began to fail, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promised Victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the Oracle designed: For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athena*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped; as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the same place, upon Mount *Cithæron*; and the ground served well for footmen against horse; only the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the *Platæans*, to make all clear, did freely bestow their Land on that side the Tow upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifice their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* Wars.

All things being ready for battel, the *Lacedæmonian* General thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Ateides* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertain the *Thebians* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding, (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Ateides* and *Persians* had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battel, and oppose himself to *Pausanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro.

Some

Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retreating; because they could not without much loss to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dis-lodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardice,) he charged them in the rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, that the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the enemies horse, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of especial mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signal of battel: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in space to succour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battel, because the *Thebians*, and other *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans*, with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slain in the field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage, as desperate necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found strong opposition of the *Thebians* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found warily busied in assailing the Camp,

with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage thorow the Wall; at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entered with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand, they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Assistants; yet they being of several Nations and Languages, and having lost their General, with other principal Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy-Country, against an Army of men, far more valiant than themselves, and enlisted with present victory. Therefore the same Wall, which for a few hours had preferred their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitiful Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: For he well knew, that they understood any thing of that great difficulty, all places would have been hostile unto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and Conquest; though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had foreseen, and rather worse, forasmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, despised and fought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* Monarchy by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entered into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakness of their Enemies.

§. X.

The Battel of Mycale; with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.

THE same day on which the Battel was fought at *Plataea*, there was another Battel fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* Fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Albanian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navy, at the request of some Islanders and *Ionians*, did fall into those parts, to deliver the *Sami-ans*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lydia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threecore thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ion-ia*, and the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Ar-tayntes*, and *Ithramites*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them, they did forth-with draw their ships aground, forti-fying with *Palisadoes*, and otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their Land and Sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear, than good will, were encamped among the *Persians*) ex-horting them in the *Greek* tongue to remem-ber liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*, trusting that either these perswa-sions would prevail, or, if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousy in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to persuade those Inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* like-wise, who in their former bravery, little re-garded, and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Sami-ans* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milefians*, whom they did suspect; but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that

these *Milefians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Sami-ans* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Pers-ians* manfully within the Camp; which ex-amples the *Ionians* presently followed, be-ing very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that while the *Greeks* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a ramour suddenly ran in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the Battel of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great Battel, wherein *Paulus Amilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four dayes, as *Ætius* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other ex-amples of this kind. As that of the Battel by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of, the same day in *Poloponnefus*. That of the Battel against the *Tarquinians*; and the *Latins*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebel to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Anto-nius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germa-ny*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make him-self Emperour; which news much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous War, it was suddenly reported, that *Anto-nius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Author of these tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Domitian* betook himself to his journey against the Rebel; and being now with his Army in march, he received ad-vertisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon re-membring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self-same victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hun-dred miles) asunder. It is truly said of *Plu-tarch*, that this last example gives credit un-to many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery, or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Persian affairs to mat-ters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not far from the place of this Battel; but little mind had he to revenge either this, or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force. Because he respected much his Brother her Hus-band, he thought it best to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, he soon after fell in love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern him-self in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, caused the Queen thereby to perceive her Husbands conversation with her, which she imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royal Feast, wherein the custom was, that the King should grant their request, she craved, that the Wife of *Allexes*, her Hus-bands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reform-ed the abuse of such a custom, or have delu-ded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her self with the like, to what o-ver he should inflict upon the innocent La-dy, granted the request; and sending for his Brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villainously that poor Lady should be intreated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. *Allexes* refused to put her away; alledging his own love, her deserting, and their com-mon children, one of which was married to the Kings Son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked man-ner *Xerxes* reviled him, saying, That he now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had

found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God him-self doth sometimes use to terrify those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises: as he raised the siege of *Samarita*, by causing a sound of Hornes and Chariots to affright the *Ara-mites*; and as he threatened *Senacherib*, saying, Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noise, and return to his own Land. Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such means as this, to animate the *Greeks*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear, lest their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their own Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius*, whilest they went wandering to seek out Enemies a far off upon the coast of *Asia*. But, the same of the Battel fought at *Plataea* being noised among them, every man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the Enemies Camps; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and straight passages, to win the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Camp (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way thorow the *Palisadoes* and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save them-selves by flight. In this fight the *Sami-ans* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milefians*, who upon the like jea-lousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had been sent of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the (word as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them flee dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milefians* were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army levied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive War.

promised unto him. *Mafftes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when returned home, he found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queen *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off; and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Mafftes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and some friends, towards *Babrie*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebel and avenge himself: But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannical condition of the *Perſian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much virtue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his overthrow, and lying upon the ground, said, That he doubted, whether in regard of his virtue, he should again erect it; or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lie. But surely, whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercilefs.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickedness and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had been, very good; but against the general estate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his posterity, did ever make offensive war, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycalé* served but as an in-

troductiōn; teaching the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his own doors, than in a foreign Country: whereof good trial was made forth-with, and much better proof as soon as the affairs of *Athen*s were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Perſian* estate continued in her greatness, many ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdom, representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions, or none, that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, wherewith both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that *Xerxes* and his successors were faine to defend their Crowns with money & base policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain battle with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousy urged every City to envy the height of her neighbours walls, and thereby diverted the swords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of Conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian War, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was re-built and fortified.

AFTER that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycalé*: *Lentichydes*, who then commanded the *Græcian* Army, leaving the pursuit of the War to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Ionians*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta*, and

and other places, out of which they had been leaved. The *Athenians* in the mean while besieged *Sestos*, a City on the strait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fastened his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, since the invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of the *Athenians*, in divers Islands, and at *Træzen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athen*s were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortify their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertised, and milking the fortifying of *Athen*s, both in respect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwall'd, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerful by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private dislike or jealousy, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately been. To this the *Athenians* promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their works, by the advice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their dislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealousy (for by the arrival of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athen*s were speedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty Citizens to

*Athen*s, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his own, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with some such discourse as might retain them a few days, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himself, and the other, *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athen*s was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athen*s were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to believe, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own safety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the resolutions of their own counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or persuaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War against the *Perſians*, they found their own judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferior, or less fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weal among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Matters and Judges of their own affairs, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confederated within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Walls of *Athen*s should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their dislike, both of the fortifying of *Athen*s, and of the divisions; and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athen*s finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyræus*, by which they might under covert embark themselves upon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and prosperous War made by that State upon the Persian.

THE Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War against the Persians, to which the Lacedæmonians added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece confederated, they set sail for Cyprus, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the Lacedæmonian; where, after their landing having posited themselves of many principal places, they embarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the Persians by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Council of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Athers*, and Treason against his Country. In his stead they employed *Doreas*, who either gave the same cause of offence, or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandment in that War, practised the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wife and virtuous behaviour of *Aristides*, General of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available, in rendering those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedæmonians being no less wearied of the War, than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandment of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the War being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levy money, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of Greece; and for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the Isles, and the Islands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and three score Talents, which

was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the virtue of *Aristides*, and other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their virtue, and robbing them of the general love, which had made them powerful, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and three score Talents were raised to fix hundred; nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up, and where, at the general Assembly, the Captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by Sea than all Greece besides, had locked up the common treasure in an Island, under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The general Commander in this War was *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eionia*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristii*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandments; taking upon them and usurping a kind of sovereign authority over the rest; which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the War in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of War, or in Ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Herby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navy and their experiences, being always armed and employed in honourable services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-money, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians*, at

§. III.

The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.

As if these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the Persians of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were near unto him, began to repose his hope of Safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the Sovereignty, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardice and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the Son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedness he got the Kingdom, and held it seven months; or whether, intending the like evil to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprised, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extremest torments, according to the sentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse;

*Rare antecedentem scelusum
Deseruit pede pena claudo.*

Seldom the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

§. IV.

The banishment of Themistocles: his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and his death.

Artaxerxes being established in his Kingdom, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than he or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athena*, when the Persians were chased out of Greece, did so highly value their own merit in that service, that they not only thought it for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government

at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admiral scouring the Asiatick Seas, took in the City of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the Persian Fleet rode, being of six hundred sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the shoar; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in Greece, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*; the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk, ere ever they had swum in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great Victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very soon presented with a third. For four score sail of *Phoenicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, under the Persian command) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they only sought to run themselves on ground; by which mean preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so break the courage of the Persians, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condescended to whatsoever Articles the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ships of War should sail to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any War that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the *Macedonians*.

of their vanity and indifcretion to undertake many enterprizes at once.

§. V.

Of other Wars made by the Athenians for the most part with good success, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these overthrows in Egypt, yet the Athenians in their home Wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the Lacedemonians, Corinthians, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto *Halia* by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they obtained two great victories soon after, the one over the Peloponnesians, near unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, near unto *Ægina*, where they sunk and carried away three score and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded *Ægæra*; where, after a great fight with equal loss, the Corinthians, when they returned again to set up their *Trochæ*, as Victors in the former battel, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the Athenian Garrisons, and Megarians, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the Athenians were discomfited near to *Tangra*, by the Lacedemonians, who returned from the succour of the Dorians against the Phocians (at which time the Thessalian horsemen turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) so about three score days after, the Athenians entered *Ævotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they won *Phocis* on the gulf of *Oetæus*, and evened the walls of *Tenagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Peloponnesus, belonging to the Lacedemonians, wan upon the Corinthians, and overthrew the Sicyonians that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of those six years, that a part of their forces made War in Egypt. In the end whereof they attempted

Theffaly, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the King *Pharlaus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicionia*, and had victory over those that resisted; after which they made truce with the Peloponnesians for five years, and sent *Cimon* into Cyprus with two hundred ships; but they were again allured by *Ameyrius* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marsh and Woody parts of Egypt from the Persians, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their Army failing in their enterprise at Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island, incouraged a fleet of the Phœnicians and Cilicians, over both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece: as also those returned safe which were sent into Egypt.

§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahasuerus the Husband of Queen Hester.

These Egyptian troubles being ended, the reign of Artaxerxes continued peaceable: whereof the length is by some restrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, some allow unto him four and forty. He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the Jews; as appeareth by the Histories of *Ezdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needless travel; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahasuerus* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proof, it may suffice, that *Ahasuerus* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore must have been a Persian; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the History, and used the counsell of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continual Wars which exercised King *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry

sundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King, do manifestly prove that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo the Jew*. That at the perswasion of *Mardochæus*, *Jochabim* the High Priest the son of *Jesha*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jochabim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*; at the coming of *Ezdras* and *Nehemias*; *Jesha* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of wars with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the story of *Hester* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not near to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahasuerus*, it is enough to say, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hierusalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived until their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jochabim* the high Priest, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious Egyptians in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royal Feast, as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the sum of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Hester*'s story by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, who adds the authorities of *Josaphus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Isaac* the Patriarch lived, namely, one hundred four score and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponnesiān War.

But it is fit that we now return to the Affairs of the Greeks, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their civil wars, suffered the Persians for many ages to rest in peace: this Egyptian Expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the Lacedemonians undertook the war called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Isle of *Delfos*, and delivered both to the Inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the same, and gave it in charge to the Phocians. In the mean while the banished *Ævotians* re-entered their own Land, & mastered two of their own Towns posselt by the Athenians, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards Athens, the *Ævotians*, *Eubœians*, and *Loerians* (Nations opprest by the Athenians) set upon them with such resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all slain or taken, whereby the *Ævotians* recovered their former liberty, returning to the Athenians their prisoners. The Islanders of *Eubœa* took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the Lacedemonians, and submitted themselves to Athens) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the Athenians Garrisons, and joyned themselves with the Corinthians, Sycionians, and Epidaurians. These news hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the Peloponnesians, led by *Plistonax* the son of *Pansanius*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whose return *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the Athenians began to treat of peace with the Peloponnesians, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Countrey of Peloponnesus: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After six of these years were expired, the Athenians (favouring the *Mylefians* against the *Samiens*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*; and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themselves upon most lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own walls, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice, from the Athenians. In the neck of which, followed that long and cruel

Peloponnesian War, whereof I have gathered this Brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no City thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance

of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependence.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian War.

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Greece was never united under the Government of any one Prince or Estate, untill *Philip* of *Macedonia*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by their own Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their Leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the General quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude, very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty: of whom the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* were chief; which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetual War. For, untill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian War* (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had overmastered all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Country) the wars, commenced between one City of *Greece* and another,

were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the general Council of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedaemonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedaemonians* had lived about four hundred years under one form of Government when the *Peloponnesian War* began. Their education was only to practise feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used Money of Iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into War.

twen these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, sudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution. The *Lacedaemonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to pass, that the *Lacedaemonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that fought honour, and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in freight subjection. But the Signiory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, untill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrel to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Army of seventeen hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Navy, and assisted by the other *Greeks* overthrew the Fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land forces were soon after discomited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all served under conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in Fleet, reduced all the Islands of the *Greekish* Seas under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Persians*; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Islands and Haven-Towns of their Country-men, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedaemonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in Expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousy, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, That they should seek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to encrease their honour and puissance.

Nevertheless, many Estates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, because that City grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and, maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, incroached space upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Island *Corcyra*, their Colony which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their Fleet by adjoining that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby defeated of that revenge, which else they would have taken. Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redress by war the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some Towns, oppressed by the State of *Athens*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly press, that if they might obtain it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making War.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a War, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergo.

But the *Athenians* would yield to nothings; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the *Lacedaemonians* were Superior, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed; but the

Athenians

Athenians did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

S. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

THE first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Country people driven to fly, with Wives, Children, and Cattel into the Town; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Plataea* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The *Lacedaemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Country of *Attica*, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a Fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whil实现 they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that War the *Lacedaemonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might, and did, receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their Expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessities, which came by the Sea from the Islands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these Invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they

began to set their care to build a strong Navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

S. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at Pylos.

AMONG other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylos* a very fore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A Fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-Isle of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary winds detained at *Pylos*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a strange neck of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Island of less than two miles compass, and within that a Creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontory the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Country adjoining was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruel war with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in straight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedaemonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylos*, and from thence make daily incursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at *Pylos* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entered a few days before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navy to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous

loss

loss at hand, which they there in few days received. For when they in vain made a general assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Island before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that only two ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylos*; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channel, between the Island and the Main. Having thus taken order to fluit up this new Town by Sea, they sent part of their Fleet to fetch wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortify round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season the *Athenian* Fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylos*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haven, did break and sink many of their enemies vessels; took five, and so enforced the residue to run themselves aground.

Now was the Town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Island as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the Camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publick safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylos*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedaemonians* should deliver up all the ships which were in the Coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the Town, nor the *Athenians* against the Camp; That a certain quantity of Bread, Wine, and Fleth, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should pass into the Island secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose return the truce should end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians* should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the War, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedaemonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of War,

whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For instead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompence for loss sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedaemonians* long before this War began, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unless the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendered unto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they should, according to their Covenant, restore the ships which had been put into their hands. Whereunto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one Article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedaemonians* driven to use many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedaemonians* were so far from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their Coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylos*; which became the Rendezvous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

S. V.

How the *Lacedaemonians* hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a Peace that was not well kept.

THUS therefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilian* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain

gain or loss, they banished the Captains, as if it had been merely through their default, that the Isle of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self, no whit inferior unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after, by some disalters received, especially in *Thrace*, where, in a battel which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slain; which two had most been adversaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderations; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great *Navy* which they had received at *Egins*, were fain to proceed lamely in the War, against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the business, ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the infolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong City, which though inferior to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little else to do.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by wailing the Territory of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrel should easily and in short time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should have been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the War was undertaken, have been so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready money, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harm that the *Peloponnesians*, wanting

wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither War nor peace; their daily travels, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travel was little effectual.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more Towns upon the Continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could perform. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yield themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever Articles were drawn, and concluded, for their security, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, untill such time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more streight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have been

peace

peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that, by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make lure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deferving in the late War, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) was little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousies in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction between two so powerful Signiories; especially one clause threatening every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, besides the other Articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impulsion wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjust friends: whereby it came to pass, that they who lately had born chief sway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held between many States of *Greece*, by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.

THE admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unresistible, and able to make way through all impediments, had been so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that City was compelled to take and seek peace, upon terms not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himself prisoner, nor that any misfortune should have been so great, as should have drawn that City to relieve it self otherwise than by force of Arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especial mark,

being overlaid by enemies, in the Island before *Pylos*, had rather chosen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylos* it self, sticking as a thorn in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seek to refresh it self by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive basely of those men which were virtuous, though unfortunate; but other less Cities joining with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great City of *Argos*, of whose ability to do much, they conceived a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish envy is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the virtues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers, which we know to be wanting in our selves.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatness of *Athens* daily encreasing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the present War. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alleging as grievances, that some Towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of War, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forlake their dependency upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* and *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular business to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all comers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconvenience might arise unto them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; & therefore

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sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had been hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entered yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that Reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as Religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy; forasmuch as it had been agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athens*) should bind the lesser number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to do them open wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had lost many places, without provision of restitution; and that the very clause alleged by the Embassadors, did acquit them from any necessity of subscribing to the late Peace, forasmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they perfwaded to rebel against *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in Reason and Religion to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no less to be accounted a Divine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to joyn themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to pass that the friendship it self, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Manti-*

means and *Eleans*; these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in War, yet rather the *Argives* in War than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the society of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different forms of Government, used in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business having ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themselves of their own danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They fought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had shewed against them more stomach than force; but gave them to understand, that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*. That the one should not make peace nor War without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seen the great advantage which absolute Lords have, as well in peace as in war, over such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly find any Signiory, that hath been so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferior to it self, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Towns as their

their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent which had them in present possession; and particularly the Town of *Onade*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the *Athenians* as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) unless that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the last agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them & the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the Town of *Onade*, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was sought to have been excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who coming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to save the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemy of *Athens* should nestle in *Onade*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one; but used such base conclusions as stood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having destroyed a Town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by War, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that year, in *Sparta*; & *Alcibiades*, a powerful young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire War, as the mean whereby himself might procure some honourable employment; used all

means to set the quarrel on foot, whilst the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendered ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* willing a speedy beginning of open war, fell privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the first confluence of many Estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders as if they should have had the conduct of all Greece against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these sudden apprehensions of vain joy, were suddenly changed into vain fears; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought security from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noised abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their own Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive and defensive between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this business the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to think: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the

new Ephori thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction, to retain the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who coming to Athens, with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Council-house, to make the truth of things appear, saying; That their Confederacy with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panactæ*; concerning which Town, or any other business, that it much grieved the Lacedæmonians, to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argives might be called off. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedæmonian Embassadors, persuaded them well of his friendship towards their City, and advised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonalty of Athens; lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The Embassadors believed him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity; that were come to Athens for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argives and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly have fatished, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedæmonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded, with good performance) were now

so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong persuasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present (so far did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the business was put off, until he himself, with other Embassadors, might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seem a great wonder, how so poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the Spartan Embassadors might have cast the load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the gravity which was usually found in the Lacedæmonians, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untrusty men, had they professed themselves such as would say and un-say for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a slow message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedæmonians should take the pains to rebuild *Panactæ*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the Thebans; letting them understand, that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the Argives, and their adherents. The Ephori at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the Thebans, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would do no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear a new to keep the Articles of the league between him and Athens. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embassadors, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argives, Mantinians, and Eleans, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedæmonians were pallied over with silence, yet was it manifest, that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the Lacedæmonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the Athenians, and procured others to do the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should.

should. But that which did most of all dislike them, was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War by misfortunes, than in sundry passages between them and the Athenians: to procure and keep whose Amity, they had left sundry of their own friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the Athenians by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in War; all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the Peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the Argives and their fellows had found business wherewith to let the Athenians on work, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and *Sparta* did (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Boeotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, began a new to range themselves under the Lacedæmonians, and follow their ensigns. One victory which the Lacedæmonians obtained by their meer valour in a set Battle, near to *Mantineæ*, against the Argive side, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissension arising shortly after within Argos it self, between the principal Citizens, and the Commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so far, as to renounce the Amity of the Athenians in express words, and forced the Mantinians to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Besides these uproars in *Peloponnesus*, many affairs were made to raise up troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the Athenians; whose forces and readiness for execution, prevented some things, revenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Atheni-

ans wanting matter of quarrel, and the Lacedæmonians growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open War.

§. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sack Syracusæ, are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

DURING this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*; whither they sent a Fleet so mighty, as never was set forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such judgement, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the Lacedæmonians made upon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with money.

Neither was the success of things in *Sicily* such, as without help from Athens, could give any likelihood of a good end in that War. For, although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Syracuse*, the chief City of all the Island, and one of the fairest Towns which the Greeks inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong aid from *Peloponnesus*, it came to pass that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise, that their Fleet was shut up into the haven of *Syracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian affairs went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand upon their terms; for that the Lacedæmonians, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pillaged and foraged, they returned home; did now by counsel of *Alcibiades* (who seeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortify the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily incursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes give alarm unto the City it self.

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, & at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another Fleet into *Sicily*, to invade a people no less puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was; which came to pass many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain Conceits *Pallas* was laid to turn to the best. But where unfound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Syracuzans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navy, which was there before) quite vanquished, and barr'd up into the haven of *Syracuse*, whereby the Camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deserved, fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Phidodorus* Generals, formerly sent into that Isle, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in *Sicily*, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to pass, that *Nicias*, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather chuse to hazard the ruine of his Country by the loss of that Army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of *Athen*; than to adventure his own estate, his life; and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his trial resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Syracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said he) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us: yea these our soldiers, who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, nor what opinion expecteth; and to

measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others; yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and pattern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the Camp break up till seven and twenty daies were past. His timorousness was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*; or might portend less evil to the foolish, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any Astrologers can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *C. Cæsar* the Roman, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retiring, the broken remainder of *Craſſus* his Army, defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

— *Sapientis Dominabitur astris.* —

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the Multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

of the troubles wherinto the State of Athens fell, after the great loss of the Fleet and Army in Sicily.

THE loss of this Army was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little less calamity to that Estate, than was the subversion of the walls, when the City about seven years after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebel: of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some for fear of greater inconvenience were set at liberty promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of liberty offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principal men of *Athen*, being wearied with the peoples insolency, took upon them to change the form of that Estate, and bring the Government into the hands of a few. To which purpose, conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an Aristocracy in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this Innovation, being slain at *Athen*, the Commonalty were so dismayed, that none durst speak against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this general fear the Majesty of *Athen* was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent: for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no enquiry made of the murder. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authority, which nevertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had pro-

mised to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes*, his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the flow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his service done unto that State, was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in Council and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal Citizens weary of his virtue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded her self to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* treachery, conveyed himself unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soon became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roys affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athen*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsel he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only Favorite of so great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to reconcile the Soldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, & partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority, and the greatness of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, desiring to compound in as good terms

terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted, than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of it self, which in effect (though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope King *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decælea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Navy of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the City, or to the Countries near adjoining, any terror of the War. For the diligence within the walls might soon have done more good than could be received from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave occasion to let the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repel foreign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the sovereign command unto the people, or whole body of the City, but, only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong, or none to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed, that *Alciades* and his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their General, and again deposed.

THIS establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good success in the Wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the same time overthrowen at Sea, in a great Battel, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alciades* afterwards joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many Victories. Before the Town of *Abydos*, his arrival with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great Battel to the *Athenians*; he overthrowen and utterly destroyed the Fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransom their City, and fortified *Chrysopolis*. Hereupon Letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the distress of the Army, in these few words: *All is lost; Mindarus is slain; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to do.*

Shortly after this, *Alciades* overthrowen the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by Land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, besieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made High Admiral of all the Navy.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again, only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the express command of *Alciades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alciades*, was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the loss which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For, whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own City; now, as injured to adversity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger, had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alciades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented Battel to *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who was not

so confident upon his former Victory, as to undertake *Alciades* himself, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former loss of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the Decree of the people was published in the Navy, then did *Alciades* withdraw himself to a Town upon *Hellepont*, called *Bizantie*, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The Battel of Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the people.

AFTER this time, the *Athenians* receiving many losses and discomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege, necessity informed them to man all their vessels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratides*, Admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a Victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise, they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer, That they pursuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that, and other their intentions. This excuse availed not. For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himself escaping in a Meal-tub, had been intreated by those who were in peril of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Country should be overthrowen. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the

wife and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other vessels in the storm: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was over-past, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice, but the divine Justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

The Battel at Egos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian War.

THE *Peloponnesian* Fleet under *Lysander*, the year next following, having scoured the *Ægean* Seas, enter *Hellepont*, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged and took the Town of *Lampsacus*. Hereupon all the Navy of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourscore sail, made thither in haste: but finding *Lampsacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sessor*, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the River called *Egos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the River of the *Goat*, being on the Continent opposite to *Lampsacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampsacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival, they presented fight unto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Egos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of *Alciades* was not far from the Navy, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his Country-men, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a rode subject to every weather; neither near enough to any Town where they might furnish themselves with necessities,

nor so far off as had been more expedient. *Seftor* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navy every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seftor*, which was not far off, or at least to consider how near their Enemy was, whole fear proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedemonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his followers, over the Straights, who assaulting the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortunes; which how evil it would be, he did prognosticate.

Lyfander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was, to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they roamed up and down the Country; he kept all his men aboard after their departure: and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* disimbarking, as their custom was, and walking towards *seftor*, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyfander* being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of Oars could give, to *Aggor-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, nor many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Inasmuch that the greatest industry which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, & made a long flight into the Isle of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken,

and such of the Souldiers as came into the refuge, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this Victory, *Lyfander*, having taken such Towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and joining his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the City; which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Islands, and such Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessities, from the City, and enforced the people by meer famine to yield to these conditions; That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at liberty: That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoining to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the fame, whom the *Lacedemonians* did, and follow the *Lacedemonians* as Leaders in the wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoicing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governors, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompensed their former insolency and injustice over their Captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians* was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedemonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* war. After which the *Lacedemonians* abusing the reputation and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, even in that very age in which they

they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foil that they took, was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaninondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon* Father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the City of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the several Estates and Signiories of *Greece*, were grown so jealous one of another's greatness, that the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one

City could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly balanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose fore-fathers had been dependants, and followers, yea almost meer Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free; till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian War, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in those times.

During the times of this *Peloponnesian* War, and those other less Expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his Brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have been the Sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdom but one year between them; the younger succeeding his elder Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the History of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous Brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his Brother, and more cruel, he slew unjustly *Agorazus* a principal Eunuch, and would have done as much to his Brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could levy, seized at once upon the King and Kingdom.

Darius having slain his Brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian*, rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himself so firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their civil Wars) maintained it against the *Persians*, all the daies of this *Darius*, and of his Son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a subject of his own, and of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Islanders and others, subject to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedemonians* being destitute of money, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Navy, without which it was impossible to advance the War against the State of *Athens*, that remained powerful by Sea, were driven to crave his assistance, he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the Articles of the League between him and them, were set down in more precise terms; wherein it was concluded, That

he and they should make war jointly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia* which had formerly been his, or his Predecessors, should return to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the War ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his Grandfather and Father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the City of *Jafus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Egypt* still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with golds, which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his own Sister, who bare unto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindful, or the Remembere, who succeeded him in the Kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular virtue, and accounted, by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his eldest Son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of the great Empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befit a Subject: for which cause his Father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between these Brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

§. II. How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to show the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the subversion of the walls of *Athen*, which gave end to that War called the *Peloponnesian* War, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civil broils. The thirty Governours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of *Athen*, were chosen the

first by the people to compile a body of their Law, and make a collection of such ancient Statutes as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City standing as it did in that for sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority; either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Laws themselves, by which the City was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirty, having too great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deserve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows as were odious to the City, though not punishable therefore by Law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not without bethink themselves, how easy a thing it would be unto these thirty men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true trial and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entered into a wicked course of Government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a rare guard; ere they brake but into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own company to *Sparta*; they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose, it behooved them to cut off such as were seditious, and therefore desired the *Lacedæmonians* to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard was sent, the Captain of which was well esteemed and by the Thirty, that none of their friends could want his high commendations in *Sparta*; whereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and doing no more afraid, bade the persons invade the principal men of the City, and taking armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely to be able to make any head against this wicked form of Government, whereby there was such effusion of blood, as the *Athenians* (one of the Thirty) termed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves

themselves, and provide for their own security, and his destruction, lest he should make himself a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole City) and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of the publick authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whole many, or goods, might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him to the Council, as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main privilege of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accustomed trial) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes* and so reduced him under the trial and sentence of that order. It was well alleged by *Theramenes* that his name was not more easy to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consideration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding; but every man chusing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants intreating silence as consent, condemned him forthwith; and compelled him to drink poison.

From this time the thirty Tyrants, and the conspirators, began to show their cruelty.

III. The conspirators against the thirty Tyrants, and the conspirators.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty Tyrants, to put such out-rages as exceeded about corners Villanies. For having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they rubbed all others without fear or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and caused them to fly into banishment, for the sake of their wives. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the banished Citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entered in-

to consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives in setting free the City of *Athen*. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captain *Thrasybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territory of *Athen*. No sooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further dangers, assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the City which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of horse, to weary out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasybulus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. These small but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburb of *Athen*, lying on the Port. Before their coming the thirty had resolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleusine*, to their own use, whereinto they might make an easy retreat, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of Government had brought them into such danger, they were loath from seeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murdered them all. But, *sceleribus tantum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasybulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this intreprize *Thrasybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the Victory seemed the greater,

greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Pireus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasybulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheles there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of Government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aid against *Thrasybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, and his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Army of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousy, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Boeotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their oaths, to make war against that people, who had

not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annex the Territory of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasybulus* his party, made a shew of war, he finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusis*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovations; whereupon the whole City rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Parly, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his Brother.

THE matters of Greece standing upon such terms, that no one Estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his Fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the War against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous War against the *Athenians*. To this request, being general, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a suitable answer; commanding the Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdom of *Persia* should have been the recompence of his deserts; or that, he perishing in battel, as after

he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the wayes, which under the *Macedonian* Emperors, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty Kingdom, whose love was not yet come. The love which *Parysatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young Prince, in his Fathers old age, to aspire after the Succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before been shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious Youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes*

Artaxerxes established so surely by the old Kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of Viceroy, which he held in *Asia* the less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardice, treachery, craft, and all vices which customably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all fair shews of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former ages had been much available to *Xerxes*, in the like disception with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his Father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned King. All which not sufficing; when the moit that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanor, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining; then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily believed, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the War.

THE form of Government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their several Provinces, was in many points almost Regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoof, but for their own reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himself, the interest that he had in the Kingdom, the small assurance of his Brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession, the disgrace endured by his late imprison-

ment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it self: but rather enterprize somewhat whilst yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many Towns of his Jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardice despised, although he durst not adventure to take arms against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other Towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terror to preserve his reputation, and keep the Town in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Souldiers he used great policy; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will, but secretly he furnished some *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of War, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessaly*, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in arms upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the less: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters; that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the

the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the less, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territory; he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speed marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that *Cyrus* had left him to himself, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How *Cyrus* took his journey into the higher *Asia*, and came up to his Brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, against *Parisatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger halted upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased by the repair of his Countrymen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by trial in a Muster, which (to please the Queen of *Cicilia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled a main, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their Cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful spectacle, who knew very well, that his Brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the war against their will and dispositions, whereas his Army was drawn along by milder affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to persuade the *Greeks* to pass the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had trodden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cicilia*, to seek excites, telling them, that *Abrocomus*, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them

to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Emphrates*; where some of the *Greeks* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entered the Fords, whereby all were finally persuaded to do as some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an Army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battle. *Abrocomus*, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Straights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face; who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I do not find that this cowardice of *Abrocomus*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp, till five days were past after the battle, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself; were all made of the same metal.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, until by *Tribazus*, one of his Captains, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp dispute of a Title to a Kingdom is most available) would have grown superior in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his Brother, who now began to be secure, being fully persuaded, that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be far distant from his enemies.

§. IV.

The Battle between *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*.

THE Army of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evil waies, and scarcity

scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*, and being past this Trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, having bestowed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Van-cuirors, brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their Battels in good order upon the side of the River *Emphrates*, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was afternoon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamors, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt, and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so unequal in distant, being all embattled in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the midst of his own, did not with the corner, and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his batel, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self, upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible, that so great an Army should be so easily chased. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of an on-set, made by the *Greeks*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled again, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that such as were about him forthwith adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greeks*, and to set upon them in the rear,

he advanced with six hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a Squadron of six thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, laying the Captain thereof *Artaiges*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man*: and presently, with a small handful of men about him, ran upon his Brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the breast. Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a Dart, thrown by a base fellow, wherewith astonished, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was impossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caught the head and right hand of his Brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly dismayed such *Persian* Captains, as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way through the Battel of the *Greeks*, was ready now to join with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his Brothers death, been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks*, would have yielded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwise, when he came upon them, they opening their Battel, drove him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Com-

panies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displayed on the top of a Spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* elied it, who not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur: so that none remained in the place of battel, save only the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, not taken any other harm, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings coming had given them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the *Greeks* after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home dark night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfy their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season Artaxerxes returning to his Camp, which he entered by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baleness of his people, and weakness of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these

who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Arius*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionis*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyn with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arius*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Camp, whose errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yielded to such a motion: a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in a way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesy he meant to requite their kindness. To this question *Phalimus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilst they kept their Arms, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This

This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It seems that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and employed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checked in his Embassy by a bookish dissembler. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known, than that he brought an unonest message to his own Country-men, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the merciless Barbarians;) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principal Commanders were surprised by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all thole, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to *Cyrus*, offering their service in *Egypt*, where they thought Artaxerxes might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the General told him, They liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) mult I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said *Clearchus*. But whether war or peace, quoth this politike Embassador? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they roasted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the *Greeks* began to return homewards.

AT night they took their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at midnight; being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King; by whom they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough

it is that they were cut in pieces, for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too base a temper, and birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having (worn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Gracians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, should be very fearful: but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition enforced them to do, should make the *Persians* fly out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early came messengers from Artaxerxes, desiring free access for Embassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battel, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the Greeks.

Hitherto the *Greeks*, relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themselves into any straits or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtil Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying near unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battel shewed his face to the *Greeks*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause ye have born Arms against me. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should pass freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawful for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded; and *Tissaphernes*, returning to the King to take leave, and end all business came unto them again after twenty days, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty days, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred of *Arctus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did work him and them to with assurance of pardon, and other

allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and sit still whilst the King layed snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treaty; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings means, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, whereby he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open War.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a liar*. A lie may find excuse when it grows out of fear: for that passion hath his original from weakness. But when Power, which is a character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own strength against the Divine Justice, doth commit that sin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the General *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: Having travelled some days together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes* and *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the Oath of Confederacy, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keep it; and, repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the *Assyrians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his provinces; or against the

the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the Great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many waies he could have used to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself; especially by burning the Country, through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by meer famine. For which cause he said, that it had been great folly, to seek by perjury, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance; but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had willed. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captains with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention between them. *Clearchus* himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferior Leaders to repair with him to the Camp of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to some common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus*, with other the five principal Colonels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Grecians*, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were

his own Brother, And *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principal men in the Army, saying, That they brought a message from the King, which *Arius* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Memnon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Colonels, for detesting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to surrender their arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send back *Memnon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus* and the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandment their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province waited by the *Greeks*, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant unto those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being thus against him. But now let us return to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Army.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon heartened the Greeks, and in despite of Tissaphernes went off safely.

Great was the heaviness of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how

how to avoid. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deep sadness of the whole Army, to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-officers of *Proxenus* his Companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some mean, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve for to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set down for disbanding the Army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentiful Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to pass them where they were fordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to require for the harm which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding some horses fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point-blank. By these means did he bear off the *Persians*, who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chafe with that band of fifty Horses, which being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and seconded with troops of the light-armed shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lye aloof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handy grips with these valiant men, did possess the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to pass. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the Country. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all

hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himself to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be affrighted to do that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manners. But these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being near unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persians*, they should enter into their Country, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek Army found in passing thorow the Land of the Carduchi.

ENTRING upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persians*, were no way inferior to the *Greeks* in daring, but only in the Art of War. They were very light of foot, skilful Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much use against these poor travellers, afflicting them in seven daies which they spent in that passage, far more than all the power of the Great King had done. Between the Territory of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites*, a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easie. But the next morning they saw certain troops of Horses, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings Deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountain, within less than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a Ford, by which the greater number of them passing over, did easily chafe away the Subjects of the *Persians*, and then sending back the most expedite men, gave succour to the Rear-ward, against which the *Carduchi*

duchi being slightly armed, could not on plain ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolemy* place them far more to the East upon the River of *Cyrrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a Critick. For *Ptolemy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, add small light to this Expedition: only of this last, I think it the same which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaxagarta*, springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardevus* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having passed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribazus Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace, was disappointed, and shamefully beaten.

THE Army finding in *Armenia* good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or three score miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and passing over them, travelled as far further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus*, at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptolemy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Persians*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seem to have been a School, where the Art of falsehood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he levied an Army, & besetting the streights of certain Mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendation of being no less craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of success. For a great Snow fell, which caused the *Greeks* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his

that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, sought him out; and coming upon his Camp, did to affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Van-cuirors, chased him away. They took his Pavillion, wherein (besides many slaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousness) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and passing *Euphrates*, not far below the springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, thorow which they marched, had their wintering houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaves, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattel) some Colts that were bred up for the Great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabysiond, thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, near whereunto the people called *Phagians*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations joined together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were to pass, made countenance of war: but some Companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose Country the *Greeks* did enter, were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themselves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down

down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of Cattel, which served to feed them, travelling through the Land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes, wherewith they had been vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travelling through a good corn-Country, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine Sea*. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountain called *Teibes*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course: and passing friendly through the Region of the *Maerones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Cholebis*, wherein stands the City of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colony of the *Greeks*. The *Colchis* entreating them with hostility, were required with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoil the Country thirty dayes together, forbearing only the Borders upon *Trabisond*, at the Citizens request.

§. XII.

How the Army began at *Trabisond* to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how they came into the Territory of *Sinope*, and there prosecuted the same purpose.

HAVING now found an Haven-Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious Land-journeys into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherophylus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principal Commanders, promised by

means of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedemonian* Admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their Navigation. Left all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* periwaded the Cities adjoining to clear the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabisond*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchis*, near unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army took their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the Fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the * *Molynaci*, who were divided into factions. The stronger party despoiling their friendship, caused them to joyn them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was * *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colony of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entered the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to * *Sinope*, whence Embassadors were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings,

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of the History of the World.

lings, and threatening to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*. That meer necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a method: Letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it self; to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Haly*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would pass the rest of the way by Sea; provided, that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to imbarke every one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

§. XIII.

Of dissention which arose in the Army, and how it was imbarked.

HITHERTO the danger of Enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity; which now began to dilolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honorable work to build a City in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puissance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Country, divining of his success by the entrails of beasts. The *South-layer* whom he employed, had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battle in ten days: he therefore, having pre-

served his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were fore afraid, lest the poverty of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient Fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for *Greece*. One of these Captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon*, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a Traitor that should forsake the Army, before such time as they were arrived at their journeys end. *Silanus* the *South-layer*, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby stayed from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. Alas the other Captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Army was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon* whom they feared, had periwaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navy, whilst they were in good readiness, to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captains therefore, who being disappointed by these Towns, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Army, of taking the ships, and failing to *Thasos*, where they might seize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These news becoming publick, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captains to his purpose, and meant now

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* *Trabisond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine Sea*.

a Nation of Pontus, called *Molynaci*.

b *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town in the same Region.

c *Sinope*, a *Greek* Town in Pontus, a Colony of the *Greeks*.

to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Coryllas*, Lord of the *Raphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh Anchors, and set sail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxilias*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissention and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THE nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the Army at *Traizon*, lying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the intrails that threatened ill success to his Government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially knowing how to well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had been General but six or seven days, when he was deposed; for having been unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the

Camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two dates they had failed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves: telling them that all their provision would be spent in three days, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessities could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyziceni*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyziceni*; at least; which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*, as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their insolent message that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Acheans*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, chusing new Leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten captains, failed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the midway between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpose to assail the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governor of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies

Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thracia Asatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the *Propontis*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoils in *Bythinia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captain leading his own Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and so was that part of the Country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slipped at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country; and finding the *Greeks* laden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* and *Acheans*, who wanting the assistance of horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand meekly upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him their intelligence. His horsemen he sent before to discover, and to scour the ways; the light armed footmen took the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible: whereby the whole Country seemed to be

on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the *Arcadians*, increasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in very good order, to have given battle, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; and how the Army returned into *Greece*. The occasions of the War between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Persians*.

THE Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away; fearing lest *Xenophon* should find some device to have settled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were (such as left their Parents, Wives and Children, to whom (through failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own superstition, to make them stay,

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which they greatly suspected; or whether the signs appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure; so long they were informed to abide in the place till vituals failed: neither would the Captains lead them forth to forrage the Country, until the Sacrifices should promise good success. *Cherijophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heraclians*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, & the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Colonel in to the place of *Cherijophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoil of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprize he found ill success, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Horse being set by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troops falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain Mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army, to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Camp upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessities, caused the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travel. *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assistants. In this journey his demeanor was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough & troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting vituals to

sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasy return, which might serve to stay Cowards from running away, but to with unto the Enemy a fair and easie way, by which he might fly from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be conveyed away, to the discretion of the *Greeks*, who had good leisure gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoil of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Caipas*, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore entering further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Glyryopolis*, a City near unto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visit his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedemonian* Admiral, intreating him with much instance and large promises to waite them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admiral confederating, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at *Egyptum*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the treaty of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Arms into his hands, and so to yield their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how, to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon *Egyptum*, which by *Xenophon's* persuasion they forbore to sack; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the general course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of *Asia*, and stir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprizes, than ever their Forefathers had undertaken. Likewise

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it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedemonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedemonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these Companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionis*, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Zissaphernes*, if not against the Great

King, prepared to rebel; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Zissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedemonians* to send them aid, whereby to recover their liberties, and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Timbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities, and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, whilst they were managed by the Lacedemonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedemonians took courage by example of Xenophon's Army, to make War upon Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedemonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his Brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open War against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* war beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophon's* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiatics, and rehearsed the many Victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joyned forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civil distraction, wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* War, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedemonians*, to the defence of their own

Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agefilas* having both the fame, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great or profitable achievements. For, how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his virtue; his exploits being only a few incurious into the Countries lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophon's* own journey, which I know not whether any *Agehath* parallel'd: the famous retreat of *Conon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aqualeia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equal. But of *Agefilas* and his Wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginning of the War in Asia.

Timbro receiving *Xenophon's* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholding to the King;

King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the Government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the War begun by *Themis*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands and committed to *Dercyllides* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of War, and a wife Commander. For whereas the Rule of the low-Countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllides*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corvial thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings loss) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entered *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few daies, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllides*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had been Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his Wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaved her self so well, that the not only was beloved of the people under her Government, but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns adjoining; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the *Assians* and *Persians*. For he had in pay some Companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of *Dercyllides* in those parts, a Son in law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to fettle her, and kill her Son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal Towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole Estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with Presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governor in the place of *Mania*. His Presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treason threatened, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllides*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their gates. One only Town

stood out four daies (against the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepis*, which the Traitor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllides*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of *Scepis*, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllides*, that other condition there was none, than to let the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllides*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but coming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth *Dercyllides*) I must here likewise do a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traitor, not daring to make denial, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllides*, taking possession of the place, tended pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*; and so the murderous Wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his drest head. *Dercyllides* having in eight daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Erythina*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of War. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the Truce being continued, held in which time, besides the waiting of *Erythina*, the neck of Land joyning *Cheromea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the City of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllides* had

had command from *Sparta* to divert the War into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneasy to recover all the Towns of *Ionis*; *Pharax* the Admiral of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity; yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having respect to the Kings service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength, which done, they marched towards *Ionis*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As the *Persians* were desirous to keep the War from their own doors, so was *Dercyllides* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the River of *Meander*; and not looking to have been so soon encountered, marched carelessly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battel. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readines, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persians* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greeks* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the *Handers* and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Only *Dercyllides* with his *Peloponnesians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight, which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of *Pharnabazus* had been followed; who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider, what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercyllides* from *Sparta*, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were, on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might

enjoy their own liberty and Laws; but contrariwise on the other side, That the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by trial of a battel.

§. III.

How the *Lacedæmonians* took revenge upon the *Eleans* for old displeasures. The discontent of the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, conceived against the State of *Sparta*.

IN the mean season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to account for some disgraces received by them during the late Wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympian Games*, had let a fine upon the City of *Sparta*; for Non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnity; and publicly whipt one of them that was of note, for presuming to contend against their Decree. Likewise they hindered *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence, which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to work very slowly: but having now to do with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the first year an Earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the City itself was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian Games*

was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time coming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. in this expedition all the *Greeks* were assistant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian War*, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, only security against *Athens*, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty Estates, did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutral Common-wealths to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the War to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans*, to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His War with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the War diverted into another Province, through persuasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successor. How careless the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

Agesilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Boeotia*, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War against *Troy* many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant also to do sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such Ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Offi-

cers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw down his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his Country in a new War; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intentment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to liberty all the *Greek Towns* in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilst *Agesilaus* was busie in settling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming down of these Forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals and other necessities for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* believe, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his Forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entered with his Horse into the plains of *Meander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass into that Country which was fittest for their service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoil without resistance, till such time as the Horsemen of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that trial how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which means having enabled

enabled himself, whilst Winter lasted, he entered upon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plain of *Meander*, without assistance of their infantry, he gave them battle, and had a great Victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loss fell heavily upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon cowardice had abated himself from the battle, or following some other business, was then at *Sardis*. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the Government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who lude caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last, through too much over-weening of his own wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect; for supposing, that by his great skill in subtle negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them weary of *Asia*; he did not seek to finish the War, and, according to his Masters will, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find some opportunity of making such end as might best stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have War, whilst by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agesilaus*, in very friendly sort letting him know, that the man who had been Author of the War, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agesilaus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the mean season he was content to transfer the War into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of

Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a strange manner of War, both on the offensive, and the defensive part. For *Agesilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his several Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants; and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any loss that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subject likewise to the same Crown of *Persia*, so long as their own Government could be preserved from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able, by partial construction, to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so foolish that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provincial Government, according to the benefit or loss, which the Country, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to pass, that as every one was desirous to make his own territory yield a large increase to the Kings treasure, if no man was careful to assist his borderers, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but late still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been unequal to recompense the spoil of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

§. V.

The War and Treaty between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

Agesilaus having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entered *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drove him out of the Camp. These Actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might have increased his power, and given assistance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew

unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he lost again as easily, by means of some slight injury done to them by his under-Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himself in any Town, for fear of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as near as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to do. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been such, that besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at *Abydos*, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on Horse-back against the *Athenians*) together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were enforced against their will, to offend him. *Agessilus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him against the *Persians*, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Army should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere; but because his Country would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulness with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agessilus* meant nothing less than to return into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, took a wise course, whereby the City of *Sparta* was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of silver, to be employed in raising war against the *Lacedæmonians*; which treasure was by the subtle practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men of the *Thebans*, *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates having formerly borne secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much, as of open war. And lest this great heat of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Arms, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time laid claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the *Locrians* were either hired or persuaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning to lose their Rent, made a distress by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) required with an invasion made upon *Phocia*, waiting that Country in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, & requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, & ready consent to their suit, it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered. Then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their

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their own wills, having no other war to disturb them in Greece, and hearing out of *Asia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about *Phocia*, and with such forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath been shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused, to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to join with *Lysander*, and make a speedy end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seek what help they could abroad, forasmuch as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart, than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wilhes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it self on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by public allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompensed with friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirty Tyrants against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour sake, they requested them of aid in the present war, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former estate and dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the Thirty, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the City to make a large requital of the courtesy which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it self in their cause. Whilst *Pausanias* lay still waiting the arrival of his Confederates; *Lysander*

being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where, though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was slain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the *Thebans*, so the coming of *Pausanias* with his great Army did again amaze them, with precipitation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battle, *Pausanias* durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slain, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardice or indifferency, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flee unto *Tegea*, where he ended his days in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agessilus was called out of Asia to help his Country. A victory of the Spartans. Cannon the Athenian assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of Athens.

THIS good success, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Scarnians*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to give battle to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own doors; considering that the force of *Sparta* it self was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agessilus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to return speedily to their assistance, passed the Straights of *Hellepont* into Europe. In the mean time, the Cities of the new league had given battle to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Associates; but with ill success. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battle meeting *Agessilus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him

him sent over into *Asia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyfander* the Admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lyfander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he requited the loss received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* failed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Navy, and so much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The *Lacedæmonians* lose all in *Asia*; the *Athenians* recover some part of their old Dominion.

NEVERTHELESS, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. For *Agessilus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the *Thebans*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*. He walled *Batia*, and fought a great battle at *Coronea* against the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marhall *Gylis* foraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by

many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battle of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agessilus* charged them in the return from the pursuit. Likewise *Gylis* was slain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equal damage, received in the parts adjoining; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterprizes was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn by the loss of the haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the news came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willing to do their message, required only in scorn, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Acheans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt much loss, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*; who held with the contrary side, until *Agessilus* repayed these invaders with equal, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did to induce the *Acarnans*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almost disabled to pass the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expell the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydos* did stand firm, wherein *Dercylidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about *Hellefont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thrasibulus*, took in *Brizantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Isle of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgment of *Athens*.

§. IX. The

§. IX.

The safe conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the War. The Peace of Antalcidas.

ABOUT this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneasy a thing it would be, to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, affixed with the treasures of *Perfia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the Kings disposition; but withal, to set the Islanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all their principal Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the Great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive War, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it easie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himself Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envy, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who solately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted; both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together against the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their several Embassadors oppose themselves unto it; and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seek to repay the harm done by *Agessilus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Timbro* was sent into *Asia* to make War upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places: whereby the War being scattered about, all the Isles and Towns on the firm Land, grew almost to the manner of Pyrracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Tim-*

bro was slain by *Struthas*, and in his place *Dilephidas* was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. *Dercylidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydos*, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enterprizes about *Hellefont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprized and slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasibulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slain by the way at *Apudus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Ariflocratie*, or the Government of a few the principal Citizens; whereas contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Sovereignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves by erecting in the Town of their Confederates a Government like unto their own: which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to incline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coast of *Attica* which caused the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and besiege their Town: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, the Islanders began a new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having lost four of thirteen. The loss of these ships was soon recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* General had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Islanders were tain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of *Athens*, having but newly raised her walls, having not by any fortunate and important battle secured her estate from dangers by Land; but only depending upon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irrelolute in the common cause, would send a Fleet and an Army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the Mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Island in the eye of *Tyreus*, had ability to vex the coast of *Attica*. Was the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the insolency and themselves injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a desire to keep themselves far out of fight, and to seek employments at such distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publick judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did pass away much part of his time in the Isle of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country

Country could well have spared: with which he returned not when the business in *Cyprus* came to an end, but fought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even with their own Haven. For *Telentius*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Agina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navy of *Athen*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking aright, that it was a harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he failed by night into the mouth of the Port, which cutting at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which means he took many ships laden with merchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or four Gallies; having sunk or broken, and made unserviceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Courts; and many Officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellepont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the Great King; the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities or *Greece*, and dividing the Country into as many several States as were petty Boroughs in it. Thus *Antalcidas* having bought his own peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the *Greeks*, disposing of their fortunes in such wise, as stood best with his own good. The Tenor of *Antalcidas*'s Decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Isles of *Leunor*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus*, be subject to *Athen*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Gar-

risons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the war, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compel the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth*, (which, under pretence of defending, they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Boeotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had always held the Government, the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of the *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that they had formerly been accustomed to do so, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill-affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By these courtes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small Towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

§. X.

The War which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Olynthus*. They take *Acæbes* by treason; and *Olynthus* by Famine.

WHilst these wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the City of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown to mighty, that the did not only command her neighbour-Towns, but was also become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* itself. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principal City of that Kingdom, was taken by the *Olynthians*, who following the usual pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amintas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus*, and of *Apollonia*, being nearest unto the danger of those encroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians*, would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did found of compulsion, protesting that either they must war upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence.

Hereupon

Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being sent presently away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Citadel of *Thebes*, which was betrayed into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill-affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt, whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the Government of the City: by whose authority, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, (which notwithstanding the loss of one great Battel, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self unto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the *Thebans* recovered their liberty, driving out the *Lacedæmonian* Garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athen*, that the tyranny wherewith his Country was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those, who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athen* privily, and entered by night into the fields of *Thebes*, where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phylidas* the Scribe had drawn

into the conspiracy. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the City, *Phylidas* promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, flew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon business, they got admittance, and likewise flew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the Prison, flew the Gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as daylight revealed the plain truth, all the people took Arms and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athen* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoining, whence a few broken troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side, the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Country-men, but procured some *Athenians* to join with them, & thereby came to strengthen into the City, that the Castle was yielded, more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Arms for which composition, the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the success arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that City, as if some part of their ancient Inheritance had been taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Town,

Town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own liberty. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this Expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilsome Winters journey, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Army, at *Thebes*, to insult the *Thebans*; who doing them some displea-

tures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*; which failing to take, he wasted the Country adjoining, and drove away Cattel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly withdraw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, from the Battel of Leuctra, to the Battel of Mantinea.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The Battel of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatness.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravity in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable Rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commoity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which Doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by intemperate over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it betell them in these enterprizes of *Phæbidas*, upon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias*, upon the *Piræus*. For, howsoever *Agessilaus* did spoil the Country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good success of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to look abroad, sailing to the Isle of *Cercyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponnesian* War, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Navy; afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that, had not the *Thebans* by their insolvency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the end of this War, should have come to a good end, which nevertheless, being prosecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginnings found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians*

perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a War, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of *Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Amicleus* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent *Mellicgers* to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily descended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of Peace: which came to pass, being wrought by the courageous wisdom of *Eparinondas*, who understood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this

Treaty the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to swear to the Articles in the name of the *Boeotians*, *Agessilaus* required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the *Boeotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Eparinondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signior of *Boeotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: for *Agessilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out

of *Athens* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the *Persian* War, did now passionately urge that point of setting the *Boeotians* at liberty; and finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocæ*, who received command from the Governors of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there slain at *Leuctra*, and with him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of *Leuctra*, being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight itself, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but especially, for that after this Battel (between which and the conclusion of the general Peace, there passed but twenty days) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near: whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little Region of *Boeotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Army of threecoae and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard War, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxury, retchlessness, and many other vices or vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the Peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. *Eparinondas* invades and wrests the Territory of *Lacedæmon*.

THE *Athenians* refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*, did nevertheless finely give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the Peace lately concluded, which *Agessilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfected, they assembled the Deputies of all the estates confeder-

ated at *Athens*; where the general liberty of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the title of the *Athenians*, and their associates. Hereupon began fresh garboils. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this Decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not give impeachment to the *Mantineans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each party called in foreign help. Then was an Army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegæ*, against the *Mantineans*; but indeed against them both. *Agessilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, obtained from giving Battel to *Agessilaus*. The Army of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Eparinondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost 600 years were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the posterity of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*; in all which time the found of an Enemies Trumpet were not heard in that Country. Ten years were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*; but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were athwart to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, setting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians*, to give them succour. From *Corinth*, and some Towns of *Peloponnesus*, they received speedy assistance: the

Athenians came forward more slowly, so that *Epimanolas* returned without battle, having rebuilt the City of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition between Athens and Sparta for command in War against the Thebans; who again invade and spoil Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THIS journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athen*, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded; who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athen*, were to have served under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five days, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Strophus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of this league between *Athen* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the Society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by

filling the enemies heads with the like vanity. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldierthip, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not always continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprize of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battle, their calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persians; with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitless issue of the Embassages.

THE *Thebans*, especially rejoiced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that without their aid, the success of all enterprizes proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but Patrons over the *Thessalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Son of *Amintas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassador the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired, whereof two especial points were, That *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of War to Sea; only

the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the King having found by long experience, how far it concerned him to maintain a sure party in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their greatness should be on that side his own security. The *Athenians* had been ancient Enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Persians* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signiory in such puffed manner, that (undry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible War, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aid by *Darius* *Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them till their own indifference brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athen*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the Conquest of *Asia*, from which though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprize, had not they been impeached by this *Theban* War. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athen*: And finally, having offered much contumely to *Agessians* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making War on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they should have any desire; yet were they disabled by the want of good Haven-Towns; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving liberty to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as farforth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficial to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after

these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one City might without empage of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Satrapes*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Assyria*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruin, which the Divine Counsel had deferred unto the days of *Alexander*. But this great Conspiracy of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space dissolved, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate *Asiatics*, wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeem the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withal his own promotion with increase of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action agreeable; as also because in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invasion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitless journey against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford unto such an absolute Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly, Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Stasira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her Son *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poison and feminine practices he had satisfied her mischievous appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly applied herself to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perurbation, which Princes not endued with an especial grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the supreme law of his subjects, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adjudged

to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadors to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all Controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*; in the presence of Embassadors drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*: when an oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to send unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; but in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to rely upon their own swords.

§. V.

How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults arising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envy of the others greatness drawn all their followers into a cruel and intestine War, by which the whole Country, and especially the

Estates of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the *Thebans*, who fought to make themselves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of these ancient Governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some injury and much envy. The City of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, and many Victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty independents, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside, excepted) under such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vassalage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been always bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobility Superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joining with her enemies whenever they found her entangled in a difficult War. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard, it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas* and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Army into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby

herby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Army. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the City of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous War, driven to become Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Army, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publick uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countrymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done, but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forthwith enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them to judge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him, in that War which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their Country, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for help, and with all dispatched some of the principal among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassy brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed unto such a supremacy, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful City of *Athens*, till

other hope of securing their own Estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Army in chief, should be given for the time, to that City in whose Territory it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible Invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

CERTAIN it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm consent, and uniform care of the common safety. For, beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Messenians* prepared with all their strength to join with *Epaminondas*, who having been a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Army coming from *Athens* would pass by *Sea*, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which City, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortify *Mantineia* with all diligence, and to send for *Agessilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espial upon his Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow brought hasty advertisement of his purpose to *Agessilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantineia*, the City of *Sparta* had suddenly been taken. For thither with all speed and secrecy did the *Theban* march, who had surely carried the City, notwithstanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it, but that *Agessilaus* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Army of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas*, of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantineia*. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely, that the *Mantineans*, finding the War to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, in titching in their Corn, and turning out the Cattel into the fields, whilst no enemy was near, that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineia*, sending

sending his horsemen before him, to seize upon all that might be found without the City. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epimanondas*) were scattered abroad in the Country, far more intent upon their Harvest business, than upon the war, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattel, being unable to recover the Town, were in a desperate case; and the Town it self in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should have taken all their provision of victuals, with so many of the people as had not over-dearly been redeemed, by that Cities returning to society with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantineæ* were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous adventure to deliver those who their wife were given as lost. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good Horsemanship had always been given to the *Thebans*, as excelling in that quality all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their City, which had entered into this War upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed friend, they issued forth of *Mantineæ*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their Horses, with meat; and giving a bruly charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained Masters of the field, giving by this Victory a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Boeotians* arrived in the place soon after this Battel, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their assistants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great Battel of *Mantineæ*. The honourable death of *Epimanondas*, with his commendation.

Epimanondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantineæ* having failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanquish, unless by some notable act he should abate their

courage in their first growth, and leave some memorable character of his Expedition, resolved to give them Battel, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtful affections of his own Associates, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and ability, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein Victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enemy, and entrenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that days service, urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the War was in their Country) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achaans*, *Eleans*, and others of less account, filled the body of the Army. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their own Battel, opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by their sides the *Arcadians*, the *Eubæans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Acæsiensians*, and *Thebessians*, with others, compounding the main Battel; the *Argives* held the right wing, the horsemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the *Eleans* were in the rear. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and so beaten upon by *Thebessians* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infantry naked. But this retreat was the less disgraceful, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own footmen; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withal discovering some Companies of foot, which had been sent about by *Epimanondas*, to charge their Battel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them,

them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the Battel of the *Athenians* had not only to do with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equal courage, and equal loss on both sides made the hope and appearance of Victory to either equally doubtful: unless perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevail, as having born the first brunt and fury of the onset, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it were by Nature, to excel in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit so sure and general. But *Epimanondas* perceiving the obdurate stiffness of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad success of their own horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Army, could abate so far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice company of the most able men, whom he cast into the form of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole Battel in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the Victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the Battel was fought, having driven the Enemy to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the Victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony remarkable only among the *Greeks*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the general immediate end of the battel; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsook the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and prowess. This was the last work of the incomparable vir-

tue of *Epimanondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troop of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonians* Squadron, and forced it to give back in disorder, was furiously charged on the sudden, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless, with a singular courage, maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and piece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who till now would have got his body) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at his heavy mischance, did with great laughter compel their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadness of this disaster, than with all the travel of the day. *Epimanondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, that when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to have lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. He bade them tell him, which part had the Victory; answer was made, that the *Boeotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is a fair time for me to dye; and withal sent for *Tolidas* and *Diophantos*, two principal men of War, that were both slain; which being told him, he advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a General. Herewithal he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory should live.

So died *Epimanondas*, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Country: for he equalled all others in the several virtues, which in each of them were singular. His Justice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisdom, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferior to his Military virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warrior, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an Indultrious, and a Provident Captain, Nei-

ther was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts, which gave him praise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in publick business, but in his own particular easie, and of much mildness: a lover of his people, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence. Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, and much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in *Greece* after the Battel of *Mantineia*. The Voyage of *Agellius* into *Egypt*. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and *Pompey* the Roman.

THIS Battel of *Mantineia* was the greatest that had ever been fought in that Country between the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Plataea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Arms and Art Military, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* War, as long continuance, and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted, which were undertaken against foreign enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interested, which never had more able souldiers and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for Victory with greater care of the success, or more obstinate resolution. All which, notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath been related, it was found best for every particular Estate, that a general Peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Messians* were by name comprized in this new league; which caused the *Lacedaemonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to

offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it self in execution. This Peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seek after wealth by foreign employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agellius* was sent with some small Forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenary, to serve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a Voluntary, with such Forces as he could raise, by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtaeus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius* *Nathus*, having retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and foreign invasions, during three Generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domesticall Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebellion on it self had soon come to nothing, if *Agellius* had not proved a false Traytor, joyning with *Neithanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agellius* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it seem rather, that he grudged because the King took upon himself the conduct of the Army, using his service only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. Howsoever it came to pass, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Persian*, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and *Neithanebus* (who seems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set up another King; to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agellius* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Neithanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdom; who in recompence of his Treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good service done to himself, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty Talents of silver, with which booty failing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant,

valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the less admirable in him; for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust and vain-glorious; measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The Expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meer necessity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the balance against *Pompey* the great; whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionate. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great Wars under sundry Climates, and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him; so *Agellius* had at one

time or other some quarrel with every Town in *Greece*, had made a War in *Asia*, and medled in the business of the *Egyptians*, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessors: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his own Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; the resemblance was nearer than the equality. Indeed the freedom of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cesar*, whom he had intreated to take Arms; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government only being changed: But the liberty of *Greece*, or *Sparta* it self, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agellius* had compelled to enter into a Victorious War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was presently lost, and the freedom of all *Greece* being wounded in the *Theban* War, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the Peace ensuing, did very soon, upon the death of *Agellius*, give up the ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertia.

LIII

TNE



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of *Philip of Macedon*, to
the Establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of *Antigonus*.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of *Philip the Father of Alexander the Great*, King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings Reigned in Macedon before *Philip*.



HE *Greeks* of whom we have already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still, as in former times, continue the invasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty, with as happy success as ever Nation had, and with no less honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a trial and experience more than fortunate, against those Nations, they so little regarded what might come from

them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their Forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellaspont*, as sufficient, to entertain and baffle them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and perish by the hands and harms which they least fear; so fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon* (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast-growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King; should, in regard of their own safeties, have served them for a strong argument of

union

union and accord. But the glory of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* per(waded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover their own, much less to work any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophy to consider, That all great alterations are, storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather employ themselves, in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græciæ Civitates imperare singule cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidērunt; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the son of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean Sea*; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by Nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the translation of the *Assyrian Empire*, *Ambaces* then governing *Medea*; *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle to lead a Colony into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people: and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled the storm as fast as they could, halting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had also by another Oracle been directed, to follow the first troop of beasts, that should either lead him, or flie before him; he pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edassia*, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the air, he entered their City without resistance, and possessed it. Soon

after this, by the overthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Caranus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrinus* followed *Caranus*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrinus* governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned: *Solinus*, *Pliny*, *Justine*, *Em-Solin*, *Scabius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochennus*, and others, *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, at *Age*: assuring them, that the Kingdom should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the *Temenedæ* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argens succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twenty years.

Æropus followed *Philip*, and governed six and twenty years: in whose infancy the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former loss or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being present) or rather they perwaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an Infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimoneus* of *Clotarins* the son of *Fredegunda*.

Alcetas succeeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first, succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; He lived a such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after, his unprosperous return out of *Seythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Army into *Europe*, who in *Darius* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you have heard before, were for their infant behaviour toward the *Macedonian* *Ladies*, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the son of *Amyntas*, and his Successor.

LIII 2

Alexander

Alexander firnamed the Rich, the son of Amyntas, governed Macedon three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Alcibades*, for the slaughter of the Persian Embassadors by giving *Gyges* his Sister, to *Eubares* of the blood of *Persia*; but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Artabanus* made General of the Persian Army; Alexander acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the son of Alexander, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first six Books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was base-born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the Mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the son of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin German, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twenty years.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself King by wicked murder, yet performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypius* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his Father; and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose, by *Crates*.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education of *Propus*, of the Royal blood of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil; for *Propus* murdered him and usurped the Kingdom; which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to

Agellaus King of *Sparta*, who desired, after his return from the *Asian* expedition, to pass by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Usher left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argens*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of Alexander the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infected by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his Brother *Argens*, encouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argens*, for two years dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second, had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gyges*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argens*, and *Meneleus*, afterward slain by their Brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Pholomy* firnamed *Alorites*, of the City of *Alorus*, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his Father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, Alexander being invited by the *Alcades* against Alexander the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*, to draw the *Thracians* to his assistance, entered into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Country, with whom he also left *Philip* with divers other principal persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his Mother falling in love with her Son in Law, who had married her Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of Alexander her son, with a purpose to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, which *Pholomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof, he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of Alexander. *Diodore* hath

Diod. l. 15.
c. 16.

hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and faith, That *Amyntas* his Father delivered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his Father was yet living) was first ingaged to the *Thracians*, and delivered for hostage a second time by Alexander his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain *Alorites* his base Brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then slain in a Battel against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Justin* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his Mother, as Alexander did.

J. P. l. 7.

§. II.

The beginning of Philip's Reign: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.

Philip the second, the youngest son of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having been instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epinomachus*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a son, though but an Infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Yet his fruitful ambition soon over-grew his modesty, and he was easily per-suaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withal, the absolute rule of the Kingdom. And, to say the truth, the necessity of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set up in opposition, *Pausanias* the *Athenians*, *Argens* the son of the late Usurper, *Æropus*: each of their labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. These heavy burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thousand *Macedonians*, beside those that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*;

Diod. l. 15.
c. 16.

and that the *Athenians* with a Fleece by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: yet after he had practised the men of War of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a City on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argens*, the son of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heels, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battel: which *Argens* lost, having the greatest part of his Army slain in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquishers life and liberty to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greeks*.

§. III.

The good success which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had *Philip* leisure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, his irreconcilable Enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he slew *Bardilis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withal, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main Victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he halted speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the River *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of which Town he soon made himself Master; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, wherof he made use in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his own against all others, because the horse men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thessaly* and

Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run Macedon, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*: and won it. He also recovered *Pyndia*, and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenider* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name, *Philippi*: to the people whereof, Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fix hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entered into league with his Fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to falten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pyndia* with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greeks*, he took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the Tyrants *Lycophon* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philips* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philips* did for ever after falten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian War which first drew Philip into Greece.

About this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the Battel of *Mantineia*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not

only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easy passage; and beating themselves, to give him Victory without peril; left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their Victory at *Leuctra*) were the inflamers. For at the Council of the *Amphictiones*, or of the general Estates of Greece, in which at that time they wayed most, they caused both the *Lacedaemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedaemonians*: and for refusal were exposted as Sacrilegiers, and accused to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-god, and their Neighbour-Nations, as war could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the War, was ten thousand talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the War, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Cheroneus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Adethone* lost one of his eyes. It is said,

said, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow toward him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After *Philippo*; After to *Philip*: for so he was called that gave him the wound. This City he evened with the soil.

Plut. in Phil. lib. 18.

The Tyrant *Lycophon* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engaged in the holy War, entred *Thessaly* with new Forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped for to entertain the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessaly*; but both the *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessaly*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Beotia*, and with the same Victorious Army brake the forces of the *Beotians*, and took from them their City of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into *Thessaly*, there to find again the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed along the coast, commanded by *Cares*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophon* was now again driven out of *Thessaly*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian War. The ambitious practices of Philip.

From hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocia* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedaemonians*, they retrench'd his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylae*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Actyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance,

and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half brother (for *Amintas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sons by *Cygea*: but *Philip* elder Brother by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the War, *Justin* affirmeth. Just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, but to this King all things were lawful that might serve his turns; all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereto converted. For he neither forbore the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity: he esteemed no place strong where his Ais loaden with gold might enter; nor any City or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own walls; he entred their Territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gave them two overthrowes ere he fate down before the City it self: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lajthene* from their people, and from the service of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Town, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That he should make his assaults with silver spears: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

— Diffidit Urbinum
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit annulos
Reges muneribus.

Hor. Carm.
Od. 16.

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates asunder, And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true, that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of Spain:) So when in the contention between

the Competitors for the Kingdom of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Council accompanied with Piety and Justice, but with a powerful Army, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the Kingdom his own.

§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian War.

The War still continued between the Phocians and the Associates of the holy War: the *Boeotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the War, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and four score thousand Crowns; but when with these supplies they had till the worst against the Phocians, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Boeotia* it self, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandments in War.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Boeotia*, where being arrived, *Phallicus* who commanded the Phocian Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the Phocians to the mercy of the Conqueror; and for conclusion he had the glory of that War called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with so many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years; and besides the glory, he possessed himself of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corfsa*, in the Country of the *Boeotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the Phocians into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reserving unto himself the yearly tribute of three score talents, which make six and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Council of the

Amphyctones which the Phocians had, with the superintendency of the *Pytian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the Phocian sacrilege.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their Revenues. But his next enterprise against the *Perinthians* stayed his fury. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, seated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* late down before it with a puissant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual assaults to weary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persians* with men and money, and succoured from *Byzantium*, which stood upon the same Sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. But because those of *Byzantium* by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gave them often and ready help, *Philip* removed the one half of his Army, and besieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But, to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no less dishonor than loss: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired it: to which though *Phocion* perswaded them all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred three score and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*: but he was also unprosperous in that enterprise: For the *Triballi*, a people of

Mesia, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greeks in the battel of Cheronæa, was chosen Captain-General of Greece. The death of Philip.

Among these Northern Nations (part of which he suppressed, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the Holy War, he was, by his great advantage, invited again by the *Gracians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* having disobeyed the decree of *Amphyctones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphissians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entered *Phocia*, won *Platea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this force would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates and their freedom to the chance of one battel, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Orators eloquence cost them dear. It is true, that he could far more easily mind them of the virtue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Persians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great virtues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A Phocion they had; but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this

time in disgrace, and not employed; in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incourted, although some thousands of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, encouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* to finish a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) in *Persia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Gracian* glory; Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and forever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Sovereignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the *Persians*, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go those *Athenians* that were taken at this battel of *Cheronæa*, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their City: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the virtue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of *Macedonians*. And being soon after (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this Sovereignty) by the general States at *Corinth*, styled the first Commander of all the *Gracians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandment of *Alcidas* and *Parmenio*, transported the same over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against *Persia*, he fought success from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Cresus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the Batteries of our own appetites, so did *Philip* ambitious desire to invade *Persia*, abate his Judgement, so far, that the death, wherewith himself was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into *Asia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feast and pastimes thereof appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the

principal persons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich Presents: but this was indeed the Feast of his Funeral. For, having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons; this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foul a fact, as, when *Philip* was passing towards the Theatre, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* encouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband; which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his Sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a Monument, and other like Graces.

§. XI.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities and issue.

NOW although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeness and perfection; yet he was here-in happy, that he lived to see his Son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himself been an eye-witness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battel.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the Buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though less famous. For, besides the recovery of *Macedon* it self in competition between him and the Sons of *Eropus*, the one assisted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Albanians*; and besides the regaining of many places possessed by the *Illyrians*, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the overthrow of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great

strength and ancient freedom; and the subjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for so many Ages had defended it self against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his Son, and had bred up for him, so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the War, were no less worthy of Crowns, than himself was that wore a Crown: For it was said of *Parmentio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to so great virtue, impiously murdered) That *Parmentio* had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmentio* never did any thing worthy of renown: as for the rest of his Captains, though content to obey the Son of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more Vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with virtues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfy those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*. Whom when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself; Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Physician for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his Son are remembered by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyanus* and *Eronimus*; his wife sayings, by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Antyntas* the Son of his Brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the

the right. This *Antyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip*'s base Son *Aridaeus*, her Uncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridaeus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* the strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Molossians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her Brother *Alexanders* death slain at *Sardis*, by the commandment of *Antigonos*.

By *Aidata* an *Illyrian*, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Niceipolis*, the Sister of *Jafon*, Tyrant of *Ephesus*, he had *Thesalonica*, whom *Cassan-*

der, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Niece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be roasted to death in a Copper Pan. Others lay his murder to *Alexander* himself. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arfinae*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, called the Son of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a publick Dancer, he had *Aridaeus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

§. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Asia.

ALexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no less valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign upon the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years, after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his Father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish Tales; but, that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the World) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several Victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young

years gave them hope of prevailing; and his suspected severity increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austerity towards those that continued his young years, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present journey into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Council of the States of *Greece*, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-General against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only relieved, (who had obtained the same title of General Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmentio*.

memio and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Perſian* occupied all *Alexander's* affections; thoſe fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now ſhot at both ſleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hatefull. But a contrary wind ariſeth: for he receiveth advertiſement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themſelves againſt him, and, by aſſiſtance from the *Perſian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereunto they were perſwaded by *Demosthenes*, himſelf being thereto perſwaded by the gold of *Perſia*: the device he uſed was more ſubtile than profitable; for he cauſed it to be bruited, that *Alexander* was ſlain in a battail againſt the *Triballes*, and brought into the aſſembly a companion whom he had corrupted, to affirm that himſelf was preſent, and wounded in the battail. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-days deſined by falſehood and knavery) that defined rumours and lies, if they ſerve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true, Common people are ſometimes mockt by them as Souldiers are by falſe alarms in the wars; but in all that I have obſerved, I have found the ſucceſs as ridiculous as the invention. For as thoſe that find themſelves at one time abuſed by ſuch like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in occaſions perilous, ſummoned to aſſemble; ſo do all men in general condemn the Vendors of ſuch trumpery, and for them, fear upon neceſſary occaſion to entertain the truth it ſelf. This labour unlooked for, and loſs of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his ſword from the ignoble and effeminate *Perſians*, againſt which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whoſe aſſiſtance he thought himſelf aſſured, his preſent undertaking was greatly diſordered. But he that cannot endure to ſtrive againſt the wind, ſhall hardly attain the Port which he purpoſeth to recover: and it no leſs becometh the worſthieft men to oppoſe miſfortunes, than it doth the weakeſt children to bewail them.

He therefore made ſuch expedition towards theſe Revolters, as that himſelf, with the Army that followed him, brought them the firſt news of his preparation. Hereupon all ſtagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the firſt that moved, ſo were they the firſt that fainted, ſecking by their Embaſſa-

dours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in reſolving; for the *Perſians* perſwaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wiſe men are not eaſily drawn from great purpoſes by ſuch occaſions as may eaſily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath intangled himſelf in many enterpriſes at once, not tending to one and the ſame certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he reſolved to aſſure thoſe Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Gætes*, *Agreans*, and other ſavage People, which had greatly vexed with inſcurſions, not only other of his Predeceſſors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers Overthrows given them, he made peace, or elſe brought them into ſubjection. Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſs, he could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty: the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and loſt it too late to forget it; they therefore ſhake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Cittadell a Garriſon of 3000 *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* haſtneſs to their ſuccour, and preſents himſelf with 30000 foot, all old Souldiers, and 3000 Horſe, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants ſome days to reſolve, being even heart-ſick with the deſire of paſſing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to ſerve himſelf elſewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remiſſion, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Proſtyles*, the ſtirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, oppoſing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all reſiſtance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) inſtead of ſuch an answer, as men beſieged and abandoned ſhould have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the balance of Fortune with the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the ſcale or ſwayed it. Therefore in the end they periſhed in their obſtinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppoſe the Army aſſailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garriſon, their City taken and razed to the ground, fix thouſand ſlain, and thirty thouſand ſold for ſlaves, at the price of four hundred and forty Talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many arguments were uſed by *Cleades* one of the Priſoners, to perſwade *Alexander*

to forbear the deſtruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather miſ-led, by giving haſty credit to falſe reports, than any way malicious; for being perſwaded of *Alexander's* death, they rebelled but againſt his ſucceſſour. He alſo beſought the King to remember, that his Father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Anceſtour *Hercules* was born therein: but all perſwaſions were fruitleſs; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and ſpared, and ſet at liberty *Timoclea*, the Siſter of *Theages*, who dyed in defence of the liberty of *Greece* againſt his Father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him raviſhed, he threatened to take her life unleſs ſhe would confeſs her treaſure: ſhe led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him, that he had therein caſt it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, he ſuddenly thruſt him into the mouth thereof and ſtoned him to death.

Now becauſe the *Athenians* had received into their City ſo many of the *Thebans*, as had eſcaped and fled unto them for ſuccour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perſwaded this ſecond revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterpriſe of *Perſia*, he was content that the Orators ſhould remain, and accepted of the baniſhment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill-adviſed, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the reſiſtance againſt him unprofitable: for theſe good Leaders of the *Græcians* betook themſelves to the ſervice of the *Perſian*, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

§. II.

How Alexander paſſed into Asia, fought with the Perſians upon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſs the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-embark, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their own Territory, or to burn, or deſace thoſe buildings which themſelves were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſs. He landed his Ar-

my, conſiſting of two and thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, near unto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tomb, his maternal Anceſtor.

But before he left his own coaſt, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-laws Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not ſparing ſuch of his own as he ſuſpected. He alſo took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whoſe fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjuſt cruelty to aſſure all things, both in the preſent and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the Juſtice of God; for all that he had planted, was ſoon after withered, and rooted up; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, ſell by ſuch another mercileſs ſword as his own, and all manner of conſuſion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander's* landing on *Asia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelf, as having ſtilled him his ſervant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his diſloyalty and audacity (for *Darius* intitled himſelf King of Kings, and the Kinſman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the leſſer *Asia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſink his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Ethiopia*, or ſome other unhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſs multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the already-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*: But the ill deſtines of men bearing them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For, beſides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers; men, who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail againſt thoſe of leſs courage than themſelves; men that took more care how to embroider with gold and ſilver their upper garments, as if they attended the invaſion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themſelves with Iron and Steel againſt

against the sharp pikes, swords, and darts of the hardy *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every one of them with the care of their own safety, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their Horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the Gold and Jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; so the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his service; but their own fears and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against to serve a passion did justly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*, *Quem admodum bene exercitatus miles prelium cupit, ita formidat indoluit; nam sciuntum est in pugna nihil amplius prodesse quam vires. As the well-practised Soldier desires to come to battle, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it more avails to have been accustomed unto the like, than only to have rude strength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were; *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter; before which time it is said, by those that wrote his story, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with an handful of men, or the success he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of *Granick*, which severeth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to climb up unto, and scale from the Level of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it seems to me, that the Victory then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twenty thousand *Perſian* footmen, said to be slain, were rather killed in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosoms by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse-men, or, after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at so small a rate, as with the loss of four and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Perſian*

Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rafaches*; and that the *Perſian* horse-men fought with great fury, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how then doth it resemble truth, that such resistance having been made, yet of *Alexander's* Army there fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horse-men?

s. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages, Of things following the Battell of Granick.

THE winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terror upon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, some one or two Towns excepted. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Straights, and Mountains, they will soon have persuaded themselves, that such an enemy upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counsel, That he which resolveth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the natural difficulty of the ways. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted; and yet lightly some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, Where shall we finde that ever they kept out an Invader? Yet are they such as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travel over them; but they give no security to those that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of *Lombardy* persuaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the French King from descending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountains had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, so much the

the greater terror of the Inhabitants, by how much the less they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in such sort, as they leave but one Gate open; The Straights, or (as they were called) the Gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopylae*, have seldom been attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopylae*; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soever they had been locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a Fleet that should enter on the back-side. The defence of Rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many Floods; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his own bank, hath also enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his Soldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of *Atona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is divided from *North-Wales* by an Arm of the Sea, had been safe enough against the *Romans*, invading it under the conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making Vessels to transport his forces, did assay the floods. Whereby he amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by Sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the *Britains* were men stout enough, the *Perſians* were very daftards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to pass the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their reputation, than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magnesia*, which were rendered unto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Country, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own Laws. For he observed it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis clementie fama; It is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Sovereignty, to have the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entered into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been cast out of all that he held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her self unto him, and adopted him her Son and Successor; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to her disposing. He then entered into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea-coasts, and, subjeeting unto him *Pisidia*, he directed himself towards *Darius* (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*. For, all the Province of *Asia* the less bordering upon the Sea, his first Victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captains in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entered *Celenus*, seated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him; the Castle only holding out, which also after forty dayes was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenus* he pass'd on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regal Seat, in former times, of King *Midus*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undo, he cut it asunder with his Sword. For there was an ancient Prophecy did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, (so it were done, affirmed to himself the fulfilling of the Prophecy, by heaving it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the less towards the east, he took care to clear the Sea-coast on his back, and to thrust the *Perſians* out of the Islands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Cos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delivering unto

unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threecore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in Greece and *Macedon*. From *Celenus* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguri*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governour with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-wealths, the erection of Monarchies, the Conquest of Kingdoms and Empires, guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearfull passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Univerſal*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly, the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Indus*, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountered by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desert places, and the meer length of tedious journeys could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were

less material, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular virtue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, do seldom live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to alter the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a gross unwieldy Empire. Wherefore these *Paro-Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave *Roman*, *Cæsar*.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our Eastern Conquerour: who is travelling hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch unto *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in this first battle; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his Victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well-born, or well-bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfy themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, do with the gain of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* coming on, left some Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began over-late to prize and put in execution the Counsel of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, and always to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of Victory. For the fury of an invading Army

Army is best broken, by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and refusing to give or take battle, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battle, That they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athen*, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battle: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Army. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cæsar* ground; but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battle, lost the freedom of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battle with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise surety in all things, are honorable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waisting the Country, and forbearing to fight: so did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Army of the Prince of Orange in the Low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their General, would needs fight a battle with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be persuaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Cressy*; and King *John* (when the *English* were

well-near tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been walled to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, near *Poitiers*, to joynt battle with him: But all men know what lamentable success these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smother. And it is reported by *Bellay* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he won from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wife men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any found advice. The course which *Memnon* had pronounced, must in all appearance of reason have brought the *Macedonians* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilst *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Governor of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure have been so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painful travel.

But *Arſenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Army with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the meantime, all that was in the fields, would have been conveyed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* coming; and as great cause

to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These Guardians of the Straights, hearing that *Arseus* made all haste to join himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their General, who gave as lost the Country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore not affecting to dye for their Prince and Country (which honour they saw that *Arseus* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their General, gleaming after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardize of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IV.

Of the unwelcome Army levied by *Darius* against *Alexander*. The unadvised courses which *Darius* took in this expedition. He is vanquished at *Ilius*; where his Mother, Wife and Children are made prisoners: of some things following the battle of *Ilius*.

IN the mean season *Darius* approached, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horles; *Plutarch*, at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a Masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, persuading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Army there was carried the holy Fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*; and after them three hundred and threecore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horles, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the Horle of the *sun*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnisht with silver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horle, compounded of

twelve several Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the tail of these Horles the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called *Immortals*, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl: baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withal, or to persuade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuosus indutus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimat, cum in preliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimenti muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur; Let no man think, that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten*. And it was perchance from the *Roman* *Trojans* that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought against the *Samites* in that fatal battel, wherein they all swore either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all fear: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per pila atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the Roman pike would bore holes in painted and gilded shields*.

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) and these were honored with the Title of the Kings *Kinmen*. Then came *Darius* himself, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massive-bodies into thin, portable and current coynt. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged Eagle of the same metal: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of ineffimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horsemens, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for fear of marring their beauty.

beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his own person, two hundred of the blood Royal; blood, too Royal and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more service) and these were backt with thirty thousand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred spare horles for the King, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reer-ward, the same being led by *Sisgambis* the Kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horle-back, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurses and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparalled. By which it should seem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tragicians*; for this troop was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battels. Between these and a company of light-armed slaves, with a world of Varlets, was the Kings treasure, charged on six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *Play-game* King into the field, incumbered with a most unnecessary train of Strumpets, attended with troops of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part for effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the naked Nation of the world against them. We find it in daily experience, that all discourse of Magnanimity, of National Virtue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage Virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantage; the rich Towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* Nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* headlong, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistols; which had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Pieces and Pikes against their Commanders, contending that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true that the War is made willingly, and for the most part with good

success, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to run peril, and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to dye (as they call it) honourable. *Car où il n'y a rien à gagner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows*.

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Southayers, he would have satiated himself by the outsidings of the *Persians*, and never have looked into the intrails of Beasts for success. For leaving the description of this second battel (which is indeed no where well described; neither, for the confusion and hasty running away of the *Asians*, could it be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand *Persian* footmen were slain in this battel, with ten thousand of their horlemen; or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemens, and besides this slaughter, 40000 taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Army there miscarried but two hundred and fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one half; I do verily believe, that this small number rather died with the over-travel and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the backbit of the World) had had any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have sold to good cheap, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings safety and his estate at less. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would devour, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to assail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbatelled in gross squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make no little account of his

delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palate, being withall ill armed, and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to *Darius* (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* should be presently slain: who while he was a sundering in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wife man: Desperate ejus, Principis saluti est, cujus aures ita formata sunt, ut aspera que utilis, nec quicquam nisi juvenum accipiat; That Princes safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.

For, liberty in Council is the life and essence of Council; Libertas consilii est ejus, vita, & essentia, qua crepta consilium evanescent.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Straights: But had they been Counsellors and Directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, under their Captain *Amynias*, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we read in Histories ancient and modern, what brave retraits have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath been broken.

At the battel of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Neumours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the Victory not entire by their escape, he was overthrown and slain in the place. For

it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminente mali, opus ipsum, quantumvis difficile, aggrediuntur; They go about the business of it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring: and astutely of those that know the Wars but by hear-say; Quod valentes sunt & praevalentes ante pericula, in ipsi tamen periculis descendunt; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retreat, advised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this Counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inviron the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a straightened piece of ground, neer unto the City of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could (who by the advice of *Parmenio* stayed there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecian* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobolus* the Historian, that he embraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*,

non, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to fix thousand and two hundred talents of coyn, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (casting the Crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phenicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governor.

Aradus, *Zidon* and *Biblos*, Maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the less, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Cappha-gonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians*: newly levied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battel, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amynias* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honor *Ephesion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wished that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietness of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not Govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts; he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of

peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the tryal of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdaind the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How *Alexander* besieged and won the City of *Tyre*.

Alexander coming near the City of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crown, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their City, from whom he was defended. But the *Tyrians* like not his company within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoining, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea between the Island and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of wind, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torn asunder; yet with the help of his Navy which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the fury, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more

more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their own City.

Happy it was for *Apollō* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the Idol of *Urcules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosed him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize, and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nebuchodennasor* had taken it before, and filled up the channel that lay between the Island and the Main.

The Government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cecilius*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephesion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How *Darius* offered Conditions of Peace to *Alexander*. *Alexander* wins *Gaza*, and deals graciously with the Jews.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, lets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and lays the loss of the last Battel to the streightness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatening to encompass him in the plain Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearful things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enow of that nature to prevent unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River of *Alps*, and the *Hellepont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved Daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had possit him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having passed the Sea it self, did disdain to think of reluctance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, That *Parmenio*, who was now old, and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Geth*, a faithful servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an obdurate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was danger-

ous, and a blow on his leg with a stone. He found better men in this place than he did at the former Battels; for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the Sands of *Gaza*, that he was forced to fend for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entered *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis* (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babensis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the *Assailants*; he bored holes thorow his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the street, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as him self, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Heitor*? It is true; that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the High-Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The Jews therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, shined out of the City covered with his Pontifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Purple, embroidered with gold; with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the Name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High-Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprize, and so assured of the success after the Prophecy of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the Conquest of *Perſia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him, or fear him. He conspired to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the Conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly

ingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians* (who hoped to have sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the Jews all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander wins *Egypt*: and makes a journey to the Temple of *Hammon*.

FROM *Jerusalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entered it; where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see, that the King of *Perſia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valiantest man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veryest coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travel after God-head, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so foolishly had prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirm, That it never rains there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the Army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast back, guided them over those pathless Sands to *Jupiter's* Temple.

Arriano, from the report of *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, says, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of those wonderful prodigious things, are fained by those that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battel of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Xerxes*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from the Iron bars of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive Engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there

fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turf of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the Air. The *Spaniards* in the Conquest of the *West Indies* have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battel by the presence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the night before the battel at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French Army*, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by their imperial *Switzers* utterly broken and put to rout.

The place of this Idol of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*: for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superior *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joins it to a Nation called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoils of ship-wrack: whereas the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no Sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*; these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*.

When *Alexander* came near the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiter's* Son. And so he was saluted, Son of *Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek Tongue*; For whereas he meant to say, *O padion*, he said, *O paidios*; that is, O Son of *Jupiter*, instead of O dear son: for which Grammatical error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the Great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle. The one when he was employed against *Gorgons*; The other against *Anteus* and *Buffris*; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, Why might not he?

By

By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practis'd the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honor *Alexander* as his Son.

Curt. I. 4.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bos carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Doingsius* or *Liber Pater* (who lived, saith *S. Augusline*, in *Atosís* time) *Ea qua de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripserunt, non sunt nimium curiosè perveſtiganda; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, became speechless. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found near his Temple a Fountain called *Fons Jolis* (though *Protony* in his third *African* Table sets it farther off) that at Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by *S. Augusline*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *PAmmones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiter* Son, told him that God was the Father King of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children, save good men.

He gave the charge of the several Provinces of *Egypt* to several Governors, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*. That

a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Roman Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the Government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Westernmost branch of *Nilus*. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of *Egypt*, with the Kingdoms of the lesser *Asia*, *Phoenicia*, and *Syria* (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which passage, though the same was committed to *Mazæus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a River for the swiftness thereof called by the *Persians*, *The Arrow*. Here, as *Curtius*, and *Reason* it self tells us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by a continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* footmen to wade the River, otherwise than by joining their hands, and enterlacing arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage, and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the Channel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the footmen were enforced to lift their Bows, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moistened, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq;
(Deorumq;*

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the Empire of *Persia* at this time brought it self into a burning and consuming Fever, and thereby become frantick, and without understanding, fore-shewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of *Tygris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place;

place; where *Mazæus* (who had charge to defend the Passage both of *Euphrates* and it) presented himself to the *Macedonians*; followed with certain companies of Horsemen, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he forsook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those wayes and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions asire, wherewith the *Macedonians* might serve themselves over *Tygris*, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless, when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he fought to waste, *Alexander* being now in fight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This *Mazæus* might have done some days before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horsemen, as the *Macedonians* durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of fight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new Provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the Battel of Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* first return out of *Egypt*, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty thousand Horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria*, to have overborn the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indecisa, quam ars & exercituum solent præstare victoriam; In every Battel skill and practice do more towards the Victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his Army after the passage over *Tygris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians* not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, inasmuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly; That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make War against worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon, *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Soldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certain presage of good success; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Arivistus* and the *Germans*: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the Battel, *Cæsar* forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein, having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the Sun, the *Persians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noised through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the War, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercituum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight when it is possessed with matter of terror.*

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the
O o o o people

people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams, and Prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew near the *Persian* Army, certain Letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, perswading them for great summs of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these, by the advice of *Parmentio*, he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with travel, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no less to bewail than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander's* kindly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*; to whom he once again, before the last trial by Battel, offered these conditions of Peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up, and resign all *Asia* the less; and, with *Egypt*, all those Kingdoms between the *Phenician* Sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the Ranfome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his Son *Oebus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Council, but heard no man speak but *Parmentio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, That the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellefont*, was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* Prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for Fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greating of others than him-

self: who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his Issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised, and grateful: and being taught new Lessons of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts, and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without any respect to their Master; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summs of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant; yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made War against him, not as a King with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdoms as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; That the Heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

§. X.

The Battel of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

With this Answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazeus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains. *Parmentio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terror in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steal the Victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witness his valour. But it was the success that made good *Alexander's* resolution, though the counsel given by *Parmentio* was more sound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessarij cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*. Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of surprize had stood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night, *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the War, *In pugna Milites validius resistent, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint; nam famem intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum externum*: Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steel without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, faith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *European* Army: for he had besides, both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them. And I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former Battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animusque victoriosus augeat*, & adversariis auriat; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this Battel, fought at *Gangamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the Victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That

Parmentio was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That *Alexander's* Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her self was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, that *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible dayes work, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand, according to *Arrianus*; ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former Battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued; For if of those four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious Battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or three-score thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have past that River so easily, much less the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his Providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the Battel of Arbela. The yielding of Babylon and Susa.

Darius, after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight: He propounded unto them that ran after him, his purpose of making a retreat into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather
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attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great mass of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendered to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it impossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable; *Es præterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi: It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past*.

From *Arbela* Alexander took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendered himself, his Children, and the City. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the Streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver, as Alexander passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldean* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnity to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horse-men, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, Alexander caused his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entered the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand Talents of silver uncoined. The City itself I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautiful and fruitful Trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately there in. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty dayes, consuming that time in ban-

queting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softened the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of War, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travel, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were siled *Chiliarchi*. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late War. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque-Ban*, or Spurr-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were less charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the Command of any of his good Ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate; nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While Alexander was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boards*.

He left the Castle and City of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathus*, *Mimetus*, and *Appollodorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand Talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendered the City unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagistines* that gave up the Castle; and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entered into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolemy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate

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on the River *Euleus*, a City sometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governour of this famous City, gave it up to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort, did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperity, not of his person, (for to all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was Alexander well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battle, all the Nobility of *Persia* would have returned unto their natural Lord. Those that are Traitors to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier Town, or Fortres of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted, with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

While Alexander spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnish'd the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great mass of Treasure was laid up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest; for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their own greatness.

The Government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendered it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fifth, having promised *Charles of Bourbon* the Government of *Marcellers*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereby he made sure account, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left

the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander came to Persepolis, and burnt it.

From *Susa* Alexander leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to pass those Mountains which under *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was foundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pyle Perside*, or *Suicide*, and after the loss of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain-top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who if their footman-ship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius* (*Justine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having been taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to Alexander now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears; add other members, as they could no way have been known to their Country-men, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted Grandees, hearing of Alexander's approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon Alexander's arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst Council; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoyl and kill at their pleasure. There was

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Paris, speaks of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine million of gold, but does not say for what use.

no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the balance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoil that had been made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Images of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand *Macedonians* in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formal honour to the Traitor *Tristates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand Horse, and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered; a fruitless and foolish enterprise, but, as *Seneca* sayes; *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to go, but he is unable to stand still*. It is laid and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his Horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could less endure it. For mine own little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admiral of France; *That who so will shape that Beast (meaning War) must begin with his belly*.

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carousing

cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by defending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be defiled both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and City of *Persepolis* to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper virtue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Post violentiam crudelitiam sequitur: Cruelty doth commonly follow armenness*: For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treason of *Bessus* against *Darius*. *Darius* his death.

About this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexanders* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being deperate of good success, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Nabarzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was Governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the War, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither

the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preambled *Naburzanes* used, and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow Traytor *Bessus*, with promise that, the Wars ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King (swollen with disdain, prest towards *Naburzanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, withheld him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* with-drew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithful servant, perswaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in sight of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the War gave him faithful counsel, but he inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithful servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following, *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithful servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwithstanding that they had four thousand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himself, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have dyed in the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to have lyen

bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and, to add despatch and derision to his adversity, they fastened him with Chains of Gold, and drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves Kings by his slaughter; and then to defend themselves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it is against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other Horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how near he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poor Servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the *Macedonian* swords.

Polystratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was

was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the fame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own blood: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted, (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendered thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal Gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient Death pressing out his few remaining Spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIV.

How *Alexander* pursued *Bessus*, and took into his grace *Darius* his Captains.

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruel Traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hircanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amynas* with six thousand horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hircania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations,

desired certain passages for a while. He passeth the River of *Zioberta*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* and *Hircania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zendracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hircania*, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting therein.

Phatarnes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and Governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his Master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedemonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of *Thalestris* Queen of the *Amazons*; where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such *Amazons* have been and are.

HERE it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her sute was, (which she easily obtained) that the might accompany him till she were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himself to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his books to *Lysimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laugh at by the King for inserting such news of the *Amazons*; and *Lysimachus* himself had never heard

heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplify, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slain it. The King hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; saying, That it were well done to throw the Writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto Writers making mention of such *Amazons*, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people.

Julius Solinus seats them in the North parts of *Asiatic* the less. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other near the *Caspian* Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appellant; which the people call *Sauromatides*. The former of these two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; It is certain that the *Cimerians* were the next Nations to the *Amazons*. *Ptolomy* set them farther into the Land North-wards, near the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Asia* it self toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the *Pandean* or *Padeans*, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

— *Medis levibusque Sabæis*
Imperat hic *Sextus*: *Reginarumque sub armis*,
Barbarie pars magna jacet.

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabeans* reigns
This female sex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the *Euxine* Sea, near *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth also make report of these *Amazons*, whom he tells us that the *Syrians* call *Eorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into *Asia* the less, sacked *Ephesus*, and burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manellon* and *Aventinus* report; which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the siege of *Troy* it self we read of *Penthesilea*, that she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Thesius*; out of *Philostratus*, *Hellenicus* and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Thesius*; though some affirm, That *Thesius* himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference; all confessing, That such *Amazons* there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to aid the *Albanians* against the *Romans*, by whom after the battle, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up; and he saith farther, That these women entertain the *Gele* and *Legales* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazon* from *Peru* in the year, 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Council of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Vlrichus Schmidel*, that in the year, 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Schorver*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Riffese*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdom of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeably to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany

company them for one month. These (saith he) possess a part of the Kingdom of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperor, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justify mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxury: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperity had so much over-wrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King as the World could not equal. For he periwaded himself, that he now represented the greatness of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him; he wore the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobility should do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shameless rabble of *Curtisians*, and *Sodomitical Eunuchs*, that *Darius* had done; and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully periwaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he professed (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered to many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest unto him, began to be abashed of him, entreating each other with this, and the like scornful discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more

impoverished in their virtues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered, were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacify the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and making it known to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*; and that he had compounded a great Army of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enough to persuade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans tards to be brought into the Market-place, he together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painful travels, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former Government over the *Arians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebel, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over an high and unaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civil War of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high-Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendered themselves, with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Country-people,

who

who did set the long dry grass on fire to the Eastward of them (the wind in those parts being alwaies East) so as, notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Burrows* also, with a hundred *English* was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grass fired behind him; but the smoke being timely discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the loss of sixteen of his men. I remember these things; but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they alwaies, before they pass into the Land, burn down the grass, and sedge, to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handful of straw set on fire, dye the death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracy against Alexander; The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

Alexander was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satibarzanes*; but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessaly*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For, having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian* Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangina*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessory, if not principal. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made shew as if he had been won by persuasion; and by seeming at

length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traytor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own Brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspicion) should go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole business; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do, but did not. Two daies passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himself to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to *Alexander* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully persuade himself that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traytor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldst think Philotas more worthy to be a King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groan in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspicion, which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to be but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Father *Parmenio*, of his Brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given his hand for assurance; yet, by the instigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this business; How he persuaded himself, that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending Piety, and duty towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is most general, in his *Philotas*:

(bats.)
*See how these great men cloathe their private
 In these fair colours of the publick good;
 And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
 As if the State by their affection stood:
 And, arm'd with Power and Princes jealousy,
 Will put the least conceit of discontent
 Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
 That no one action shall seem innocent:
 Tea, valour, honor, bounty shall be made
 As accessories unto ends unjust:
 And even the service of the State must lade
 The needfull self undertaking with distrust;
 So that base wileness, idle Luxury,
 Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.*

Now, although it were so, that the King, following the advice of Craterus, had resolved the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotas was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the King in these words; O Alexander, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were urged against him by Alexander himself (for the Kings of Macedonia did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a god). That when Alexander wrote unto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith Alexander) a firm persuasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despite. See what a strange Monster Flattery is, that can persuade Kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas was brought before the multitude to hear the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Thief, where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, H.ior and Nicanor having been lost in the present War. He was so greatly oppress'd with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spi-

rits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdain'd the language of his own Country; and so withdrawing himself, left him to his merciless enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution; contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when Nicomachus desired to know of Dimmus, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) Dimmus named unto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, and some others; but spake not a word of Philotas, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged Nicomachus. Indeed, as Philotas said well for himself, it is likely that Dimmus, thereby the better to have heartened Nicomachus, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, enforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burthen, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of restless and unnatural torments, devised by his profest enemies Craterus, Cennus, Ephesion, and others, Philotas accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more merciless than death it self.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. Augustine greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears, *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum queritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur sed quia non commississe nescitur. What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause, and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certainty: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others do not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had been enough for Alexanders safety, if Philotas had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But Hemolans, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, Seneca, speaking of Alexander, saith thus, *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam mihi animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiectione homine, in sivefere animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, Curtius makes a doubt, whether the confession that Philotas made, were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsely, come to one and the same end. Now while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that Lyncestes, Son in Law to Antipater, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused; others there were that were suspected because they had followed Philotas; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismissed. But Parmenio was yet living; Parmenio, who had served with great fidelity as well Philip of Macedonia the Kings Father, as himself; Parmenio, that first opened the way into Asia; that had deprest Attalus the Kings enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vanguard, that was no less prudent in counsel, than fortunate in all attempts; A man be-

loved of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threecore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posset themselves of his affection, it was resolved, that he should be dispatched. Polydamas was employed in this business, a man whom of all other Parmenio trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in Alidia, and having Cleander and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings Letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militie domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege profpere, Rex sine illo nihil magna rei gesserat. This was the end of Parmenio (saith Curtius) who had performed many notable things without the King; but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.*

§. XVIII.

How Alexander subdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Bessus was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

WHen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the Araspans, or Evergiants; he made Amendes (sometime Darius his Secretary) their Governor, then he subdued the Arachosians, and left Menon to command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by Parmenio, finds him, consisting of twelve thousand Macedons and Greeks, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountain Taurus towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his oldest Macedons, worn with age, and with travels of the War. The Arians, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of Caranus and Erigius. And now he resolves to find out the new King Bessus in Bactria. Bessus, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great River of Oxus, which divides Bactria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made Governor of Bactria abandoned by Bessus; The Macedonian Army fureth for want of Water, inasmuch as when they came to the River

River of *Oxus*, there dyed more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had lost in any one Battel against the *Perfians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought against women, and not against men; and not against their persons, but their shadows. He found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raft; but was forced to sew together the hides that covered his carriages, and stuff them with straw, and on them in six days to pass over his Army; which *Bessus* might easily have distressed, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tygrus*, and other passages; and yet now, when this traitorous slave had filled himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were nearest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner, that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chain clofed about his neck like a Mastiff-Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his Enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Asiatium*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before he returned out of *Greece*; whose Issues had well-near forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their City. At this place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traytor into the hands of *Oxartes*, *Darius* his Brother, to be tormented.

But while he thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Camp in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horf-litter, sometime by the Horsemen, sometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Terondinus* takes to be *Samarland*, the regal City of the great *Tamerlain*. It had in compass threecore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he received the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the

Sogdians stirred to rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the Traytor *Bessus*. Many Cities were refolv'dly defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the River of *Tanais*; upon whose bank he built another *Alexandria*, threecore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houles within seventeen days after the walls built. The building of this City is said to have been occasion of a War between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King persuading himself, that this new Town was fortified of purpose to keep him under. I do not well understand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit sickness for very fear, should nevertheless make fate for peace: neither find I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the Conquest of those Northern desarts, but only the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his Expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Tragus* have greatly mistaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* pass'd over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarband*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga*, and many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travel.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Asiaticque Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give some hinderance to their

their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Arms, easily chafed some ten or twelve miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his lifetime he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other business than to set up a Monument.

Threecore of the *Macedonians* are said to have been slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight, which might easily bein passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perish in Battel: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the Victors hath been so inquisitive into the greatness of their own success, that Writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of *Alexander*) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this War was no better than the reputation of a few roving *Tartars* (like being yearly performed by the *Moscovites*, without any host) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill news that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and lays waste all before him, not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governor in that Province.

To repair this loss, he received a great supply of nineteen thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army he returns towards the South, and passeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South side whereof he built six Towns near each

other for mutual succour. But he finds a new start-up Rebel, called *Arimazes* (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loss of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a sign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he sent one *Copbes* to persuade *Arimazes* to yield the place; who, being shewed by *Copbes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yielded simply to *Alexander's* mercy, and was (with all his kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keep good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seems by the description, might easily have been defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot do, Maas wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Island of *Sark*, joining to *Garnsey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Maries* time surprized by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by strong hand, having cattle and corn enough upon the place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turk*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of small burthen, and pretending the death of his Merchant; besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappel of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ahoire with any weapon, nor not so much as with a Knife) the *Frenchmen* yielded. Then did the *Fleming*, put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carcass, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching every of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else

else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappel, shut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings* yielded themselves and this place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the Lyons-skin that else would be too short.

§. XI X.

How Alexander slew his own friends.

AFTER these *Sogdian* and *Seythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Fivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the virtue of *Philip* the Father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being delivered in publick, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, *Clytus* his in'olency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom he went about to slay: for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the persuasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repentance: But preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verendum non movet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed probrabit; Drunkenness both kindles and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife; and his

head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dacoi* also seized upon his Fellow-Conspirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these petty Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacani*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cobortani*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honored as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carousing feast): but that, for the more than many ads by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding ages numbered among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honor, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolani* and others (which they confest) he cauled *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation or trial, to be torn asunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth, Hoc est Alexandri crimen eternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit,

dixerit, Occidit Persarum milia milia; opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Occidit Darium; opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenuis vici, ipsum quoque tentavit novis clavisibus, & Insperum ex angulo Thraciae usque ad orientis terminos protulit: dicitur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transferit, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus Calisthenis; This is the eternal crime of Alexander, which no vertue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, he did so, and he slew Calisthenes. When it shall be said, he slew Darius; it shall be replied, and Calisthenes. When it shall be said, he won all as far as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusual Navies, and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be said withall, But he killed Calisthenes. Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his ads make so much to his glory, as Calisthenes to his reproach.

§. XX.

Of Alexanders journey into India. The battle between him and Porus.

WITH the Army before remembered, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*, which after a few dayes was rendered unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunk his fill, he went on towards *Dadala*, and from thence to *Acedera*, Countreys spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Platony* led one part, *Genon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Masage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by *Cleopha* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the siege of this City he received a wound in the leg. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyperchon*, and a Rock of great

strength by himself: he was also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the sum of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Coming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephesban*, who (being sent before) had prepared Boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrival, had perwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soon upon *Alexanders* coming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his Countrey, and six and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his service and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abisares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this dis-union to make his own Victory by far the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of Gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourscore Talents of Silver Coyn; which *Alexander* not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand Talents of his own treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abisares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equal that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of War gave, he thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Party and Head of the quarrel. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to do him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to pass over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withall deep and swift. It

had in many Islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. Alexander sent Ptolemy up the River with a great part of the Army, shewing the rest from the view of Porus: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to Ptolemy, supposing that the whole Army of Macedonia, meant to force their passage there. In the mean while Alexander recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather believes, that Abisares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had been come over Hydaspes to his aid, than that Alexander had past it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother Hagis with four thousand Horse, and a hundred armed Waggon to encounter him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistened, as the horses could hardly trot. The Scythians and Dabans had the Vanguard, who so galled the Indians, as they brake their rains, and other Furniture, overturning the Waggon, and those in them. Perdicas also gave up the Indian horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoil. Porus moves forward with the grofs of his Army, that those of his Vanguard scattered might recover his Rear; Alexander being followed with Ephsion, Ptolemy, and Perdicas, took on him to charge the Indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding Cenus or Cnon to invade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus, he directed to break upon Porus his battel of foot, strengthened with Elephants. Porus himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the Macedonians, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skillfulness of the Macedonian Captains, the victory fell to Alexander, who also far exceeded Porus in number: for besides the Macedonians and other Eastern and Northern Nations, Porus was assailed by his own Confederate and Country-people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Con-

querour, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander finished his Expedition, and returned out of India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their travels: or of those petty Wars which Alexander made between the overthrow of Porus, and his falling down the River of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be persuaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between London and Stanes.

Our great traveller Mandowile, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East India, we accounted the greatest fabler of the World's yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friars Guilmis in Liege, where the Religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honnorable memoire de son Excellence; For an honourable memory of his Excellency, saith Guichardine.*

The Countreys towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Rivers of Hydaspes, Zarades, Acesines, and the rest fall into the main stream, are now posses'd by the great Mogol the ninth from Tamberlain, who commands all the tract between Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Country towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Acesinon, a Ship of London, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to Agra, the same great City (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call Nagra, being named of old Dionysopolis.

Philostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom Alexander sought by all means to out-fame) when they endeavour'd to subject to them the Oxidrace, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of Hyphasis and Ganger, they were beaten from the

Geog. is Dife. of the Low Countrey

the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the Cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before Alexander's time. But Alexander pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of India by fame. The Indian Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many Nations beyond the River Ganges, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not persuade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond Indus and Ganges, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perfwasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, wherunto the River of Indus was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater trenches, greater Cabbins for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher Mangers than Horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use, and scattered these Armour's and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondered at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars: to be the monument of his journeys end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his greatness; to his greatness it could add nothing save a suspicion, that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of Acesines, and there determined to set up his fleet, where Acesines and Hydaspes encounter; where to testifie by a fuller monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one he called Nicæa, and the other Bucephalon, after the name of his beloved Horse Bucepha-

lus. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand Ibracian Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at Babylon five and twenty thousand Armour's, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he was many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a City of the Oxidracans, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of Bevis of Southampton, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he paid down the River with his fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a rebellion in Badria, and then of the arrival of an hundred Embassadors from a King of India, who submitted himself unto him. He scalated these Embassadors upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuousity that could be devised, who, soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggon, and to each of them four Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he failed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yield unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he took in this passage, Samos was one, the Inhabitants wherof fought against him with paysoned swords, with one of which Ptolemy (afterward King of Egypt) was wounded, and cured by an herb which Alexander dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came near the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a sudden thrust one upon another by the Flood, so on the Ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed; but after he had a few dayes observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to Neptune, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent Nearchus and Onesicritus, to discover the coast towards the mouth of Euphrates. Ariannus in the beginning of his sixth Book hath written this passage down the River of Indus at length, with the manner of the Vells in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen dayes march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such misery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

From *Gedrosia*, Alexander led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing near to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hateful enough in it self, yet it always inflamed this King to Cruelty. For (saith *Curtius*) the Hang-man followed the feast: for *Aspates*, one of his Provincial Governours, he commanded to be slain; so as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty binder in ought his voluptuousness.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had been employed in the Killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers, great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as Alexander was perswaded, that had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the virtue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with six hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoicing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Island rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discovery: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew near to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an Eunuch in special favour with the King, was neglected; he not only practised

certain loose fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, for which he was condemned to dye; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused *Phradites* to be slain, suspecting his greatness. *Caperas* (saith *Curtius*) esse praecipue ad representanda supplicia, item ad deterrienda credenda; He began head-longly to shed blood, and believe false reports. It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threecore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his Country, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommody of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-thewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira* *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved *Ephesius*, and fourcore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains. There were six thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young Souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the moneys in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and six thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. Alexander greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandment, that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearfull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He used many Orations to lase them, but it was in vain during the tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, when they have tumbled a while; so are the unconside rate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licensed to depart,

he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly, if Alexander had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the War being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephesius*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his Physician, and bestows upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gain-say) *Antipater* by his Sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Lolla*, who waited on Alexanders cup, gave him poison; *Thessalus* (who was of the Conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few dayes.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge himself to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be, that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdoms ten or twelve years, knew not how to

play any other part; no more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where he utterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful Traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calisthenes*, having been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great Government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former War.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders person and qualities.

Howsoever it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his feaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the World, *Augustus* *Cesar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than abundant, to busie his brains withall. That he was both learned, and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first Book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality, I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole City to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionate to his fortune: to whom Alexander replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: *Seneca*; *Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quinquaginta. L. d. Ba. deceat. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habetatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubique virtutis modus, aequè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self becoms a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations, no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited*

by measure, the excess is as sanity as the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man's disposition, taken by it self, not much to be admired: For I am resolved, that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardness of Thieves, Ruffians, and Mastiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy, but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings, and Common-weals.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferior to *Cæsar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* except-

ed: nor was ever encountered with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons and Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains but far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destiny (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuisse pestes mortalium, quam inundatio, qua plannum omne perisum est, quam conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no less plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up.*

CHAP. III.

The Reign of *Arideus*.

§. I.

Of the Question about Succession to *Alexander*.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the *Athenian* then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Gyant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in Fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object failed.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in

Macedon, as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdom, not rendering it unto *Amynias*, (the Son of his elder Brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, he assured the Crown, unto himself: *Amynias* never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereunto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) some Law: of that Nation forbid the reign of Women. But the excellent virtue of these two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and so great were their Conquests, that *Macedon* it self was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able

able to make challenge of the Royal Seat.

Alexander having taken many Wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a Sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Arideus* his base Brother (Son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custom had made that Sex incapable of the Sovereignty: *Arideus* (besides his baseness) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counsellors having overlaboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half *Persian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captains; that going for Law, which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so far was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the Son of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Asinios* *Ptolomys* Mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass, had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Arideus* before himself: and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexanders* empty Chair, as *Pto-*

lomy had conceived the form of their consultations, or to sit in the Chair such a King as *Arideus*, no wiser than the Chair it self. Also the Controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shews of dissimbling aspirers do often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Arifonius*, another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his own purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the estate Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of *Epephion* (a powerfull Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very furly he was: which quality (joynted with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present business a foolish overweening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Soldiers, approving the sentence of *Arifonius*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chanceto be eaten by a Wolf. *Melager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heir to the Crown, the soldiers ought to be heirs to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who

who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoil, thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of *Aridæus*, with the troubles thereabout arising; the first Division of the Empire.

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander's* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vain: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsel which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fix hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexander's* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Sovereign Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded, and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royal blood, a goodly Gentleman, and valiant, issued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the Infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their com-

ing was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honestlier than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtesy. The matter it self afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, until the King by offering to resign his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up as the first.

Perdiccas having now joyned himself with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing between the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands;) the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexander's* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a general Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a

fourer

five of diffention, and thereby with a publick approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redress of these disorders, he halleted his own ruine, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleaning the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their several Captains. But at that time the great battel of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime, nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custom *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was always governed by him, who for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before, he fought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them that had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Council of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having been fe-

ven days neglected, was opened and embalmed by the Egyptians: no sign of poison appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to *Aridæus*, one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coffers of his friends being laid in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building, in Egypt.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamiar War.

Whilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* and *Cratæus*, two principal Noblemen, and inferior to none of *Alexander's* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were buried in Greece with a War, which the Athenians more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexander's* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greeks (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a sure party, But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient spirits, forbore the execution of this Decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Asiatians* who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justify by reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to *Leosthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levy an Army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readiness for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to do: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news was brought of *Alexander's* death: at which the City of Athens declared it self, and more

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honorably than wisely, proclaimed War against the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leofthene* drew in the *Ætolians* and some other Estates, gave battle to the *Ætolians*, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet supplementing his own strength) was fain to send into *Asia* to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, flunning or pursuing their destinies a farce, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to succeed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be belived in *Europe*. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his own jealousy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexander's* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitted Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of to sell a Master, and the envy of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poison, given by his Son *Isolans*; *Alexander's* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*; great cause of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as

the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present, *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captains of companies lying near, solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and fix hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* and *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the fortune of a battle with *Leofthene*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not cheekt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leofthene* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own Country; therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leofthene* follow him, present him battle again, and upon refusal close up the Town with Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honorable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

§. I. V.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

King *Aridemus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept an naked Court: all his greatness consisting in a bare Title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his Government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsettled condition of things to make better worth to him

than many Provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicea* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his re-fathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persians*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Virtue restored at another, and their faithful Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honor, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persian* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honor of the Empire, to take that in-land-Kingdom, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the government of a steadfast friend. Therefore he entered *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field 30000 foot, and 15000 horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) won the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon, and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most. Another part of his forces he had committed to *Pythion*, rather as to the most honorable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and 3000 horse they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by *Alexander* to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon wary of their unpleasant habitations, and the rude people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his own, than to de-

stroy them: which intent of his *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giving the spoils of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoined it upon *Pythion's* Captains (his own creatures) that they should ice his commandment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needless; so uncertain was the victory itself. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Pythion*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being Master of these companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free Lord of any Territory: He had thirteen thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides the new Companions, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation, all the greatness whereof *Pythion* might think himself assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business; and by virtue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselves; leaving *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himself Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for fear of opposition. How it succeeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

§. V.

The process of the *Lamian* War.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself without succours from his friends in *Asia*. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leofthene*, and would have yielded unto any terms of

reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremity, from which as yet he was far enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fallly out upon his enemies to their great loss: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lysimachus*, who was nearest at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, against *Senthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leontatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater's* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the less, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his Wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphibus*, chosen General by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to their great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He

had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leontatus* in horse, by the odds of two thousand *Thesalians*; in other things he was equal with him; a cause he thought himself Superior, in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he won a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the *Thesalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leontatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had fought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captains which dyed in battle; but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing laudable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flee. They betook themselves to high grounds unfit for service on horseback, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following, *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battle. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchedness (incorrigible in an Army of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; (seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of *Greece* came on, of which the never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and coming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leontatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphibus* labour to avoid the necessity of a battle, until such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and

and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Thesalians* had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one General, and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and City: concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every City to deal apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected: the *Greeks* choosing rather to abide the coming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelessness betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Thessaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

§. VI.

of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. of Demosthenes his death.

THE *Thesalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult, and their fear was not great; the feat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who fate still at *Athens*, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendsless. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace upon some good terms: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades*

the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosophers, were chief of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honorable; *Demades*, as a strong persuader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*;) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and virtue; but all these ornaments conflicting in speculation, and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Commonwealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democracy. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out, that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent usurpation of a few inroaching upon the publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* famous Orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild; whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendered their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the Learned Arts find in all Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honorably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there

there did *Archias* (lent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but no: so prevailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demoisthenes* entreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died: rather choosing to do the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battle, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprizes, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great sums given him by the *Perfians*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Perfians* which loved not his Country, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not cease to procure, when the *Perfians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honorable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) believe *Lucian*, who tells us, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a virtuous man, and lover of his Country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

§. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their *Ætolian* wars into Asia. The grounds of the first civil war between the *Macedonian* Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater* to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Ætolians*, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more po-

werful State of *Athens* had been. Their Country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for War: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their virtals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all passages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*, who, incensed by the loss of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity much fineness of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only which at the present is in hand. These *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat; but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such news came out of Asia into the *Macedonians* Camp as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these *Ætolians*, giving them whatsoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpose to call them to severer account; yea, to root them out of Greece by death, or by captivity, when once they should have settled the affairs of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high Counsel it was ordained, that this poor Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an introduction to all the civil wars ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticque* Expedition, which did set the world in an uproar, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient pre-eminence, and the present rule which he bore in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all

men

men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equal, or superior, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have comforted with these two, and to have been with them a third partner in the Government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and soar quite another way. *Arideus* was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the title of that Majestie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become Proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of *Alexander*: the desire to seem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher Asia were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Phidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians*, by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trial they found themselves unable to continue the defence, locked themselves into their houses, and set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had business of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their several Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-Roys (during the time) actually void; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the march with *Cleopatra*

might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the business prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonum* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonum* was as good a man of War, as deep a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great an undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His employments had been less than some of theirs, which made him all the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himself by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with careful attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanor of *Antigonum*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This device *Antigonum* would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape; which easily he did, putting himself and his Son *Demetrius* aboard of some *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings as finished the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonum* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their own danger: so his flight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his Government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chief Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboyls he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

P*erdiccas*, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his life, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or believed that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad course and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of iniquity, which never fails to be rewarded with hatred; which is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without success. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Soldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement, but vain assault, continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nile*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his Army into an Island, where he meant to incamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly fordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horsemen beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftness of water. A great part of his Army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so many Men, Horses, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repass again, as well

as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the River, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Soldiers against their General, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an uproar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of Funeral to the dead carcases, which the River had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Soldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon so virtuous and honorable a person, to fulfil the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pythion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victory upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Pythion* had lived in honorable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governor of *Media*; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entered the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authority of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as himself; yea, peradventure master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the War, and was easily believed: the favour of the Army being such towards him, that needs they

they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, and to *Aridam* the Captain, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexander's* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great Victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which news, had they arrived two or three dayes sooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

BEFORE we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the Egyptian Wars. *Alcetas* the Brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assitant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alleging the backwardness of his men to bear Arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedence given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when belittled upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortify himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand Horse, giving many privileges to such as

were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellepont*) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him Battel. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the Conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, though his foot-men, being all *Macedonian*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his Battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their Society, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crew to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, and calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laughed) but extolling the virtue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the Victory was won; for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion: a good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexander's* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customs, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld their new tricks of *Asia* with discontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native Country. So *Antipater*

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took

took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to join with *Ptolemy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains, after a great Victory. But he had a wary and well-advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without Battle, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own footmen, but was inferior in horse-men) and thought it more unsafe to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Herupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to join with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not here-with satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians*, and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy; and gave him no leisure to say, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to execute in his own person: for placing himself in the right wing of his Battle, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys,

which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprizing them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends, and fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none: *Phælix* a *Tenidian*, and *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who, mindful of their instructions began to give battle upon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoil to themselves; but the Bear, whose skin he sells, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the Battle was fought, gave most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who, as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles, grappled, so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revilings he required, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spur, and seek shelter behind the Battels of their Foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly born himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phælix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he fought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till

it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This Battle fought within ten dayes of the former, was to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heaviness. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoil of such Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easy to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulness, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their faithlessness; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

S. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queen, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his Office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Python and *Aridaus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridaus*, and the children of *Alexander*; took the way to *Assula* the less, conducting the Army thorow *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a Charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridaus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which fortune laid upon her foolish husband, being due to her own title. Her mother *Cyna*, Sister to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the

Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only Son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder Brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true Sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Cerix* Queen of the *Phrygians*; a *Virago*, like unto her self, had slain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the same unwomanly Art of War, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdom, (as once he had sought to do;) or whether the Queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrel with him; quarrel she did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Army having shaken off such a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himself upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controul, using the same name with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers. *Python* seeing this, would needs resign his office, whether upon weariness of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worst man in the Camp, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now she thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the *Macedonians*, that they should acknowledge no Lord (save only the King their Sovereign. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seem) by three things: the apparent weakness of her husband; the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of outlandish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the nightiness of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few dayes at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices, as *Perdiccas*

diccas had done : he had no concurrents, all the Governours of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better ; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army : to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Sufana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the Government of *Asia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, wins a Battel of Eumenes, and begetteth him in Nora : He vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

HERE begins the greatness of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchy. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus*, the Brother, and *Attalus* the Brother-in-law to *Perdiccas* : work enough to keep his Army employed in the publick service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook, was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unreasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions ; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all ways of corrupting his Souldiers ; tempting first the whole Army with letters : which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those Letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelessly to himself, that he and his were surpris'd, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man, *Apollonides*, had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes* ; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him : but was closely

followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traitorous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the loss of that Battel, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought ; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interr'd the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit : so the news which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found *Menander* in an open Plain, careless, as after an assured Victory, and laden with the spoils of many Nations, the rewards of their long service ; all which he might have taken : but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to fly to the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtship, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives : but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them ; but out of meer subtilty had avoided those precious fetters, which would have hindered his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdenfome, but the number of his men to be more troublefome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves ; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus*

gonus

a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*, where again keeping no more about him than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little fortress in the borders of *Lycania* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love ; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up ; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journey into *Pisidia* against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous, in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages : and their folly was attended with suitable event. *Attalus*, with many principal Captains was taken ; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger fort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their ears against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives, and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing : for the Governours of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to fall out ; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interr'd the carcases with solemn Funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own Town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality. But, to make an able General, one virtue, how great soever, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Protolmy wins Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Antipater.

WHILEST these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, ra-

ther seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Protolmy* looking abroad, was all *Syria* and *Phenicia* : an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas* ; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from Assitants, and vainly relying upon the Authority which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Etolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilst *Antipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* Expedition. In this *Polyperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence ; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the Government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having always travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him ; or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities, he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* Mother ; whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstain from coming into *Macedonia*, or intermeddling in matters of State : yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten ; and yet, ere long, by sorrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

§. XIII.

Of Polyſperchon, who ſucceeded unto Antipater in the Proteſtorſhip. The inſurrection of Caſſander againſt him.

Polyſperchon was very ſkilfull in the Art of War, having long time been Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requiſite in fo high an Office as he underwent, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his buſineſs more formally than wiſely, as a man of a ſecond wit, fitter to aſſiſt, than command in chief. At the firſt entrance upon the ſtage, he called to counſel all his friends, wherein for weighty conſiderations (as they who weighed not the contrary reaſons held them) the Queen Olympias was revoked out of Epirus into Macedon, that the preſence of Alexanders mother might countenance and ſtrengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad ſhould keep greater Armies, than were needful or eaſie to be retained about the perſon of the King in Macedonia; it ſeemed expedient, that the face of the Court ſhould be filled with all Maſtety, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the limited bounds of duty ſuch aſcoud not by force have been kept in order, being ſtrong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of ſight, whileſt preſent miſchiefs lay unregarded in their boſoms. Caſſander, the Son of Antipater, was not able to diſcover that great ſufficiency in Polyſperchon, for which his father had reposed in him ſo much confidence: neither could he diſcern ſuch odds in the quality of himſelf and Polyſperchon, as was in their fortune. He was left Captain of one thouſand; which Office by practice of thoſe times was of more importance, than the title now ſeems to imply. He ſhould thereby have been as Camp-maſter, or Lieutenant general to the other: a place no way ſatisfying his ambition, that thought himſelf the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare it with the forces likely to oppoſe him. All that had relied on his Father, were his own aſſured, eſpecially ſuch as commanded the Garrifons beſtowed in the principal Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magiſtrates, and others of principal authority, in thoſe Common-weals, whoſe forms had been correct-

ed by Antipater, that they would follow the ſide, and draw in many partakers: it concerned theſe men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the raſcal multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exerciſed over the principal Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Beſides all theſe helps, Caſſander had the ſecret love of Queen Eurydice, who had in private rendered him ſuch courteſie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other poſſibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; becauſe he ſaw Polyſperchon much revered among the Macedonians, and ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made ſhew of following his pleaſures in the Country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, adviſed with them upon the ſafeſt courſe, and moſt free from all ſuſpicion. The neceſſity was apparent of raiſing an Army, before the buſineſs was ſet on foot; and to do this, opportunity preſented him with fair means. Ptolomy had by ſine force, without any commiſſion, annexed Syria to his Government of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to truſt him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus upon the firſt news of Antipaters death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in ſuch fort, that he manifeſtly diſcovered his intent of making himſelf Lord of all Aſia. Theſe two therefore ſtood in need of a Civil War; which Caſſander well noted, and preſumed withall, That the friendſhip which had paſſed between his Father and them, would avail him ſomewhat. Whereupon he ſecretly diſpatched meſſengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himſelf on a ſudden over the Hellespont, that he might in perſon advance the buſineſs with greater ſpeed. Much perſwaſion is needleſs in winning a man to what he deſireth. Antigonus coveting nothing more, than to find Polyſperchon weak, by raiſing ſome commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities muſt not be neglected) Caſſander did very earneſtly preiſs him, by the memory of his Father, and all requiſite conjurations, to aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe; telling him, that Ptolomy was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a ſpeedy diſpatch. Antigonus on the other ſide repayed him with the ſame coin, ſaying, That for his own ſake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner

manner of ſuccour. Having thus ſeaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlack in preparing the common means, leading to their ſeveral ends.

§. XIV.

The unworthy courſes held by Polyſperchon, for the keeping down of Caſſander.

Great neceſſity there was of timely proviſion. For, Polyſperchon needed no other inſtructions to inform him of Caſſanders drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready diſpoſition, which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomy, to the ſtrengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of Caſſander was reposed in the confidence of ſuch as ruled in the Grecian Eaſtate. Therefore (loving to work circumſpectly) he called another Council, wherein it was concluded, That the popular form of Government ſhould be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrifons withdrawn; and that all Magiſtrates and principal Men, into whoſe hands Antipater had committed the ſupreme Authority, ſhould forthwith be either ſlain or baniſhed. This was a ſure way to diminiſh the number of Caſſanders friends, and to raiſe up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was diſcloſed both an unthankful nature in Polyſperchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excuſed of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the Son went about to diſhonour the Fathers actions, whoſe only bounty had enabled him to do it? Or what could be ſaid in their defence, who ſought to deſtroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the Greeks were held reſtrained from ſtirring againſt the Macedonians; and in oppoſition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through ſinews newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrary hand: ſo in bodies pollick, the humours of men ſubdivided in faction, are more enraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curb them in their neareſt purpoſes, than they are exasperated by the general oppoſition of ſuch as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to paſs, that contrary Religions are invited to help againſt Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to a part in civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to

counſel againſt injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty; the hath taught the arm to offer it ſelf unto manifold loſs in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men ſenſible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greeks were preſented with a vain ſhew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcern, that Polyſperchon had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as Polyſperchon gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deal of kindneſs as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubjection, might well appear to have ſome other root than the pretended good will; and was of it ſelf too baſe and unfit for a King to uſe toward his conquered Subjects, and often ſubdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great Commotions raiſed in Athens by Polyſperchons decree. The death of Phocion.

Nevertheleſs the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happy ſeeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captain of the Garrifon, which kept one of their Havens, called Munychia, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſty deſires.

Nicanor, as a truſty follower of Caſſander, was by him ſhifted into the place, and Metellus (that was Captain there before) diſcharged, when Antipater was newly dead. His coming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who ſoon after hearing the news of Antipater's death, cried out upon Phocion, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertiſing them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thruſting out the Macedonians. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the Macedonian yoke. Far more grievouſly would they have been offended, had they known the inſtructions which Caſſander had given to Nicanor, and his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not only retain Munychia, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he ſhould find means to thruſt ſome companies

companies into *Pireus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principal Haven, against the high Town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Council, assembled in the *Pireus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocion's* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to descend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polyperchon*, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athen*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Pireus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Pireus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shews, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before the durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. *Polyperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their Havens was such, as he would rather get in

to his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassander's*. His son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedy for the evil threatening them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* devising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproar in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polyperchon was in the Country of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts (having always been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Country gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyperchon's* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil hour) who promised to himself and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polyperchon* was an unflinching man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet either for want of judgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderful kindness to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering be-

tween

tween the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece*, began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) upon *Phocion's* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exterior shews of Majestie; yet all too little to change *Aridens* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others do. For beginning of the business, *Polyperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonalty of *Athen*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadors he then bade to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of Treason; but to give sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honors sake) referred unto the City of *Athen*, because they were Burgeses. Then were they sent away to *Athen*, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the less regard. Five and forty times had he been chosen Governor of the City, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent, so well was his integrity known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same virtue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein, though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the City repent of having followed his counsel: nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four Cities in *Asia*, any one which he would chuse. But *Phocion* refused these and other

gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest poverty: wherein he lived about fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgement of wicked men, to drink that poison, which by just judgement of the righteous God, is infected the City of *Athen*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the virtue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.

Of *Polyperchon* his vain Expedition against *Cassander*.

Not long after these things were done, *Cassander*, with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entered into *Pireus*; which news drew *Polyperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and made new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himself funable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athen*, he left his son *Alexander*, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his Army he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Country sure to himself, wherein *Cassander* had many friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democracy, or popular form of Government. He commanded that the principal Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slain, or driven into exile. This Decree took immediate effect in most places: the vulgar sort being very ready to seal the Charter of their freedom and authority, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which withed well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyperchon* meant to inflict an exemplary punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polyperchon* coming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully

T t t t t repelled

repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The *Assailants* having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pains to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boards driven thorow with long nails, which they used as gall-thorns, bestowing them slightly covered, with the points upward, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polyperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lie before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyn with *Arideus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the Victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be waited over the Streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drove his men, that lay securely on the Land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped them.

This loss at Sea, together with his bad success by Land, brought *Polyperchon* into great contempt. He had a good faculty in penning bloody Decrees; but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that

he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosoms, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Governor of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, unable to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who disappoints him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

Antigonus had in *Antipater's* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of *Antipater's* death; even then, when all the business in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the

the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes*, by one that was friendly to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon lent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect liberty. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty, to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unbecomely to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the mastery; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave it, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying in their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympia*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governors of the Provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of War. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceeding. For, if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doing on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a Legacy, without consent of the Princes and Soldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the Lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the general good of the State, in presence of the whole Army, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived,

not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty Elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus*, Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and sought to have won *Cicium*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the Country. *Arideus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished; and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authority from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royal house.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the less, was able to have entered *Macedon* and seized upon the Court; which that he forbore to do, it proceeded (as may seem) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousy in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polyperchon*, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation: It would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royal house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste towards *Cicium*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Emmenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead Master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Army, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governors of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Emmenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraphides*, or Silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this Authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royal blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for she was desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. *Emmenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the feed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noblemen, in whom *Alexander's* Mother, Wives and Children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this *Emmenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, born at *Cardia*, a City of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travel as far as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Aridaeus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

Now, forasmuch as in this present War all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royal house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter

into the particulars of the War it self, to shew briefly how the great Ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruins built the greatness of a few: as like-wise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main Controversie of the Title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridaus the King, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdom, and become Governor to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the Throne warm till another were grown old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexander's* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved Mistress, either by supporting her weak Husband, or by taking her to be his own Wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent, who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several Countries, and establish their authority in such wife; that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Pholomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Seleucus* lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to inroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Pencestes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance, until such time as *Emmenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poyson to *Aridaus*, which failing to take away his life, had much

paired

paired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Emmenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joya with *Polyperchon*, and set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the Son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridaus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polyperchon*, who joyning with her, entered into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She her self by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her party as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traytor *Polyperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reign of her Husband and Son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her Husband.

Olympias having obtained this Victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear Arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridaus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them thorow a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridaus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who took away his life by cruel torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poyson, willing her to chuse the instrument of her own death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yielded her neck to the halter, having pent her last curses not in vain. *Nicanor* the Brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then chuse out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His Brother *Tolans* that was already dead and bu-

ried, she accused of poyson given to *Alexander*, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polyperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the Government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias

i. i.

The great Expedition of Cassander. Olympias shuts her self into Pydna, where Cassander besieged her. Bacides King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forsaken and banished by his own Subjects.

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never stayed to take the City, nor to give order for the state of things in that Country, (though *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon*, were there with an Army) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to look to themselves as well as they could, till his return; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The *Aetolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylae*, in favour of the Queen and *Polyperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Callos*, a subtil Captain, to hold *Polyperchon* busied, who then lay incamped near to *Perthabis*, with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity took more care how to appear Majestical, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn progress to *Pydna*, a Sea-Town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young Son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his Grand-mothers designation: who during his minority, kept his Sovereign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the walls; only it fed the be-

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sieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared fair likelihood, which as soon vanished, and went away in smoke.

For *Lucius* King of *Epirus* made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias* his Cousin, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this Expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprize. The Kings importunity urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign Countries a banished man, his people joining with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

Ptydia in the mean time was closed up strictly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left; no memorable service being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

§. II.

A continuation of Olympias her story. Polybetion defeated. Extreme Famine in Ptdia. Olympias yields to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* and *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her destiny, which grows the faster upon her, because the may discern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedy in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History; that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polybetion*, was in like manner disappointed as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succour of the *Epirians*. For *Calixtus*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while to slenderly accompanied, that he was

fit for no other business of war, than a swift retreat. When famine had so far prevailed in the City, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcases of their fellows; and sawdust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the Soldiers obtaining the Queens leave (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, dispersed by these men, did to affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortality was so great in the Town, that the living were even poisoned with the noisome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Gaol, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having fetched her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdom, was yielded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonius* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such Forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the success of some petty services whereto he had prevailed) began to promise himself great unlikelyhoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassander's* favour, very earnestly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek Innovation.

§. III.

The death of Olympias, and her conditions.

WHEN *Olympias* had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her friends, the her self was called into question, and accused in an Assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so titled in her affliction, which

which in time of prosperity she called justice) by her committed. There was the (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The sute was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slain. But it was at *Cassander's* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessities, to save her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men, as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was Daughter, and Sister, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; Wife and Mother unto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of unreprieveable chastity; but her ambition was boundless, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her Husband seek other Wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privy to her Husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late Wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a Copper-bason. For these things, her Son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the Government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfil the rest of her wickedness (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, he re-

warded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

§. IV.

Cassander celebrates the Funeral of Aridæus and Eurydice; and seeks to make himself King of Macedon.

AFTER her death, *Cassander* gave honorable burial to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Theophylacta*, whom he had taken at *Ptydia*, being the Daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his Wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young Son to close Prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restoration of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia*, for less titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which Antigonus got in Asia.

§. I.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joyed with him.

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Agrepsides*, made But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Army possession of those Countries, according to his Commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. He took his journey through *Calycedonia* and *Phenicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, usurped the rest of *Syria* (as hath been showed) by *Pholomy*, to the Kings obedience. The Captains of the *Agrepsides* were so froward,

froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that they might more easily have dealt with open Traytors. It was not expedient, that he, being General, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, that Alexander had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if Alexander himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Pytho* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued, though not without considering of the matter, to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings Warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well, that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylonia*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vain assayed to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peneftes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those, who had most power to do good or hurt.

S. II.

How *Antigonus*, coming to set upon *Eumenes*, was driven off with loss.

Antigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further

from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battel. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Perfia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espial kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took. Before he came to *Tigris* itself, he was to pass over *Coprates*, a great River; and not foordable, which he sought to do by small Vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demeanor: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them; and drove them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yielded themselves prisoners in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Country in the Dog-days, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into *Media*. So he took *Pytho* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the nearest way; passed through *Savage Nations*, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his Troops that were quite heart-broken.

S. III.

Of *Eumenes* his cunning. A Battel between him and *Antigonus*.

AFTER his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the *Argyraspides* or Silver-shields, were very inclinable, as desiring to draw near to Greece. But *Peneftes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

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S. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by *Antigonus*, and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

WHEN they came into *Perfia*, *Peneftes* ruling there, feasted them royally, and fought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himself. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good cheer, till the time of War drew near. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peneftes* himself. The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polyperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. These news, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew near unto them, *Eumenes*, by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battel in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into so good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battel. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferior in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battel was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye far from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Country round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

THUS did the War continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skilful Generals: but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine days journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring twenty five days journey, he forsook; partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of Winter, he forbad unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them discryed afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their ways end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming; which being reported to *Peneftes*, and other Captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Army had been present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himself prevented of his purpose; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painful journey. There-fore

fore he resolved to turn aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Enmenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seen no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these Troops with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business, and long stay. All the Army was come, save only *Endammus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Endammus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horse-men, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who fate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave Troops of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the Assailants upon the back, drove them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Enmenes*; who though he knew not what his Adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to do: and therefore, playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

s. V.

The conspiracy of *Pencestes* and others, against *Enmenes* his life.

BY these means *Enmenes* won great honor, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert General, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Pencestes*, and the other Captains, guilty of

their own much insufficiency, were so transported with Envy, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great virtues; (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom, to find good reason of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than virtue it self. *Enmenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love, that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his meek virtue that overthrew him, which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain, before the battle were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by *Endammus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discouaging with himself of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind; being doubtful what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royal blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. Few things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battle willingly, or to fly into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

s. VI.

s. VI.

The last battle between *Antigonus* and *Enmenes*.

THE Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-shields*, finding *Enmenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them in the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battle so well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joining, a horseman from the side of *Enmenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickedness in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain, for the *Silver-shields* were men of threescore or seventy years old, and strengthened more by continual exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pythion*, he did set forward courageously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Enmenes took unto him *Pencestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battle, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traytors, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden; and (withal) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more do, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Pythion*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, under one *Périp*, an honest man,

and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retreat, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joined very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himself master of all; *Enmenes*, to die an honorable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being, even in their own opinions, far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who flew above five thousand of them, losing of their own not one man. But in Horse, *Enmenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repel *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until such time as *Pencestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himself out of the battle, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Enmenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspense, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of horses, men and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of Horse, that passed undiscovers beyond *Enmenes* his battels, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slyly guarded (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Pencestes* retired himself no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have surprized those which came to surprize them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event; and *Enmenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

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It hapned so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battel, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Pencestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. *Pencestes* not only refused to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return unto their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more, and therefore taking half his horsemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way home-wards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battel ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoil which he got, by surprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How *Eumenes* was betrayed to *Antigonus*, and slain.

Eumenes, coming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanor that day had so crueld the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in openfield, and was much less able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderness, over the high mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing.

Pencestes was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-shields* (who had in former times readily consented unto trayterous motions, in hope of gain, but was lured by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their services, in the Wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreaty, perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matters than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make War against him. This answer pleased them; so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they halted him away; and, stopping their ears against all persuasions, would not yield so far as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own General, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was fain to send a guard of Horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few they were that were fued for his life, but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one, the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So, after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haste

of other business made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the travels of that worthy General *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his Government of himself, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his virtue, industry and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gesser de Coligny*, Admiral of France in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre of *Paris*: That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye a thousand times.

Antigonus himself gave to the body of *Eumenes* Honourable Funerals; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into far Countries, under pretence of Wars; but with a privy charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the shores of Greece and Macedonia.

§. VIII.

How *Antigonus* slew *Python*, and occupied Media. How he removed Governors of Provinces, and made himself Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucetes.

THE two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principal men intently bent unto the business ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own deservings; for the whole War had been chiefly maintained by the strength, and riches of this Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assuage them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity, to trust many, of whom he stumbled

upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention between him, and his honorable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his own business calling him into the lower Asia. These reports coming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatness with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, wherof he was Governor; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive War. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to dye, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governor in Media, to order the Province, and a Captain, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced at his own pleasure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

Pencestes, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

§. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this Visitation; Some that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that strong Piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up five and twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Sovereign Lord. Coming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus*, with all possible demonstration of love, and honored with presents befitting the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake

reason or no, it sufficeth, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Pytho* and *Pencester* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Phoenician* Dominions; desiring about to oppress all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battel, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldeans* brought a strange Prophecy to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself; and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battel. Easie believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldeans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the Destinies preferred for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he took his journey into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand Talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly income to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexanders Captains: and how they assumed the Name and State of Kings.

§. I.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and his Answer.

His great riches, and the rest of his Power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient

sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, and was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honor that he had thereby gotten. In which War, so far as they being his Confederates, must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, where-in they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided always, that *Seleucus* their common Friend, and partner in the late War, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem Peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to

communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without others help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their Government, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*, and the council of estate in *Macedon*. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those days command me to (surrender Provinces, and give him his equal share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, How can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill; else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justify. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but War. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europa*, as soon as he was entered into *Syria*, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coast, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia*, some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unprovided of money; to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreclosed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navy. Therefore, having erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him

him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Polomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honored of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces be kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a foreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months; not idly. For he took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it self upon composition, that *Antigonus* Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

Polomy was not asleep, whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to encrease, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus* and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greatest adhered to *Polomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the Son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painful and Learned Writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Polomy* and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous War, chusing rather to undergo trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Cassander. Alexander the Son of Polyperchon revolteth from Antigonus, who had set him up.

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of *Greece*, whose aid, which way soever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped to well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand; and caused *Polyperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himself again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, Mother to the great *Alexander*; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexander* Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thestalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer despite of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a Decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her Son; and should yield obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire (by which name *Antigonus* himself was understood) or else should be reputed a Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be restored into freedom: this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was

was perwaded, that not only the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*, but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithful of all others to the Royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vain shews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectual, and got easier belief, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Polomy* strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himself that valiant Nation, which afforded men far more serviceable in War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to let the War on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appear, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassander* men had with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction, and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured; he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controversy; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*; provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithful league with *Polomy*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might

well perwade himself, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was only the Factor of a proud injurious man, so styling himself, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent (which he did not carry very secret) of making himself absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soon entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subject unto no mans control.

Howbeit, this his honor continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battle by *Cratippus*, *Alexander* Wife, a discreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those places that she held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Etolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A Fleet, and Land Army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomies Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time. Antigonus draws nearer to Greece.

Antigonus, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander*, and his other Adversaries in *Greece*; by stirring up the *Etolians* against them: Likewise he laboured to win to his party the Islands in the *Greek Seas*, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with *Polomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the success which he expected. The *Etolians*, a factious Nation, and always envying the greatness of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. *Cassander* was one of their own Country, fortified the *Acaruanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquished in battle, to forsake their side, and bind himself,

self to bear no Arms against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*; so the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of *Asiat* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perillus* marching on the shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navy. *Polyclitus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprized. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto *Perillus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admiral perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilst he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that business, *Polyclitus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yield unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the War, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late Victory, with the good success of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in *Syria*. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in *Asia* the less, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompenced by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the loss of his men, money and ships, no otherwise than as the pairing of his nails, that were left long enough, and would easily grow again, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other ac-

cidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Asia* the less; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honorable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria*, under his Son *Demetrius*, to whom being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captains, as Assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

How *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander* vanquished some enemies, raised against them by *Antigonus*. The good success of *Antigonus* in *Asia* and *Greece*: with the rebellion of many Cities against *Cassander*.

THE coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the process of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* side. *Scuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with some Towns that rebelled against *Lyfimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrel. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdom of *Epirus*, their Assistant. But *Lyfimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to content themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. He fought a battle with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drove them out of the Country. Finally, he overcame *Scuthes*; and following the heat of his Victory, slew *Pansanius* in Battle, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ranfome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like success had

Philip,

Philip, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For he waited their Country; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drove the *Ætolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principal Authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his Adversaries with painful travel; after which they remained only favours. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure wan all *Caria* the whilst, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he took out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Stigon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Euboea*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would pass over into *Macedon*: by which terror he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* too weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entered the Country; drove his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governor of *Athen* to enter into league with their Lord; wan the Citadel of *Thebes*, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old mines by the meer power of *Cassander*, of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend be-

yond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them incapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of *Ptolomy* by Sea. A great Battle at *Gaza*, which *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* man, against *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*.

AS the preference or neerfulness of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and *Greece*; so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage at his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceeding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governor of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers Subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his horfes, and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the success. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, he would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royal Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to chuse out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. He had

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scarce refreshed his men and horses in Syria, when the news arrived of Ptolemies coming with a puissant Army, to give him battle. Hereupon he called to counsel his principal friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as Ptolemy and Seleucus. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For Demetrius considering himself to be the Son of Antigonus, and now General of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in balance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore persuading himself, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the Desarts of Arabia.

Ptolemy and Seleucus issuing out of so rich a Province as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessities, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battle was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of Demetrius; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with those Beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they disposed in such order, as belied answered to the form, wherein Demetrius was embattled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part striving more to win honor, than to satisfy any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continu-

ance, the greater number holding better out, the error of Demetrius, who upon necessity would needs fight a battle with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight he was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loss of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of War hardly to be resisted on plain ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoil amongst Ptolemy's men. Afterward seeking to break thorow the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the horsemen of Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all multyde upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius had stroven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost; he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of Battle. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the Town. For whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already laden, Ptolemy's Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This Victory restored unto Ptolemy the best part of Syria, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of Seleucus. For between Gaza and Phœnicia no place offered resistance. In Celosyria and Phœnicia, some Towns held out a while, but were soon taken in by Ptolemy. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrrus and Sydon; of which Sydon was given up by the Inhabitants; Tyrrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captain, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by Ptolemy, and honorably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himself Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.

WHILE Ptolemy followed his business with such prosperity, Seleucus took leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length master of the better part of Alexanders purchases.

This expedition of Seleucus was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needful, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Seleucus was enough; whom the Babylonians had found so good a Governor, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to Antigonus his own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of War, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the Antigoniats, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Antigonus held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. Seleucus quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he

had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened unto Seleucus the way into those parts; he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he fought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his Army in Media, joining unto himself, out of Persia and other Countries, all needful help, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive Seleucus out of that which he had won.

Against this power, Seleucus had only four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwelcome Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were near to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marshes not far off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrival; the Satrapa, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; he himself was driven to flee for his life into the desarts, and the whole Army yielded unto Seleucus: whose gentle demeanor, after the victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of Seleucus gave beginning unto the new stile of, the Kingdom of the Greeks, an account much used by the Greeks, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long dispute about the first year of this Era. The authority of that great Astrologer Ptolemy, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth year of Nabonassar, was the fourscore and second year of this account. Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned Gauricus, that the first of these years, is reckoned complete, at Babylon, together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after Nabonassar. With the observation of the Saturn, recorded by Ptolemy, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding

finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldeans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourcore and second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestial bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembered factions) if they seem to be here-against; it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the several Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accounts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolemy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

s. VIII.

How Ptolemy lost all he won in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had been subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill success.

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to go up to *Babylon*, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he stayed longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolemy* could have spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, having lost the battel at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolemy* all his own goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous message, to this effect: That no personal hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only terms of honor, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolemy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken Troops; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and

advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honor lost. *Antigonus* upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolemy* won upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in *Calabria*; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. He thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battel, Master of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loss at *Gaza* had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompense the bounty of *Ptolemy*, with equal favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolemy* so weakened by this loss, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolemy*; and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: *Ptolemy* on the other side was loth to engage himself in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing slow in his way towards *Syria*; whither he made all haste, not so much to relieve his son, as to embrace him. For he rejoiced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted

quitted himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to encrease the reputation of this late victory, he brought such forces, as might serve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honor of all should be referred unto the good foundation laid by his son; whom from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolemy had now less reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have assailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains advised him to retire into *Egypt*, alledging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good success against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive War. So he departed out of *Syria*, preserving his honor; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principal Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easy was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himself Lord of a great Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not only by himself, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the King of *Israel*, and those of *Damascus*; between *Egypt* and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Ninive*; the *Persians* and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in those people; which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the several States of *Greece* (many of which had never possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their Spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liber-

ty: and how these proud Conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had always been subject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Persians* long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of foreign Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Persian* Empire: so that wanting within themselves all sovereign power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Persian Satraps*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many ages been subject unto them, and scarce four years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conqueror did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispose of them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein who is not satisfied, may find no less reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirm it. For we seldom read, that any small Kingdom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made to entire a conquest, in the compass of ten years, as late unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cause why the *Macedonians* held so quietly the *Persian* Empire, is well set down by *Machiavel*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are subject unto the like form of Government: the sum whereof is this; Wherefoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easy, and soon assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the *Turkish* Empire, and the Kingdom of *France*. If any Invader should prevail so far upon Turkey, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: the whole Empire would quickly be won,

and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Baffaes, how great soever they may seem, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail, all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; whose might in their several Countries, and having certain Royalities and Principalities of their own, are able to raise War in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stir up and inflame them: so that until every one piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not complete, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turks*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilful loss of a battel: which done, the Traitor hath spent his time, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joining themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by virtue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men,

doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Baffaes, or Provincial Governors, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the loss and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his Ensign, than the picture of slavery.

As is the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royal blood, and others, defended from the Princes that joyed with *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affairs of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves; it is easy to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masties*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapae*, or Governors of the Provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no less available, in making ease and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavel*. For as *Alexander* his Aids did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes,

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are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke; Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gaigoines* bear such faithful affection to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildly than the French. This enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in Lombardy; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been subjects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabatheans*, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians* for Mirrh, Frankincense, and other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their coming was sudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, *Demetrius* was set out with a great power: yet all in vain, for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary.

Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence he conceived hope of great profit, that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his Son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work: but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprizes, with the ill success, accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against *Ptolemy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, married all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the War into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria*, and the lower *Asia* should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius*, with fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his Son did less. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much: and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a peremptory commandment, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the War might be ended, by the fury of the first Brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessities should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the War, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprize, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

THESE ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual travel, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to

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enter into the War; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the flow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour, to the business; That the Son of Alexander by Roxane, should be made King when he came to full age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The advancement of young Alexander to his Fathers Kingdom, seems to have been a matter forcibly extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose, to have made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed more nearly touched Cassander. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that War, wherein they, had seen the old Queen Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander: who saw the Macedonians turn their favourable expectation, towards the Son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of Macedonia: whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poor office, of Captain over a thousand men; if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under Arideus; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He, in the mean time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, Of restoring the Greeks to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse: but it never took effect. Antigonus held scarce any Town of theirs; Cassander occupied most of the Country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a Disturber of the common Peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between Euphrates and the Greek Seas, together with a great Army, and money enough

to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance. Cassanders friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not do without: for, where every one mans help is necessary to the War, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much less to the Son of an Asiatick woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caudled both the Child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his Government, which he must have done when the Child had come to age.

Roxane was a Lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdiccas desired to have her Son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of Alexander, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of Perdiccas, to the satisfying of her own bloody malice, upon Statira, the Daughter of King Darius, whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of Perdiccas, murder her and her Sister, and threw their bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were the and her Son made a way, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of Cassander was not so much detested in outward show; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of War; wherein every one perfwaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except Eysmachus and Seleucus, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. Antigonus his Lieutenants were busy in Peloponnesus, and about Hellespont: while their Master was careful

careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of Greece: yet did the same argument minister unto Ptolomy matter of quarrel, against both him and Cassander; Ptolomy complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into Cilicia, where he won four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of Asia, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a Nephew of Antigonus (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his services) whom finding shortly, as false to himself as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greeks at liberty, appeared not so plain, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered by his molesting Antigonus in Asia. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an Expedition into Greece itself: where having first free some little Islands, and landed in Peloponnesus, he raised to great an expectation of finishing the long-desired work, that Cratespolis, the Widow of Alexander, Polysperchons Son, gave up into his hands, the Towns of Sycon and Corinth.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief, that the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart and rise up in arms; whereby with little labour their liberty might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many like attempts to recover freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The Macedonians, about these times, began to fortify their Town with walls; trusting no longer in their virtue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territory.

The Athenians were become as humble servants, as they had been in times past insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honor of Demetrius Phalerens, as there were days in the Year. This Demetrius was now their Governor; and he governed them with

much moderation: but, in spite of their hearts, as being set over them by Cassander. By this base temper of the principal Cities, it is easy to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. Ptolomy could not get them to set their helping-hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of money and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thralldom; as judging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight than the loss that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once Antigonus took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business, he changed his purpose: And renewing his former friendship with Cassander, he retained Sycon and Corinth in his own possession.

Before the coming of Ptolomy into Greece, Cassander had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in Wars among barbarous Princes) he found means to allure unto himself the Lieutenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponnesus, and about Hellespont: making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilful practice he freed himself from a greater danger, and made those murderers which he had committed seem the less odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old Polysperchon, that had made so great a stir in the reign of Arideus, did after the death of Roxane and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another Son of the great Alexander, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was Hercules: he was begotten on Barine the daughter of Artabazus Persian; but had been left esteemed than the Son of Roxane, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which Perdiccas, and after him Olympias, did bear unto Roxane. At this time the death of his Brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being Alexanders only living child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which Polysperchon made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honorable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyed with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. Cassander had raised an Army to withstand his entry into Macedonia; but little trust could he repose in that Army, whose wishes he perceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he

affailed *Polyperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murder his Pupil; chusing rather with many curses and foul dishonor, to take the offered Lordship of *Poloponnesus*, and Commander of an Army; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travel, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Sovereigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own: and therefore took order for the recovery of those places which *Ptolomy* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men, by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerful, or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomy* sweat in a busie War against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies and Treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great desire to take to Wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever the discovered much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-vivacious; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her Bro-

ther in *Asia*; hoping belike to find a new Husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an Husband. She therefore, being a lusty Widow, suffered her blood so far to prevail against her honor, that she supplied the want of an Husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his Sister, and must be allowed this liberty, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many seek to obtain her, while the her self desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leontius* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, being all her earnest Wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had Wives already; *Ptolomy* had many Wives, and many Concubines whom he respected as much as his Wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suit: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore the bequeathed her self, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputy in that City, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady less respected than *Alexanders* own Sister) did well testify. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the Kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governor of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion:

opinion: but the world was less foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we need not ask: for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of Gods justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but mercilefs Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, overwhelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequel will declare.

§. X.

How *Demetrius*, the son of *Antigonus*, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the *Garrisons* of *Cassander* out of those parts. The immoderate honor decreed by the Athenians to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*.

None being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superior, should freely profess themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill-beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprize, even the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honor as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of Royalty, whereof in seeming modesty, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty sail, and fifty thousand talents of silver, unto *Demetrius* his son: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Country free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomy*, *Cassanders* good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Pha-*

lerus forsook the Town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes* under safe conduct; only the *Garrison* in *Minichia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Minichia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the *Garrison* of *Cassander*, and so restored the City to liberty.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great personages well disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves, to the observance of general commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Cratespolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might by his means better her estate, and recover her Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to whose Lieutenant in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered money for the surrender of them. Yet the only business pretended was love. He being advertised hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear son prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himself in an old cloak, and creep away disguised; leaving them to ransack his Tent. There was in this Prince a strangely odd of conditions; especially an extreme dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matters of War. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversity made his valour more active: prosperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her Wheel, till she had wound up the thred of his life.

in such manner as followeth to be shewed. Returning to his Camp, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolv'd no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the City, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom it was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lower, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more many arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius*, the almighty; they called them by the names of the gods their Saviours, ordaining that every year, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter*, or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*, unless he would seem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first

Oracle: or rather so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victory of *Demetrius* against *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*. How *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

From this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a business of greater difficulty; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolemy*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willing to establish a general Council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Country. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garrison out of *Ambror*, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the *Greeks*, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pitiful Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indifferency of *Menelaus*, *Ptolemies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entered into some practice with *Antigonus*; yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicoles* his house with Souldiers, required, in *Ptolemies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to clear himself; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy King to rid himself of life: and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew herself, but persuaded the wives of her husbands brethren to do the like. Also those brethren of *Nicoles*, unto whom *Ptolemy* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserved the blame,

blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much dislike fell also upon *Ptolemy*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the furthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolemy* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him, either because they had small strength or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the rule of their own Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much less to retain possession of the whole Island. His greatest help at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the first opportunity. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolemy* had not hastied to the rescue.

Ptolemy brought with him a hundreded and forty Gallies, besides two hundreded Ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible shew, when it was described afar; though more than half of it was unfit for service in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolemy* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatening message: willing him to be gone, unless he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape upon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sydon* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundreded and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolemy*; better stored with weapons fit for that service; and very well furnished with Engines in the prow, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of three-score Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, left *Menelaus* with them should set up

on his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would go very ill with him. Against this mischief, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of the Fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolemy*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtful success. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prevailed against the Squadron wherewith he encountered; but the success of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drove all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Ptolemy*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loss over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to save himself, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battle no unusual accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Seafervice, which the *Greeks* and *Phenicians* that were with *Demetrius*, had above those which followed *Ptolemy*: partly, the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no less, than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundreded ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolemies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloof. For thought it were fitting that they should so do; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis* should charge the enemy in the stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight: especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they find that some part of their fears

fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For *Pholomy* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them repining any more confidence in *Pholomy*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honored with the Message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had be thought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a Cockboat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman.

Thus marched he fair and softly forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to let out his Pageant) until he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the news. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voice salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it, with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requital of the long suspense, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, said, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Pholomy* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet; therefore they flattered him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldness enough to put the Diadem about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name: whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boistrous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others; untill all Alexanders Princes were confumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of *Antigonus* against Egypt, with ill success.

ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as be seeming his greatness: which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Pholomy*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Army of eighteen thousand foot, and eight thousand Horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navy *Demetrius* was Admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Pholomy* should make, rejected this counsel; and imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortal enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carry ten dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels laden with all necessities for passing the Deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Gassius*, which is near adjoining to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the shore, in ill case, and many Ships wanting. It had been forely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himself, with the best and

(strongest Vessels, did so long bear it up against the winde, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After these painful travels, there followed a War no less painful than to little purpose; for *Pholomy* had so fortified all the passages upon the River of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or if his guards should happen to be forced, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakening of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blows speedily: *Pholomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it: and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers, raised upon the River, in vain, *Pholomy* played the faith of his Souldiers, with good success; for, with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Pholomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill success that *Perdicus* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forced retreat, he secretly practised the advice of his Council, upon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

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It is indeed less prejudicial in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vassal. *Charles* the fifth, as many other Princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antony de Leva*, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtful enterprises, is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the Council, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not only been disswaded, but held, in a kind, by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marshals Court.

§. II.

How the City of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead Carcasses, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a solemn Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, laden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare saviors by the last bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it self with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the Dependents of his Enemies: Dependents, whom the fore-named Confederates should be forced either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he

doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the City of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it self; to maintain which, and to encrease it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not only beat off all Pyrates and petty Thieves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the Neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendless and apart; or joyn themselves to some one, and thereby forego the peace, by which their greatness had grown) their affections carried them to the *Egyptians*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatness of the enterprise, he employed his Son *Demetrius* against them in their own Island, who brought such terror upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perwaded by fear, and not by love; raised his demands to an intollerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himself pleased. These conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions

§. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece. Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War against Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylae*. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was so great, that six thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatness of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those pieces, which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like or more easy success: for he suddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his pleasure. At the *Isthmian* games he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, save himself or his father, should usurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour he was so far unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserved none other name than of a drunken *Paliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and just with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the war should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose, he sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that

tions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearful ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he set in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never think himself a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extream, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gave over the siege; a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the City.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usual policy of War, and State: for while with the flower of all his Fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded Army, which he himself lead as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athen* it self. On the other side (though with less success) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Etolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, than that the *Rhodians* erected Statues in honour of *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the same fair answer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, so was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themselves with the style of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint-forces they should all together set upon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindered the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonía* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make hot war upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compel him to come to battle. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keeping himself the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which informed them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been so forward, that he refused to yield upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew near with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolemy*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable terms: to the

end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependents: for one Article of the Peace was, that all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himself to the tryal of the main controversie in *Asia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus was slain in a great battel at Ipsus, near unto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his Son *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the Enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were rather unanswerable than unequal to their adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of War with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had some times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolen away from him to save his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that Fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space

space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battel they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about threecore and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and threecore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were six thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himself, either troubled with the unexpected greatness of his enemies forces, or prefiging little good like to ensue, grew very penive, communing much in private with his Son whom he commended to the Army as his Successor: whereas in former times he had never been so jocund, as towards the hour of battel, nor had been accustomed to make his Son, or any other private to his counsel, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needless to recount. *Diana of Ephesus* dwelt near to the place of battel, a busie goddess in many great fights; and therefore likely to have been thrust into the fable, if any matter neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to believe, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well near all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie loss in regard of the much variety, wherewith every story aboundeth in this kind. The most memorable things in the battel, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of Horse, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he interposed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troops of horse offering to break up-

on the enemies battel, wherefoever it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilest they were fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather Treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their General to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then fourcore years old, very fat and unweildy, so that he was unapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, your company means to charge you*; He answered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve us*. Thus expecting to the very last, that his Son should come to his rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Arms, together with his unsatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his Fortune, but used insolence towards all alike, as if it had been some vertue neerest representing a Kingly Majesty. This was the cause that to many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forsook him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefulle endeavours of their Vassals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall find themselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love only that stays by adversity) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his Son.

§. V.

How Demetrius, forsaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolemy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into quarrels.

FOR Demetrius, at his return from the idle pursuit of young Antiochus, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat unto Ephesus, whence he made great haste unto Athens, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the midst of his course thither, the Athenian Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their City. These were Embassadors, not Theori, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shameful ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest Friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the Isthmus, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himself into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had sweetest briers, fell upon a corner of Lysimachus his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the mean while the Confederate Prin-

ces had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither Ptolemy nor Cassander were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to re-inforce the Army which Seleucus led, who took hold of a part of Asia the less, and all Syria, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory, than by the River of Euphrates. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that War, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawful for Seleucus, to make the best benefit that he could of the Victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatness of Seleucus brought no less danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of Antigonus had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was Seleucus ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion: the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as Seleucus, who had to day slain Antigonus his Father, and driven Demetrius the Son out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himself with Stratonica, Demetrius his Daughter; and so by Demetrius to serve his turn against Lysimachus.

The story of this Stratonica, with whom young Antigonus, the Son of Seleucus fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as Seleucus his Father, to save his Sons life, gave her (though she were his Wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius; between Ptolemy and Lysimachus; between Demetrius and Cassander; between Demetrius and Ptolemy, though for the present it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the Austrians, the Arragonians, the French, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times been found more faithfull, than those

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of the same latter times have been, as in the stories of Charles the Eighth of France, and of Charles the Emperour, of Francis the First, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Milan, and others, the Reader may observe: between whom from the year of our Lord, One thousand four hundred ninety and five, when Charles the Eighth undertook the Conquest of Naples, to the year One thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when Henry the Second died; the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by the Book, either by Weddings or Sacramental Oaths, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did Demetrius reap this profit by giving his Daughter to his enemy Seleucus, that he recovered Sicilia from Plisarchus, the Brother of Cassander, who had gotten it as his share in the division of Antigonus his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces, from him that entered upon it as a lawful heir; neither would Seleucus lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So Plisarchus with very angry complaint, as well against Seleucus as Demetrius, went unto Cassander; whither Phila, their Sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by Demetrius her Husband, that was not strong enough to deal with Cassander; and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to Wife a Daughter of Ptolemy (plurality of Wives being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Eastern Conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolemy could both of them have been contented better, that Demetrius, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly, Seleucus thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himself: and Ptolemy had a great appetite (which yet he concealed awhile) to the Isle of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that Seleucus would faine have let his new Father-in-law upon the neck of Lysimachus; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of Demetrius for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but

meant to keep as much Land as he could, having already found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his Fathers Treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased Seleucus, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be surrendered unto him; which were the only places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battle. Instead of giving them up, Demetrius took present order to have them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire Seleucus to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrel Seleucus was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed it self in words, which had it fastned upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envy to the stronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius won the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Cassander.

IN the mean while, the Athenians not knowing how to use the liberty which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the Tyranny of Lachares. Through which alteration their distempered City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himself unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any business, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a great part of his Fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soon repaired the loss; and (after some Victories in Peloponnesus, where he won divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of Attica, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those Islands, and places abroad, from

from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a Navy as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had laden an hundred and fifty ships with Corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting-ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore halted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so near that they might be defied. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped down between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yield up the Town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capital offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this Decree, rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the Victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankfull men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure Garrison within their Walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponessus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two Battels, and was in very fair possibility to take their City: when the dangerous news of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himself did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haste. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were straitly besieged. Whilest he was bethinking himself which way to turn his face, a notable piece of business offered it self, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest Son, whose two younger Brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*,

fought for the Kingdom. In this quarrel *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder Son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own Mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose Daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appear in the following Tragedy, of him and his Brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill-ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Soldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty that she used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindered his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilfull in matters of Arms, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a far off the dangers, that may quietly pass away: and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked means, as never thinking it self safe enough, until there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which over-took them; yet ill-beseemed it *Cassander* to do the Office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no Law of men, deserved to dye for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the divine Justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

of *Pyrhus* and his doings in *Macedon*. The death of *Cassanders* Children. *Demetrius* gets the Kingdom of *Macedon*; prevails in War against the *Greeks*; loseth reputation in his War against *Pyrhus*, and in his Civil Government, and prepares to win *Asia*. How all conspire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrhus* and *Lysimachus* invade him, his Army yields to *Pyrhus*, who shares the Kingdom of *Macedon* with *Lysimachus*.

Pyrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Excides*, which perished in War against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Ilyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heir. *Glaucias* was so far from betraying *Pyrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compass of six years, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drove him out of his Kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his Sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his Wars, was with him in the great Battel of *Issus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomys* principal Wife; so that he married her Daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with money and men, into *Epirus*: more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdom of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that business between the Children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* Sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the Kingdom with his younger Brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aid of *Pyrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity en-

forced the Brethren to compulsion: but their composition would not satisfy *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a fool to come so far with an Army, and finde no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to do as *Pyrhus* had done; and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was feasted and slain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in War with a King of the wild *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; until his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the Children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slain his own Masters Children, in a wife course of policy, with careful meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was thoroughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of Civil Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none other, than to do what a King listed. He gave himself over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing Justice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: War being his recreation; and Luxury his nature. By long rest (as six years reign is long to him, that knows not how to

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reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleness; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Asia*, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained and dismissed his Mother and Children. This afforded him the better leisure of making War in *Greece*: where he vanquished the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in short space, but used his Victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this Journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worse event. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had also made excursions into *Thessaly*. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing *Demetrius* thought himself strong enough to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the virtue of those, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter Ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius* or any of *Alexander's* followers. At this time, he misified that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, shewed in single combat against *Pantanchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battle did not so much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeited manner, some of *Alexander's* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none, save *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captain.

These Rumours were not more nourished by the virtue of the *Epirot*, than by dislike of their own King; whom they began to dislike, not so much in regard of his un-

profitable Journey into *Epirus* (for he had wasted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was reckless: and suffered unwisely this unprincely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. He made a mockery of Justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little he esteemed it or them) having by a shew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor Suters after him in great hope, till coming to a Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a River; pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses he grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almost won it with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sick in his bed; who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Asia* with a Royal Army: wherein the fortune of one Battle might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Horses, with a Navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before; yet so swift and useful withal, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations, made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn against this ambitious Son of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his Father. It was easily discerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Asia*, there could be

no

no security for his friends in *Europe*, what league (soever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but while he was yet on the way, news were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berbera*. The matter was not over-great: were it not that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the Camp was in uproar: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious words, and many desired leave of *Demetrius*, to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lysimachus* their own Country-man, against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his Camp: where the news that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get fight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To try this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himself bare-headed in view of the Camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out, with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any, that spake for *Demetrius*; only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and thist for himself. So *Demetrius* threw aside his Makers habit, and atyring himself poorly, did fearfully teary away out of his own Camp, deserving well

this calamity: whether it were so, that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his friends; or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilest *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lysimachus* came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half: saying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the War; and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon: as of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How *Demetrius* gathering Forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in *Greece* and *Asia*. How he was driven upon *Seleucus*, and compelled to yield himself. His imprisonment and death.

THE *Athenians* were as unthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his adversity, as they had been in former times. For they presently forsook his friendship, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his Son *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had soon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his Wife (who is highly commended for a wife and virtuous Lady) did poyson her self, upon desperate grief for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians*: that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokes-man; and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first coming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captains that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the Son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazard his last stock against it.

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Wherefore he resolv'd to pass through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to find a Kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeach'd by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which wayes he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquish'd this troublesome enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titular King, with extremest famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius*'s men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travel with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilential diseases following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest with their Captain, escap'd into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupi'd in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius*'s errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he besought his Son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These Letters at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himself, when he recovered strength after the battel at *Ipsus*, he chang'd his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousy of *Seleucus*. Therefore meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time, a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by Fugitives, that gave alarm. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though

otherwise he us'd him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-Iland, wherein were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks for hunting. He had all that he ask'd royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserv'd unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, out of the high Countreys. In this fort he spent three years, now merrily all the while (as one that living enjoy'd the happiness, which with so much travel and blood-shed, he had sought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his Son *Antigonus*, the same which his Father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Cerinth*; his qualities have appear'd in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it self hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolemy, of Lyfymachus, and of Seleucus, that was the last of Alexanders Captains: with other occurrences.

ABOUT the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, a virtuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many Children, out of whom he selected *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and caus'd him to reign together with himself, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolemy Ceraninus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolemy*) was grievously incens'd. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders*' Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lyfymachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrel, was their neer equality or strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyfymachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poisoning *Agathocles* his eldest Son: whose wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after seven moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to *Lyfymachus*, their natural Country-man, that they forsook *Pyrhus*, upon none other ground than because

because he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyfymachus* had reigned about five years alone, when the City of *Lyfymachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appear'd by events, to have fore-shew'd the fall of his house. His own jealousy, and the instigation of a mother-in-law, caus'd him to poison his son *Agathocles*: which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loss of all his fifteen Children that were taken away by divers accidents) he perish'd himself.

Seleucus was encounter'd by *Lyfymachus* on *Asia* side, where one battell concluded the war, with *Lyfymachus*'s death. It pleas'd *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seem'd to himself as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he pass'd over into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where

there was none to withstand him. But here he ended his days, and within seven moneths followed *Lyfymachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraninus*, whose friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and seven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyfymachus*, and *Lyfymachus* was seventy and four. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had seen the dayes as it were of another World under the *Persian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrhus* the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himself did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexanders*' Successors, with less (and still decreasing) virtue, than was that, by which they were first purchas'd.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, and settling of the Eastern Kingdoms

§. I.

How the Romans enlarg'd their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, to such time as they were assail'd by Pyrrhus.

HOW *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though small) Victories, gathered strength, unto such time as it became the Head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatness beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it self out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have been deliver'd in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupi'd in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-child to *Numa Pompilius* by his Daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He wall'd the City about; enlarg'd it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he enclos'd; built a bridge over *Tiberis*, and the City of *Osia* upon the Sea, fifteen miles distant from *Rome*. Finally having reigned 24 years, he dyed, and by his last Will he left his Children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Helvetia*, and dwelt in *Tarquinius*, by the name of which Town he was afterward call'd *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Helvetia* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife *Tanquil* prophetic,

phesie, he grew a favourite of *Annius Martinus*; by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the *Roman* Court, inſomuch, that after his deceaſe he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senators, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſs eminent in war, than in peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his victories, the chiefſt ornaments of triumph took their original. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned 38. years, he was ſlain by the Sons of *Annius Martinus*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſick, but not dangerously. And withall ſignified unto them, that in the interim of his ſickneſs, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth he alwayes prophesied to be born to great hopes (the ſon of *P. Corniciamus*, and *Cerſia* a well deſcended, but captive woman) brought up in her houſe, and husband unto her daughters, ſhould ſupply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards uſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourſcore-thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole Corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good ſort, as if it had been a private houſehold. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding alſo that the two ſons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oyl, to fire) gave the mild daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed ſon, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it hapned; the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joynd in marriage: who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſtning to the Senate, (where he thought by Authority to have bridled Inſolency) was thrown down the ſtairs, and going home forebruised, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned 44. years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her Husband

Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corps: whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of Wicked-ſtreet. This *Tarquinius*, exerciſing cruelty without juſtice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himſelf and them at home, uſed the ſame rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Oriculum*, *Stuſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a Town eighteen mile diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſuccesſ. In the heat of which War, his Son *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatine* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her own blood; ſo (having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine* and *Junius Brutus*) the kill'd her ſelf: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Etruria* for ſuccour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquinius*, and freed his Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, enforced the people by ſolemn oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetual to annual, and from a ſingle Government to a double; left perpetual or ſole dominion might be ſome motive to uſurpation; and inſtead of Kings they called them Conſuls, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindfull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſeeling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their own ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the houſe of *Tarquinius*, favoured already of their condition. In his room was ſubſtitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in

in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controverſie to appeal from the Conſuls to the people, and that he might as well in goods as in perſon, avoid occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his own houſe to be pulled down, becauſe it was built in a place defenſible, as if it had been a Citadel. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt rank his own ſons, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employed their military deſignments againſt Foreigners: firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for enlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her neighbours; untill by main oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borders, ſhe uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtain the reſt.

Their firſt war, in the firſt year of Conſuls, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Etruria*: who being over-perſwaded by *Tarquinius* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeat him again in his Kingdom.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies on the Bridge over *Tiberis*, at length, feeling himſelf too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the River, like a hunted Stag, reſreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellows, with the like reſolution to ſuſtain a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculum*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the Victory, in a manner, aſſuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius ſcevola* (who having by error ſlain *Porſenna* his Secretary, in ſtead of the King himſelf, did in ſcorn of torments threatened, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudicial either to his ſafety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worſt hand. And

yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his Son, and *Brutus*, his enemy, in ſingle combat, had ſlain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt, *Brutus* got the field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their chaſtity, not for beauty, mourned the loſs of him one whole year. Into this place, for the reſidue of his year, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*; and in his room (deceafing naturally before the year expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquinius, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtrive againſt the ſteam, but ſpent the reſidue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tullianus*, ſtomaching a-freſh at thoſe old repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further ſuccour unto the *Tarquines*, muſtered up his *Latins*, and gave battel to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the iſſue uncertain, untill *Aulus Poſthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magiſtry greater than Conſuls, purpoſely for this war, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Soldiers courage, threw their own Enſigns amidſt the Enemies; and *Coffus*, or *Spurius Caſſius*, (Maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Enſigns. This fight was ſo well performed, that a report went of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witneſſes of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their Victory; for the General conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their pains. After this the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themſelves at home; and the ſixteenth year after the Kings expulſion, upon inſtigations of ſome deſperate backſtairs, thinking themſelves wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſuls, they made an uproar in the holy Mount; untill by *Mecenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconvenience in the Head and Belly's diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeal in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controverſies, the Conſuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this atonement among themſelves,

themselves, they had continual War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsces* and *Æquians* held them longest; who made War of themselves upon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honourable then, as drawn from a great Victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell corn, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsces*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incited them to renew their forces again; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, until his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pitifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Arms. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsces*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and six in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying incamped at *Cremora*, were circumvented, and all slain: one only of that whole house had been left, by reason of infancy, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In process of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsces*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had been discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, with success answerable to his expedition,

dispersed his enemies, and freed his Country in the space of sixteen days. In the continuance of this *Volscean* war, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governours of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* Laws amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ravished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their authority again to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new war against the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diversity of Captains, and variety of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaster, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principal Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yielding them all up as hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten years, and so troublesome, that the *Romans* were there first inforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without Victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in general were called to the ransacking of the City. But yet they were no less unthankfull to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they banished him the City, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service against the fury of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Country, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons destitute of means, were enforced to roave abroad, seeking some place where to set up their rest: and withal being a Nation valiant in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them light'ning on *Italy*, let

set upon *Clusium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information (and being careful of her Confederate Towns) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, converted their forces from *Clusium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called *Albensis* in the *Roman* Calendar) they hastned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the City; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and, every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, *Rome* was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did set themselves in Thrones, in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the City, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they sat in their Majesty with a grave resolution; having first revered them as gods, anon they tried whether they would dye like men. When the City was thoroughly rified, they attempted the Capitol: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surpris'd it by night, but being decry'd by the gaggling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the *Gauls*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls* with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the City

with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a several Champion of the *Gauls*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should always be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365 years. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Sannites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* itself, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papirii* and *Fabii* were most employed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the *Romans* often times dangerously encountered by the *Sannites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurgus* lost the field with

three thousand men. But for those losses, many great Victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by L. P. *Pyrrhus*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrel. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but less warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latins* began to challenge equal freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latins* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latin Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battle was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the virtue of the Consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the General in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consul, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latins*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latins*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Herulii*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consul, waiting all their Country with fire and sword, from the Ri-

ver *Nar* and *Felia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made trial of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace by them tendered. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Eruvians*, and *Apulians*, joining with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebel and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-extend.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battels.

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no less than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of employment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid

aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would call themselves under his protection. They had in their company some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and fill by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cynas* his chief Counsellor, alking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that, out of *Sicily*, he would pass over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cynas* enquired yet further, what they should do, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cynas* then told him) that they presently might do, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* Expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well fortified, and well trained souldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cynas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careless to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theatre, and other places of pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very displeasing, though greatly beehaving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, *Levinus* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink for fear of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily,

that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces: than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little waste to be repaid; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by foul weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Levinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battle ere all his adherents should be ready to joyn with him. This boldness of the *Roman*, and the slackness of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus*, to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrel between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at near distance, the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon both Armies hastened their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Levinus* intended to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, until his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilful in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entered the Ford, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battle; wherewith he thought it best to prefer

them, ere the whole Army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his Captains how to marshal his battels; himself with the horse charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful General; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behoved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his Kings armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battel; but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flank, and over-born, by the force and huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetful of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Army, should lose in plain battel, not only the Field, but the Camp it self, being so notably fortified as they always were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we say) a day after the Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses,

than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cynæus* his Embassadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did *Cynæus*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the riling of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cynæus* made at his return, of the *Roman* puiſſance and virtue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacy with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace*.

In the mean season, each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty Army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to the trial of a second battel, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had been: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Army in this battel: and though he drave the *Romans* out of their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to do (seeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasion,

on, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicil. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicil, forsook Italy; was the most of the life; and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his own Kingdom.

When *Pyrrhus* *Ceranus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceranus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great virtue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceranus*: perceiving themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antigonus* the son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Army neer unto *Europe*. Yet he made great show of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissention: threatening war, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Pyrrhus*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for fear than for love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Pyrrhus* grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong City of *Cassandria* was held by *Arifone* his filter, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of confanguinity) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good success, which his villany found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the fury of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gauls*, having forced his passage through many Countreys, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceranus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of war. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrey, to seek new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italy*; the other, passing through the Countreys that lye on the Northern side of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoining, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceranus* to do: unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadours came to *Pyrrhus*, asking what he would give: his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yield up their arms; otherwise he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, That they would soon confute with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very fear; should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardaniens* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which un-

der the conduct of *Alexander* had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*; as if the Victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great Name. But he soon found his great error when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fierceness of courage, but so far superior to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none escaped their fury. *Ptolemy* himself grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battle continued; and they presently strook off his head, which they threw to his men on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as lost. Only *Sophenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper-hand, and hindered *Belgus* from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his virtue, the Soldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of *Belgus* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sophenes* with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their Country to the spoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who fought to discover and subdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these news been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who fought a fair pretext of relinquishing his War with the *Romans*; but had not other tydings out of *Sicily* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Army to conquer *Sicily*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did so fast prevail, that the *Silicians* had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live

under the well-known heavy yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracusan*, *Leontines*, and *Agraguntines*, principal Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicily* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not so hastily pass away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it at better leisure; over into *Sicily* he transported his Army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, until his return into *Epirus*; rather many and tumultuous, than well-ordered, or noteworthy. The Army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into *Sicily*, he forced the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong City of *Eryx*; and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battle, he began to change condition, and turn Tyrant. For he drove *Sostratus* (to whom this cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, and put *Thenon* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and saved the disreputation of his leaving *Sicily*, by an Embassy sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Sammites*, imploring his present help against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italy*, had well-near dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he embarked for *Italy*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battle with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forced him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant; and had he been but a General of an Army for some other great King or State, and

had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no less honour, than any man of War, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valiant man, hath been nowhere found. But he never stayed upon any enterprise; which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus, the Son of Demetrius, delivered Macedon from the Gauls. How Pyrrhus won the Kingdom of Macedon from Antigonus.

THE virtue of *Sophenes* being too weak to defend the Kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgus*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*; the *Macedonians* were no less glad to submit themselves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treasure, beseeching a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, only those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wives of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main strength of his Army, was gone to spoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delfos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows: and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embassadors in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royal feast: wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of massie gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a Prince he was, and

how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his Camp and Navy, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavily laden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferior unto the *Gauls*, thought all time lost wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouths, than of spoil and purchase: which tale carried the *Gauls* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgus*. Their coming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who disfrustring the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himself, with his whole Army and Carriage, into certain woods adjoining, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty Cabbins of the Soldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall upon him, whilst he was busy in getting his Men and Carriages a ship-board. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terror which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had saved it self by getting aboard the Fleet: in which number were some well-experienced men of War: who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Soldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this Victory caused all the barbarous

barbarous Nations in those quarters to recollect their ancient belief of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many Countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the less, with their wars and conquests there; I hold it needless: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people; yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this Victory, could not thereupon be persuaded to think him a good man of war: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto *Pyrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrhus*, when his affairs in *Italy* stood upon hard terms, had sent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his War against the *Romans*; or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, meer necessity forced him at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of *Antigonus*'s Souldiers revolted unto *Pyrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily persuaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon *Antigonus* himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appears, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Country. For *Pyrhus* overtook him in a straight passage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the

Gauls and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrhus*'s impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the straight, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage, by deceiving their expectation. The Captains of the Elephants were taken soon after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldened *Pyrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhorted them to yield. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsook *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repair his loss: *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Pyrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drove him to flee from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a King.

This good success revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his Son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* thirst for themselves.

§. V.

How *Pyrhus* assailed Sparta without success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

Pyrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and

and won the Kingdom of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased. He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending War against *Antigonus*; and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made; for accomplishment of some design more important than War against a Prince already vanquished; and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himself to *Pyrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger Sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entered upon *Laconia*; where, presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself and his former dissembling words with a jest; That he followed her in the *Lacedemonian* custom, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedemonians*, to deal in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falsehood, in *Pyrhus*, which they always practised in wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with walls, at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three days together it was assailed by

Pyrhus exceeding fiercely; and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindful of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had torn in funder the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus*'s Captains got into *Sparta*, with a good strength of men; and *Aræus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in War) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrhus* a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third dayes work shewed how great his error had been, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Army, though not strong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrhus* doubtful what way to take; being diversely affected, by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that City into his hands.

Civil Dissention raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several factions to call in *Pyrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerful assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himself to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyranny of *Pyrhus*; and that he would be gone, if they need not his help. On the other side, *Pyrhus* would needs persuade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* took full pleasure in hearing the Fox and Kite at strife, which of them should keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word: for

he was the weaker, and stood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hottages he would give none to his inferiours, especially meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City should be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. The taking off, and setting on again of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the City, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gauls* (that had the Vanguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-passage: and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore understanding by the confused noise, and unequal shoutings of his own men, that they were in distress, entred the City in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the place. But the darkness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is said, that seeing in that place the Image of a Wolf and a Bull, in such po-

siture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the City, though the Wolf and Bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argives* pressing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retreat with his own sword. The tops of the houses were covered with Women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her own Son in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore she took a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to the ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the Army, the body, and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable burial, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his Son; which young Prince he graciously sent home into his Fathers Kingdom of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the posterity of *Selencus* reigned over *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolomy* had quiet possession of *Egypt*: untill such time as the City of *Rome*, swallowing all up, digested these, among other Countreys, into the body of her own Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.

THE



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
VVORLD.

Intreating of the Times from the settled Rule of *Alexanders* Successors in the East, untill the *Romans*, prevailing over all, made Conquest of *Asia* and *Macedon*.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punick War.

§. I.

A Discussion of that Probleme of *Livie*; Whether the *Romans* could have resisted the Great *Alexander*. That neither the *Macedonian* nor the *Roman* souldier, was of equal valour to the *English*.



THAT Question handled by *Livie*, Whether the Great *Alexander* could have prevailed against the *Romans*, if after his Eastern Conquest, he had bent all his Forces against them, hath

been, and is the subject of much dispute; which (as it seems to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with a small strength of men,

and little store of money, or of other needfull helps in War, vanquish them in two Battels, and endanger their Estate, when it was well settled and held the best part of *Italy*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half so well settled? It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried over not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate

name *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needless to speak of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of Battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having might, save men and arms. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punic* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shore, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oar, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in, ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern World, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonians*: let us only conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexander*, coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrius*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to sail into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extrem hazard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of

which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countreys to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uneasy to find in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that virtue and fortune work wonders; but it is against cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excel in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and virtue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the conqueror. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those days, the better Soldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and prefer that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall all ways hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every Battle that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every War. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were surprized by the *Sammites*, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a Controversie, we think it were not amiss, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of Land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, The *Englishman*.

man. For it will soon appear to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being far superiour unto us in number, and all needful provisions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of War.

In what sort *Philip* won his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly encountered: any man, that hath taken pains to read the foregoing story of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very seldom, able to stand against the *Roman* Armies; which were embattled in so excellent a form, as I know not whether any Nation besides them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to do, we find, that they which did over-match him in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happiness; that she was never over-laid with two great Wars at once.

Hereby it came to pass, that having at first increased her strength by acceffion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, against which she adventured her own self, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her self Princess of *Latium*, she did afterwards by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doors. The *Aetolians*, and, with them, all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the same *Aetolians*. The wars against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by using her aid to pro-

test them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speak of her other conquests: it was eafie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; That among all their wars, I find not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgement seem over-partial, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had never any to brave a Commander in war as *Julius Caesar*: and that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Caesar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given fair proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it first entered into *Gaul*; was nevertheless utterly disheartened, when *Caesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Caesars* men, to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a War. Now let us in general compare with the deeds done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principal service; the things performed in the same Country, by our common *English* Souldiers, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and believe *Caesar* in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witness, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Caesars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Country of *Gaul* was rent in sunder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not only in general through the whole Country, but between the petty States, yea in every City, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there was a greater. *Arminius*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meer slavery: yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls*, (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-thews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of Rome caused it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Junfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Beldisarius* under *Byzantium*, by the *Perfians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tyed to the Main by a neck of Land; which passage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to believe the common report, that the City it self was above twenty miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three Walls without the Wall of the City; and between each of those, three or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in the Streets, between these out-walls, for four thousand horse-men, and twenty thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never peppered the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*, to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compass, that maketh two miles and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Ox hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt-Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certain arm of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the City stood, stretched it self towards the West-continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing-Sea was built a most sumptuous Arsenal, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-wealth resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titular Kings, and the Aristocratical Power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the

people in latter times usurped too great authority in their Councils. This confusion in Government, together, with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty.

(a) Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one (b) half of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and merciful persons, but upon those who would best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy; that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendered them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break of the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruel death at home. Hereby it came to pass, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* Forces, after some great loss received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, where, in their first conceived them, for fear left the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* Rule, to crucify, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel had prospered even him. The faults, where-with, in general, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I find to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themselves were free from the same crimes, let the trial be referred unto their actions. The first is the league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the year following the expulsion of *Targuin*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have

traded. And it is the free-man, and not the slave, that had compassed the fence of shame delivered by cowardice. How free the *English* Yeomen have been in times, not long since past, *Fartius* hath shewed in his praise of our Countryes Laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever; and our Nobility and Gentry more both taught them to raise their Rems, since by Inclosures, and diminishing of Mannors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Privileges of the Gentry of *England*, have been diminished, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

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trade in some part of *Africa*, nor suffer and ship of theirs to pass beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livy* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Island of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africa*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicily*, whilst that Island should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we find good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicily*. For that mighty army of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africa*, into *Sicily*, was only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repair their own losses; and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicily*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Island in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busy in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These news were unpleasant to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily fore-saw, that the same busy disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicily*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were sorry to hear what misadventure had befallen the *Romans* their good

friends in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needful, against the *Epirots*.

It was indeed the main desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their business in *Sicily*: which caused them to make so goodly an offer. But the *Romans* were two high-minded; and refused to accept any such aid of their friend, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seem unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present business; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reservation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, using all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his own purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicily*: whether though in fine he was neither getter nor savor, yet he clean defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any aid, as when they first began.

So many disasters in an enterprise, that from the first undertaking had been so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to believe, that an higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitful Island, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and pain therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses; and by force of practice, recovered in few years all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island; that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troop of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied

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the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate, to wit, against the *Syracusans*, and others, but they rather won upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turned her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusans* was fast upon them; and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerful army besieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusan* Souldiers, then lying at *Magara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governours of the Common wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterwards King. *Hieron*, being for his years excellently adorned with many virtues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used at his first entrance, he was by general consent established and made Governour. This office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he fought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authority among the *Syracusans*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two several parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut

in pieces by the afflicted: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he halted again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) encountered in the plains of *Mylan*, where he obtained a most signal victory; and leading with him their Commander captive into *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the several faction dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doors, and the Town referred for other Matters.

The new news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captain, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entered into a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed up within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navy at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Town, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusans* lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius*, the *Roman* Consul, with an Army to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himself into the Town, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected, and so began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be to shew on which part was the Justice of the quarrel,

rell, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punic war. That it was unjustly undertaken by the *Romans*.

When *Pyrrhus* began his war in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distressed by the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busy time, sought aid from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, consisting of four thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatness of the booty, than the odiousness of the villany, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase; by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more severe profession of justice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatness,) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopeless of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution; yet in the end, the assaults forced them; and those which escaped the present fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the usual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custom of the country, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again restored to their former liberty and estates.

This execution of Justice being newly performed, and the same thereof founding

honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: messengers came to *Rome* from *Messana*, declaring help against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusans*, that were in a readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both given example or that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joyful forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsels and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their own Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the *Mediterranean* Islands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* itself; whilst all they feared, that *Syracuse* therein seated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferior to *Carthage*, and far superior to *Rome* itself) might become theirs; the safety of their own estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* itself could not, for want of succor, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that passage from the main Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not only debar all succours out of the continent, from arrival in *Sicil*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing danger, that threatened from a far, did so prevail above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consul, presently dispatched away for *Messana*: into which he entered, and undertook the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrival; and less moun-

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ved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiff mettall of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such fort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distress. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: only he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected fall, to surprise his trenches) arranged his men in order of battel, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no trial; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which loss, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the days of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so buis, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* itself must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooveth him to govern well: such another loss would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp: and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the

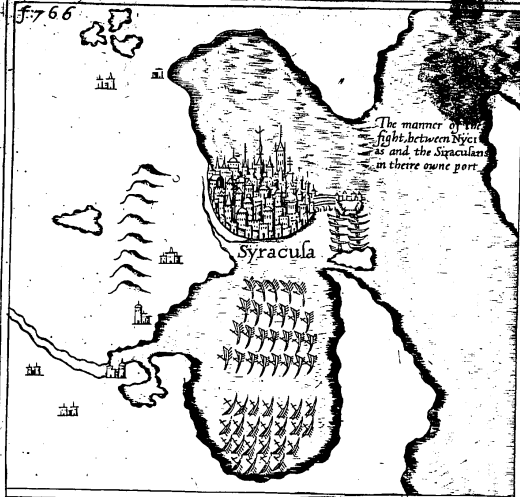
Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any form of terror in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entered into this war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Sammites*, had done) I cannot find: neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawful surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes* against the *Sammites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no company of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can by any good success of their villany, obtain the privilege of civil societies, to make league or truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the

Romans



Romans so far from being justifiable, by any pretence of confederacy made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Thieves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, e're any news of the Confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so far perswaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiade* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a company of *Milefians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which these of their posterity enjoyed. Nevertheless in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives *jus acquisitionis*, a kind of right by prescription unto that which was first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the descendants from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they do not exercise. But that the same generation of Thieves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Town, should be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by those victories which gave him first possession: but length of time is requisite to establish him, unless by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claim, as did our King *Henry* the first, by his marriage with *Maud*, that was daughter of *Malcolm*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Niece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this quarrel, than had the *Goths*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her self, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.

Of the Island of Sicil.

t. I.

The quality of the Island: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no

longer since the first victories of *Appianus Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Island, which have been the stage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this present War.

That *Sicil* was sometimes a Peninsula, or *Demie-Isle*, adjoining to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, near unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a general opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this division happened, there is no memorial remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Plin.* l. x. c. 91. *Sil.* l. 5. and *Dionysius* affirm, that it was caused by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Calliodorus* do think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Euboea* severed from *Boeotia*; *Atalante* and *Marcis* from *Euboea*; *Silvie* here in *England*, from the cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britain* it self (as may seem by *Vesfigians* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaul*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their ears to fables, do attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocastus*, the son of *Xolus*, divided it from the main land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that means he might the more safely inhabit, and possess the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of *Orion*, l. 4. c. 14. *Diod. Sic.* funding it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting *Orion* de *Fab.* 44) through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibraltar*.

They which value the Islands of the midland Sea, according to their quantity and content, do make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirm this, not only to excell the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of soil. As concerning the form of this Island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capital letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirm. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corn: to *Proserpina*, not so much for that she was from hence violently

kennels from the covering of our bodies with the skins of beasts, not only to filk and gold, but to the very skins of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take revenge of the excess, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque duxit, longissima subit: Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.*

t. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

When the first Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicil: it happened, that one Theocler, a Greek, being driven upon that Coast by an Eastern wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the Athenians of this his discovery, and proposed unto them the benefit of this easie Conquest offering to become their guide. But Theocler was as little regarded by the Athenians, as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore he took the same course that Columbus afterwards did. He over-laboured not himself in perswading the Noble Athenians (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that were needy and indolent, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the City of Naxos, and a Colony planted of Eubœans.

But the rest of the Greeks were wiser than our Western Princes of Europe: For they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. Archias of Corinth followed the Eubœans, and landed in Sicil, near unto that City, called afterward * Syracus: of which, that part only was then compassed with a wall, which the Ætolians called Homothermon; the Greeks, Naxos; the Latines, Insula. He with his Corinthians having overcome the

Sicili, drove them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitude increasing, they added unto the City of the Island, that of Acradina, Tyca, and Neapolis. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soil, Syracus grew up in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the Greeks did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themselves into the fasts and mountainous parts of the Island, making their Royal residence in Trinacria.

Some seven years after the arrival of Archias, the Chalcidians, encouraged by the success of the Corinthians, did assail, and obtain the City of Leontium, built and possessed by the Sicili. In brief, the Greeks win from the Sicili, and their Associates, the Cities of Catania and Hybla, which in honour of the Megarians that forc't it, they called Megara.

About five and forty years after Archias had taken Syracus; Antiphebus, and Entimius, the one from Rhodes, the other from Crete, brought an Army into Sicil, and built Gela, whose Citizens, one hundred and eighty years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned City of Agrigentum, governed according to the Laws of the Dorians.

The Syracusians also, in the seventieth year after their Plantation, did set up the City of Acra, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year Castanea, in the Plains adjoining; and again in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in Syracus, they built Camerina: and soon after that, Enna, in the very Centre of the Island. So did the Cumani about the same time, recover from the Sicili the City of Zancle, which they had founded in the straight between Sicil and Italy. They of Zancle, had been the founders of Himera.

Not long after this, Dorians the Lacedæmonian built Heracleia; which the Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, fearing the neighbourhood of the Spartans, soon after invaded and ruined, though the same were again ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of Megara: and Zancle was taken by the Messenians; who having lost their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest Cities in this Island.

t. III.

III.
of the Government and Affairs of Sicil before Dionysius his Tyranny.

The most part of the Cities in Sicil, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as Phalaris began to usurp the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise all manner of Tyranny therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation: That the noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventor; by causing the first trial to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, faith Eusebius; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one Telemachus in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by Zeno, even whilst the Tyrant was tormenting the same Zeno, to make him confess some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till Thero usurped the Government of the Common-weal: at which time also Phanias made himself Lord of Leontium; and Cleander of Gela: but Cleander having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his Brother Hippocrates succeeded in his room, and greatly assisted the people of Naxos; of Zancle, of Messena, and of Leontium; whom with divers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made war with the Syracusians, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of Camerina. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a Battle against the Sicili, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracusians change their form of Government, from Popular to Aristocratical; a preparation towards a Principality, whereinto it was soon after changed. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon (descended from the Rhodians, which together with the Cretans, had long before, among other of the Greeks, seated themselves in Sicil.) that had commanded the forces of Hippocrates, in the former War, with notable success, became Lord of Gela. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by Hippocrates over his children, and being in possession of Gela, took

the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracus, between the Magistrates and the People. For coming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, (and indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the Syracusians. This change happened in the second year of the threecore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of Thero, who had also usurped the state of Agrigentum.

Now this Gelon, the Son of Dinomenes, had three Brethren; Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thrasybulus: to the first of which he gave up the City of Gela, when he had obtained the Principality of Syracus. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracus. He defaced Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracusians who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracus. The Megarians that had moved a War against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto Syracus; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, Thero, a Prince of the Agrigentines, having dispossessed Terillus of his City Himera; the Carthaginians were drawn into the quarrel by Anaxicles, Lord of Messena, Father-in-law to Terillus; and Gelon was also solicited by his Father-in-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginians and other Africans, led by Amilcar, were overthrow by Gelon: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedæmonians sent for succour, when Xerxes with his huge Army past the Hellespont. He, for their relief having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused nevertheless to send them into Greece, because they refused him the command of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So heuled to their Embassadors only this Saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the Greek Nation.

The Carthaginians, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their own Country, sent to Gelon by their Embassadors, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to Saturn; That they should pay him two thousand

* Syracus, as Cicero relates, was the greatest, and most goodly City of all that the Greeks possess; for the first mention is both strong, and of an excellent prospect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port (was for the most part) environed with beautiful buildings; and that part which was without the City, was on both sides banked up, and sustained with beautiful walls of Marble. The City of it self was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compass (as Strabo reports) without the triple wall thereof, a hundred and eighty furlongs, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (Strabo faith of five) to wit, Tyndaris, Acradina, Tyca, and Neapolis: of which greatest the ruins and foundations of the walls do yet witness. After such times as the Doria of Pericles had driven out the Sicilians, this goodly City for a long time became the seat of Tyrants. The first whereof was Gelo: The second, Hiero the elder: The third, Thrasybulus: The fourth and fifth, Dionysius the elder, and younger: The sixth, Diis: The seventh, Agathocles: The eighth, Pyrrhus: The ninth, Hiero the younger: The tenth and last, Hieronymus; who being slain at Leontium, at length the Romans conquered it under the conduct of Marcellus.

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thousand talents of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelon's* Wife, a Crown, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, and *Sicily* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, and left for his successor his Brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That when his body was burnt, according to the custom of that Age, a Dog of his, which always waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his Brother succeeded; a man rude, cruel, covetous, and so suspicious of his Brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as he fought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agigentium*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians* against him. He also overthrew in battle *Thrasydæus*, the Son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracussians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdom to his Brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* enjoyed his Principality no longer than ten months. For, notwithstanding the force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acadina*, he restored the Government, and was banished the Island. From whence he failed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locians*.

And now had the *Syracussians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did; after which they had never fought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his virtue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought to answer the acquisition. When a liberal, valiant, and advised

Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his own, or exalted himself from being a private man to the dignity of a Prince, it behooveth the Successor to maintain it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blows, ere that she could cleanse her self of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now again become Mistress of her self, and held her self free, well near three score years, to the time of *Dionysius*, though he were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her own, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatness of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kind of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking pattern from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgement of exile, *Petalidism*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive-leaf (as at *Athen*: they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five years. Hereby in a short time, it came to pass that those of judgement, and best able to govern the Common-weal, were, by the worst able, either suppressed, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could, seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintain themselves. And good reason they had to do so; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerful and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore again the wiser sort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducettius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrown the Army of the *Agargentines*) the *Syracussians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captain made nothing so much haste to find out *Ducettius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as *Ducettius* presented him battle. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracussians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levy other troops: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducettius* being

being beaten, submitted himself, and is constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Colaitina* on the Sea-side.

Ducettius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a fort acknowledge *Syracuse*, *Trinacria* excepted; which also by force of Arms, in the four score and fifth Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by them, seek aid from the *Athenians*; about the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* War. In this suit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charwoodes*. To this Fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon*, and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracussians*, and their Partisans; wan and lost divers places; took *Messana*; and, in the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* War, lost it again. They also at the same time attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrel took hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands, and yet could see none issue of the War, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracussians*, and were admitted into their society, with equal freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatness themselves in *Sicily*, by the division and civil War, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their Fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custom of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable War, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*; which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines* and *Syracussians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestans*; and they of *Syracuse* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the War. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedaemon* was sent to the *Syracussians*. The *Lacedaemonians* dealt plainly, having none other

end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their own Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distress. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their own passions, that they would not believe their own eyes; which presented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the City of *Athen* engaged all her power; as regarding not only the greatness of the enterprise, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedaemonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with *Athen*, as differed not much from open War. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great Expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindered by Wars at home, if their proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* been over-passionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstain from so chargeable a business, and to reserve their forces for a more needful use. But young counsels prevailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardful of safety than of honour.

Of this business, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponnesian* War. But what was there delivered in general terms, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicily* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

These had commission and direction, as well to succour the *Sagessans*, and to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracussians*; as also by force of Arms, to subvert the *Syracussians*, and all their adherents in *Sicily*, and compel them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the forenamed Captains were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their

virtuals, engines, and other munitions for the War: and these were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodiens*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, six thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horsemen.

With these troops and fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegiens* refuse to give them entry; but sell them virtuals for their money. From thence they sent to the *Egeffians*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the war, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these *Egeffians* were poor, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadors with false shews of gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegiens*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the *Egeffians*; as likewise to see what disbursements the *Egeffians* could make; and so return again into *Greece*, and not to waite *Athens* in a needless war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would solicit the Cities of *Sicily* to confederacy against the *Syracussians* and *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus* he persuades them to assail *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprize *Catana*: and there they take new counsel how to proceed. Thence they employed *Nicias* to those of *Egeffa*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assail *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtain a landing place very near unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imply to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise unto the *Syracussians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracussians* draw thither ward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at fair ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they

fight, and the *Syracussians* had the loss: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Army at *Catana*, for the winter season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the City to the *Messanians*. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being allured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedemonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsel against his Country. While this winter yet lasted, the *Syracussians* send Embassadors to *Lacedemon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicily*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war) the *Athenians* in *Sicily* sail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, foraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the stragling *Syracussians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supply of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Island from the *Segessians*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp near *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracussians*, that failed to impeach their intrenchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Pytho*, with the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyn with them; so that with these and his own troops, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracussians* send a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrival

arrival near unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* horse-men could not come to fight in those straits: but soon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himself within his Camp. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affairs known, by his letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demofthenes*, to joyn with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supplies; the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good success: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, near unto *Syracuse*, the Promontory called *Phymnigrum*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which loss, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedemonians*; yet were they most obtinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demofthenes* with new succours. *Demofthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyarchus* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captains being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The loss between them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Arifon* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demofthenes* arrived with threecore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracussians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great loss. Hereupon *Demofthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and return to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Town could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrival of a new supply into the

Town, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) ill success, caused them to defer their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracussians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threecore and seventeen sail of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, and whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians* in the same Port encountered them with fourcore and six Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracussians* received the more loss by land (for the fight was general) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by sea, in which kind they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast down. For it was well said of *Gylippus*; to the *Syracussians*; When any people do find themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage. The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackt, had seventeen taken, and posselt by the enemy: and with great labour and loss they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the port, unadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a straight room and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plain field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close imbatailing.

The *Syracussians*, having now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels; which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusan* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forced to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore not only mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and lay behind them again certain ships, which served in the former war for virtuals: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellows, broken; the *Athenians* might yet find themselves a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on

on in form of a wedge, to break through, and force a passage, the *Syracussians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, chained together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessel, using oar or sails, is broken, and their speed foretold, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution they could make their way, and break down this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolve to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred and ten of all forts) and with all the strength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albeit some few of them had broken through the chains, yet being stopp'd with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracussians*, which were purposely left at large in the sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a freight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having overperterbed their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive arms of darts and slings, they had not place upon the decks to stretch their arms; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no less terrible than the confusion: the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so low and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten back to the Land, with loss of three-score of their Gallies, broken, sunk, or abandoned. The *Syracussians* did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Pythons*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottom of the Port, saved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to counsel. *Demofthenes* persuades them to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracussians* were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of

the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counsel. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greatest number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we produce many examples of those, who having slept securely in the bosome of good success, have been suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby lost again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the advice of *Demofthenes*: Others say, that the Seamen were against it. Whereupon abandoning over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracussians* to put themselves presently into the field, and to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadez*, lost us both the *Indian* fleet, and the spoils of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to persuade his Countrymen to any hasty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracussians* had lodged their Army, which could not long stay there, upon the passages and places of advantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily believed, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearful than wise; and to them, every thistle in the field appears, by night, a man at arms.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies' swords. The rest march away, to the number of forty thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies,

mies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* horse-men, beaten in from foraging and provision of food, they grow weak and heartless. The *Syracussians* also possess the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to pass towards *Camarina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and blind marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vanguard; and *Demofthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march; leaving *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and overpert with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias* murdered in prison. The Army of *Demofthenes* being dissolved, they pursued *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken upon the passage of the River *Asinarus*, rendered himself to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a noble Enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylos* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demofthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedemonians* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Army disswayed the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruel and cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* war: which took end at the River *Asinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourscore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*; the *Egeffians* (for whose defence against the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracussians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their Ci-

ty, as their vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracussians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they stayed while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracussians*, as may appear by what is said. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punic* wit) to separate the *Syracussians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egeffians*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should think meet to allow them. The *Syracussians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honor. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracussians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a business that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracussians* as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrament, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this employment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been slain by the *Himerians*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, sack them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the *Himerians* prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracusan* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed with the ingrateful multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meek virtue, at such a time as he was aiding the *Lacedemonians*, in their war against *Athens*: wherein he did great service. All the honest sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for their injury

injury done unto him, and fought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himself, returning into *Sicily*, gathered an Army of six thousand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; and by many noble actions laboured to win the love of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was advised to seize upon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends within the Town, might have the better means to rise against the adverse party. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to arms, and set upon him; in which conflict he was slain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* alive again.

t. IV.

Of *Dionysius* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

THe *Syracusians* had enjoyed their liberty about threecore years, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*; at which time *Dionysius* was raised up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the virtue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace; which custom they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principality of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it self. For, being made *Tyrant*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himself so well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himself Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of six hundred men, to defend his person: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traitorously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laid plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himself. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had been banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour, among the *Syracusians*,

grew from his accusation of the principal men. It is the delight of base people to reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it under safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see; and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the City to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike it was his desire to reign long. His first work, of making himself absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the Citadel, wherein was much good provision, and under it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear. The Army the chief Citizens restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-towns, bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present; were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the Citadel into his hands, he needed no more, save to assure what he had already. He strengthened himself by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Arifomache*, the daughter of *Hipparchus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*; which bare unto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (envying his prosperity) incited the multitude, and took arms against him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at arms; making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* waste all that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ransacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the grief thereof he

poisoned her self. But he followed the heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred soon enough to take revenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his known, no nor of his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtful of his life, as he never durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unfripped and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withall the most unrespectively cruel.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the City, called the Island, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadel of *Antwerp*: therein he lodged his Treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make war upon the free Cities of *Sicily*: but while he lay before *Herbessa*, an in-land Town, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadel: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Companions, who forced their passage through the City, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he again recovered the mastery over the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their harvest, he disarmed all the Townsmen remaining, and new strengthened the Fort of the Island, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called *Epipolæ*, which, with threecore thousand labourers, he finished within three weeks, being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thousand Targets, with as many Swords, and head-pieces, with fourteen thousand corselets, and all other futable arms. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians* (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicily*, he would make war upon them: and, not staying for answer, he took the spoil of all the *Phœnician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *English*, before the war in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; saving *Panormum*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, he first wan *Motya* by assault, and put all therein

to the sword; but before *Egesta* he lost a great part of his Army, by a fall of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fifty ships of war, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messana*, he took *Lipara*, and (soon after) *Messana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would pass toward *Syracuse*; and he himself took the field again, with four and thirty thousand foot; and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and sending *Magas* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother to encounter *Magas*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thousand of his men were slain, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; that One City should be able to furnish five hundred sail of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arm in this war) and more strange it is, that in a battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should be slain in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turks*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we hear of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fifth went to besiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fifty sail of ships, and threecore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought help from all the Cities and ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could bear arms, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeed, is it often requisite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionysius* posits away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* follows him, and besiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant, having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himself to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens, who, in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sink four. Hereupon, finding their own success pro-

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perous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill, having alio at the present weapons in their hands, they consult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharicles* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also fell out to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is said, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having slain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for so great sum of money; on condition, that he should fleet away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he safely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The rest of the *Africans* fell under the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

May such examples of perfidious dealing I have noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very suitable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred *S. John d'Angelle* to the French King *Charles IX.* who believed him therein. He rendred it, upon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himself, of the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, General of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshalls of France, he was set upon and broken in his March; spoiled of all that he had, and forced to save his life by flight; leaving the most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with ensignes dispaired and withall his goods and provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore seem strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionysius after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Messina*. *Mago* who stayed in *Sicily*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new sup-

ply of fourscore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but these take eggs for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, overcame, and gave their City to the mercenary Souldiers.

He then past into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegiens* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourscore thousand crowns, to furnish him with threecore Gallies, and put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future observance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victual for his Army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrel: if they yielded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reign, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobility upon him for a wife; they answered, that they had not any one fit for him, save the Hangmans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villainous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many sharp swords, but never any sharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors. And certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God; to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publick.

It is said, that *Henry* the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, than he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned 10000. of such as had gone farther, & drawn their swords against him. The contemptuous

tuous words that *Sir John Parrot* used of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruines; and not the counterfetter of the *Romish* Priest produced against him. So flared it with some other greater than he; that thereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, soon after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to do eleven months. Till he won it by force. He used his victory without mercy, especially against *Phylax*, who had continued with him.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*; after the taking and razing of this City; and those with variable success. For; as in one encounter he slew *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the son of *Mago* beat him; and slew his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*; as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperity and Adversity, as at Kings and States do.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: some say in his bed; peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and a faithles; a great Doer, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of evil men*; and his lawles slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poison all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worstest and valiantest men do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and as our Saviour *Christ* hath told us, *The World will love him*.

To this *Dionysius* his son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them: Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himself the peoples affections; he cast off the sheeps skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been

said) had two Wives, *Doris* of *Loeris*, and *Artemacha* a *Syracusan*, the latter of *Dionysius* which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him; and by *Artemacha* he had two sons and two Daughters of which the elder, called *Sophrosyne*, he gave in marriage to his eldest son, and her half brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Thebriades*: after whose death *Dion* took her to wife, being his Niece.

This *Dion* a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue; and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicily*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertain him; he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy: and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his people, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Garisons. But this goodness of his lasted not long. For *Plinius* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dionysius* severity; wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicily*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the war against them; his enemies found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of Treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his own affairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilst *Dion* in the mean time having furnished fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings service, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Sovereign of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberal offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had served the King for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised & enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace

to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to rile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Presumption; and heartned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his own people, of whose spoils they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when *Charls* the fifth had the repulse at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his own charge: But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the *West-Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him; and to have it said, that what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented at first to send him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did, at *Athena*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his Country to liberty. The virtues of *Dion*, especially his great Liberality, had purchased much Love in *Greece*. This Love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose help he might return into *Sicily*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicily*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the City without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, save the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy* but he quickly had advertisement of his dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vain treaties of Peace, and some forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart, leaving yet a Cattle to the Custody of *Apollocrates* his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philius*, coming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put

to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates: He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retired himself to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troops entered the Castle: they fall out, assail, spoil, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle fall out again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the second time to their succour: the love of his Country surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had well near burnt all, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates* after *Dionysius* his Father into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his days. For he was soon after his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had with ill success, awhile governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his estate; and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracusan* born, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusans* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their City. The *Syracusans*, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the business. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entered into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicily*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more enraged

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than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuse* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entered *Syracuse*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himself a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to return his Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had; and were like to compel him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himself over-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captains, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publick testimony, discharge himself to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easie, than that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to *Timoleon* desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the press; and having set sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where surprising *Icetes* his Army, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adramitans* joyned with him, and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yield up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fifty days after his arrival, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the Castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a sup-

ply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are stayed in *Italy* by foul weather. *Icetes* is strengthened with threecore thousand *Afficans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* assaileth the Castle *Timoleon* sends them victuals; and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and took that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes* being frightened out of *Sicily* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him return to *Carthage*, where the general exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for fear of further punishment he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Castle (which he called *The Nest of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grafs growing in the Market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*, many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Island.

But a new storm ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lithium*, with threecore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither; and chargeth this great Army upon the passage of a River.

A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with boysterous winds, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand Corlets guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victory, took him, with his Son *Eupolemus*, and the General of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Icetes* his wives and daughters to be put to death. But this

was

was the revenge of God upon *Leates*; who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arctus*, *Dion's* wife, and a young child of his, with *Arifomache* his Sister, to be cast into the Sea.

Holo again prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*; and won *Catana* itself. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippom* Tyrant of *Messina*; but *Timoleon*, pursued him, won the Town; delivering *Hippom* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicily*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not pass the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusans*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Island; the Inhabitants enjoyed their liberty in peace, about twenty years: The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in safety; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern; nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of base condition: who from a Beggar, to a common Soldier; from a Soldier to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor: finally, became Lord and Sovereign of the *Syracusans*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banished. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusans*, and against them. For in their Wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanians*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusans*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made General of their forces, he sacked *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so

well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusans*; binding himself by promise and oath to remain a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*: for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusans*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand *Africans*; and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Enthia*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusans* (The City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators; kills all his enemies; and opposes; divides the spoil of the rich; among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to ravish, and to murder; for two whole daies and nights, without controulment: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carcases; besides those that had broken their necks over the walls; their fury had no further subject to work on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) persuaded them, that, for the violent sickness, by which the Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he found no better than the violent remedies which he had administered: and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democracy, by which it had been governed, from the first institution, with so great glory and posterity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) to perform. For, as he knew that he had left none living within the City, fit or able to exercise the office of a Magistrate: so he knew he right well, that all they which had assisted in the murder and spoil of their fellow-Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this table, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again saluting and adoring him, by that name, as if he had been given to him by some lawful election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; the one took liberty from a Common-wealth, the other sought only to succeed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, sought, by making good Laws to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by

by *Justinus*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*; the sum of whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuse*, and that had lent him five thousand men to help in the Massacre of the Citizens, was also content to wink at many wrongs that he did unto the confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vex and waste the whole Island; because it was thereby like to come to pass, that he should reduce all *Sicily* into such terms as would make it become an easie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punic* faith (so much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falshood) shewed it self very honourable in taking order for the redress. Embassadors were sent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his Covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africa*, and a new Captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compel *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to save their Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they took order to have it severely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutiny: the suffrages being given, but not calculated; and so reserved until he should return. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soon notice of it. In managing his business with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made such a composition with the *Syracusans*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to strengthen himself, both in power and authority, even against the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the custom of those, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal subtly and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* saw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpose to deal substantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not do, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into so much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for fear of such a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his

own life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* served to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of them in action. He dissembled no longer; but, instead of spoil and robbery, made open War upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicily* his own, ere the *Carthaginian* Forces arrived: which thinking to have incouraged an ill-established Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them sharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navy was so Tempell-beaten, that they could neither do good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their business undone, and return into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new Fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furnished was broken, by foul weather, and the best part of it cast away, even whilst it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the Son of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of his shipwreck, was bold to pass over into *Sicily*, and landed not far from *Gela*, where *Agathocles* was soon ready to examine the cause of their coming. Many skirmishes passed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracusans* had the better. But his good success begat presumptions; whereby he lost a battle more important than all the other fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumspection. The War was soon transferred to the walls of *Syracuse*; within which *Agathocles* was closed up, and driven to make his last defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, after that great Massacre of the principal men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had been either mercenary Souldiers, enfranchised slaves, or base and needy people; helpers in establishing the present Government, and Executioners of the murders, and spoil committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well observed, and (withall) so fearful, that they durst not stir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and enforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity *Agathocles* adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He embarked as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Haven; and committing the

the Government of the City to his Brother *Antander*, willed the People to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himself of a mean, both to raise the siege, and to repair all other losses. A *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with Corn, and other provisions, were drawing near unto *Syracuse*. To intercept these the *Carthaginians* hoise sail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles* issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convey unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. Henceforth abode their coming, nor fled back into the City, but made all speed towards *Africk*; and was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuse*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their coming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no small number. When the *Carthaginian* Admiral perceived, first, that by pursuing two Fleets at once, he had mislead of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to do mischief in some other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navy followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after six dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselves in seeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having sunk or taken many, drove the rest to flye which way they could; laden with such strange tydings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he discover unto them his project, letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of *Sicily*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take Arms against them, as soon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which desires

to look upon their walls. Their Towns are ill fortified, their people untrained; and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked; as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terror to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians*, hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression do dismayes them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcar's* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*; they suspect their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, great enemies. And therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissention between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drove *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one half of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send unto *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost; whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men:

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all his forces he thought it not needful to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retain his own Kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracusians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprize. It was a pretty (though tragical) Accident, if it were true, as *Tully* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he should slip the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily believed it. He made more hast than good speed toward the City: and coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambush to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great cheer to his supper: for they struck of his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present to *Agathocles*).

This good success of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself King of *Africk*. He had allured *Ophellus*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as is said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reign quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenean* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good success; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leisure to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Towns in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recovering their liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedom, after that they had so long been exposed, (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their own Country. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good success in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of *Sicily* he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his son had lost a battel; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself: his Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pa-

cified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great booty and spoil. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (questionless) have given to him both money enough to pay his Army, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For this City had been distressed, not only by this his war, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage* it self: out of which dream he was awakened, by the loss of a battel, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturn*: from which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners taken in the battel, to offer unto the said Idol, in way of thankfulness to their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings nearest unto the Altar, and spreading it self farther through the Camp, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is usual in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noise in the adverse Camp, was a sign of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a late retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battel) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blind fight above four thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the near hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was to steal closely aboard his ships, with his younger son (the elder he suspected of Inceit, and of Ambition) and so to flye into *Sicily*, thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Army. His elder son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him and put him under custody.

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but by means of a sudden tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sons behind him. His flight being noyed through the Army, all was in an uproar; and extremity of rage caused not only the common Soldier, but even such as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two sons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base, I need not use words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequel doth manifest. His forsaken Soldiers, being now a headless company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteen talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himself, having lost his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal terms.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from foreign enemies, discovered his bloody nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoils of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He devised new engines of torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brass, that should serve to scorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africa*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Country took arms against him, and drove him into such fears, that he was fain to seek that love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicily*. He freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicily*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of corn, and with four hundred talents of gold and silver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicily*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Bruttians*, rather by terror of

his name than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the life of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great sum, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoil the Temples of their gods. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ships laden with gold: all which, and all the rest of the fleet, were cast away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. Agrius sickness fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, spreading it self through all his veins and sinews. Whilst he lay in this case, all deferring his end, save only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the son of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger son of his own, began to contend about the Kingdom. Neither did they seek to end the controversy by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slew his Uncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdom, without asking any leave. These tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and sorrow. He saw himself without help, like to become a prey to his ungacious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himself, or by those, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he advised her and them to fly before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no means avoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to embark themselves hastily, and make speed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himself into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him, but he ended his life as basely, as obscurity, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamerines*, his Soldiers, traitorously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Island. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicily*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles*

tho did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to lend for *Pyrrius* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrius* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it: prophesying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which business, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our story will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuon of the Roman War in Sicily. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.

When *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the War unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without fear of molestation, whilst *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into *Sicily*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hieron* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the sum of money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no less to his honour, than it was to his commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdom to run into manifest peril of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the victory: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger without training themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the

strength of *Syracuse*, in the dayes of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their own work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who fought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hieron*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own tyranny: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his people by seeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himself, ere he left their society, made unwilling to seek his ruin; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compass it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and win Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first loss, and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in general.

Hieron, having sided himself with the *Romans*, aideth them with victuals and other necessities: so that they, presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* find it high time to besirr them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troops they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the seat of the War, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Postumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards

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Agri-entum; and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Country to gather corn, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and endanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the Town with great loss; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their cover. Yet the *Romans*, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the City and their Camp: and another on the outside thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force them suddenly, by a sally; nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double Defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilst the *Syracusan* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this fort pent up five months. The *Carthaginians* embark an Army, with certain Elephants, thephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agri-entum*. *Hanno* put himself into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agri-entum*; and the *Roman* Camp no less straightly assailed by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: inasmuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had been forced to abandon the siege. But seeing ever; and that this distress was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them battle. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horsemen to change the Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to return to the Temples, and Theatres, Water-conduits, and Fish-ponds: the ruins whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods; all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side, the war of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the perfections of the Heroes that were deen in that war; all of the like beautiful stone; and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a volume to express the magnificence of the Temples of *Heracles*, *Acropolis*, *Concord*, *Jean Lucina*, *Castility*, *Prospicity*, *Callio*, and *Pallas*; where the Masterpieces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zevax*, *Mys*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seen. But in private time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war: whereof this war present brought it to its end.

as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay disposed behind some rising ground. The *Numidians* perform it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, bears the rest into their trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped, waiting until some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in *Agri-entum*, as well by signs as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vanguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he ruht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the *Roman* camp without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vain: sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a-do the *Romans* entred, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicily*; and from thence, being favoured with the wind of good success, to sail over into *Africa*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortal men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicily*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets,

as to equal themselves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storm of wind thrust one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to set up an hundred *Quinqueremes* which were Gallies, rowed by five on every bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea-sands many seats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beat the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learn the stroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oars.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new consuls (for they changed every year) was made Admiral: who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well advised, past over to *Messana* with seventeen Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he stayed not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to do some piece of service. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the same time Governor in *Panormus*; who being advertised of this new Sea-mans arrival, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senator of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies, to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Consul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good news, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consul; he grew no less foolishly hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himself to surprize the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; fought them out with a fleet of fifty sail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behind him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had lost but seventeen, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertised of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Dnilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heavy and slow, the *African* Gallies having the speed of them, devised a certain Engine in the prow of his

Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done the weightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftness serve them, nor their Manniners craft; the vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush, and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best use their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his Majesties great ships, and a *London-Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, must be skilful in making choice of Vessels to fight in: he must believe that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of War: for by such an ignorant bravery was *Peter Strofle* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marques of Santa Cruz*. In like sort, had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of England, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himself with those great and powerful Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defences, are equal to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours to defend themselves withall. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in general of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Press,) I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships and of lower sailing. For if the fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves near together, in a gross squadron; the twenty ships, charging

ing them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made unrevivable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volley; whereas those that fight in a troop, have no room to turn, and can always use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred fall give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are rear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their fellows keep the wind, and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the wind: be constrained to fall back into their own Squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwreck, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by the Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, when he made to the *Syracusanians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry, Prince of Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cum leve loquuntur, ingentes supent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of (swift boats, and boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty fail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to fall about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege laid unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*; and won the Town of *Maclea*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Drivers Enterfate: of War, between the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable success. The Romans prepare to invade Africa: and obtain a great Victory at Sea.

THE Victory of *Dutius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Naval Triumph, that was ever seen in that City: so gave it unto the *Romans* great incou-

agement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicily*, but all the other Isles between *Italy* and *Africa*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither loon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrel was grown between the *Roman* Soldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incamp apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Island, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicily*, arrived in the Port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as *Writer*, it hath been said of old) *Non est hic in bello peccare; In War it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till * *Pa-*

is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all Egypt. For, whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colony of the *Phoenicians*; *Strabo*, in the sixth of *Parvus*, lib. 6. affirms that it was first and long before the time which *Thucydides* sets down for the *Phoenicians*, and *Dioscorides*. To prove which, he tells us of two inscriptions upon the Hebrew Character found at *Parvus*, in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicily*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens and other strangers, which being translated into Latine, lay as followeth; *Vixit Isaac filius Abrabe, et regnavit in Idume, atque in valle Damascene, et filius Isaac filius, regnavit Idumeorum manu, quibus adiuncti sunt multi Damasceni, et filii Phoenices, profecti in hanc viciniam infulam, fides perpetua locaverunt in hac amoenissima loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other Marble are found these words; *Non est alius Deus prater unum Deum; non est alius pater prater eundem Deum, etc.* *Hicque Turis Profecti in Idumeam filius Eliphaz, filius Isaac fratris Jacob filius Isaac, filius Abraham.* Turis quidem hic nomen est Baruch, sed Turis hinc proxime nomen est Phoenice. And this inscription (saith *Facellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Baruch*, in the year 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men believe they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth, when the Greeks pulled first into *Sicily*, that then the *Phoenicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certain it is they did in the first *Punic* war: to wit, the *Carthaginians* who were *Phoenicians*, from whom the *Romans* *Drusus* besieged *Syracuse*, he sent him in aid 3000 Soldiers. But it was rather confederate, than friendly to the *Romans*. For *Cleop* against *Portus*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicily*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first City, and Regal Seat, as well of the *Gauls* and *Syracusanians* in that Island, as of the Emperors of *Constantinople*: of the *Romans*, *Franks*, and *Armenians*, which how it holds this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which grows about it.

NOTES

normus was besieged; where, when the *Romans* had sought in vain to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being unable to force that great City, because of the strong Garrison therein belowered: they then departed from thence, and took certain Inland Towns, as *Alyscistratus*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The year following, *C. Atilius* the Consul who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number purified them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made, and lost all, save the Gally which transported him: wherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the Victory remaining doubtful, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty. * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oar have five men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oar: and the *Triremes* three.

Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then have had five decks each over other, which hath seldom been seen in ships of a thousand tons; neither could the third, fourth, and fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oars.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the War into *Africa*; the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: Reckoning one hundred and twenty Soldiers, and three hundred Rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into four parts, of which

the first made the form of a Wedge or Point, the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third Squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third Squadron. After all came up the fourth, in form of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: so that the horns of it inclosed all the third Squadron, together with the corner of the

first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* Fleet I cannot receive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horse, and thin: which form, since the Pistol prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first out-stretched front, their Battalions were more solid: for *Amilcar*, Admiral of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpose, his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first Fleet of the *Romans* halted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and, for eagerness of taking the Run-aways, leave their own three squadrons far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third Squadron towed their horse-boats and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcar*'s direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* first Fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second Squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received a great loss, until their second Squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oars. *Hanno* also who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed their victuallers, which were also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls, joining their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardiness of their Soldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joyn himself unto any of his other squadrons, that remained, as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon equal terms, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Roman* Fleet unengaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So as in conclusion,

the *Romans* got the honour of the day : for they lost but four and twenty of theirs ; whereas the *Africans* lost thirty that were sunk , and threefold and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar* who had more Gallies than the *Romans* , had also divided his Fleet into four squadrons, (besides those that ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to engage them) and that, whilst he himself fought with one Squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies Fleet had been at the same time entertained, he had prevailed : but the second Squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppressed : and *Amilcar*, being oppressed and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both the third and the fourth Squadron, and got the victory.

Charis the fifth, among other the Precepts to *Philip* the second his Son, where he advised him concerning War against the *Turks* , tells him, that in all battels between them and the *Christians* , he should never fail to charge the *Janissars* in the beginning of the fight, and to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janissars* , who are always reserved intire in the Rear of the battel, and in whom the *Turks* reposest his greatest confidence; come up in a gobs body, when all the troops on both sides are disbanded and in confusion ; whereby they carry the Victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath even been found, to keep some one or two good troops to look on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

§. VIII.

The *Romans* prevail in Africk. *Atilius* the Consul, propounds intolerable conditions of Peace to the *Carthaginians*. He is utterly beaten and made prisoner.

NOW the *Romans* , according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their Fleet, set sail for *Africa* , and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules* , a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage* , and some forty leagues from *Heraclia* in *Sicily* , where *Amilcar* himself as yet staid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the

Promontory , till they came to *Clypea* , a Town about fifty *English* mile from it. There they disembarked and prepared to besiege *Clypea* ; which to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* side ; without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their own *Carthage* , fearing that the *Roman* Fleet and Army had directed themselves thither : but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea* , they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while wait all round about them. The order given for the Senate, was, That one of the Consuls should remain with the Army, and that the other should return with the Fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent hometo *Rome* ; whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* Fleet and Army ; except forty ships, fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily won some Towns and places that were unwall'd, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Brasada* , he encountered with a S. spent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slew, not without loss of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such engines of War, as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Hofar* , together with *Amilcar* , who had brought over out of *Sicily* five thousand foot, and five hundred horse to succour his Country. These (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africa* , by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold themselves free from necessity of coming to blows : yet had they a great desire to save the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Involving therefore to follow their general purpose, and yet to disturb him in the siege of *Adis* , they incamp near unto him, and (strongly as they think) on the top of an hill : but thereby they lose the services both of their Elephants, and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they

* This City they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage* , which they assault and take.

the fifth in the year 1136. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his son to keep safe ; to wit ; this gave in charge to *Philip* : *Flushing* , the Key of the *Netherlands* : and *Kidex* , the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again ; the third our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth* , to wing out of his hand ; where we stayed not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, shew it into the fire.

By the loss of this battail at *Adis* , and more especially by the loss of *Tunis* , the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians* , their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes ; invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabit abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* finds his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out : yet he feared lest he might defend it self, until his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, persuades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so courageous and disdainful, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troop of *Greeks* , whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus* , a *Spartan* : who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received near unto *Adis* , gave it out publicly ; that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate ; *Xantippus* is sent for ; gives the reason of his opinion ; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* forces, he puts himself into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces whereof the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberties ; Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children : which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbered ; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thou-

land, were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors.

Xantippus , taking the field with his Army, marched directly towards the *Romans* ; and ranging his troops upon fair and level ground, fitted both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them batrel. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow : but confident they were ; that it should soon be abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites* , or light-armed Souldiers, as a forlorn hope ; that these might either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the less subject unto the impression of the Elephants ; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of the horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus* , all in one rank, before his Army ; which followed them at a reasonable distance : his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians* Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battail was helpful. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks ; the squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great distress ; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire ; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans* , as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearied with labour and hurt ; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal terms. Here was

H h h h

therefore

therefore a great slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoiled to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, that open the way to a general overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Attilius* the Consul. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were slain when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them: and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behind them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soever they had been in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which thencever gave nor fold to any mortal man. With what joy these newes were welcomed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the virtue of one man hath often brought to pass in the world, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Enrypedes*, *Mens una sapiens, plurimum vincit manus; Many mens hands equal not one wise mind.*

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consul, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransom of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in *Africa* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have

the natural care, to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is that his faithful observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnify him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extremest torments, could not be more grievous to him, than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, that the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it is their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yea, although they were such as had always made fair wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like tyrannical insolency in others, as if it were lawful only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to add unto one, more reflections; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genovais* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* itself. This bred such an amazement in the City of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genovais* (their state reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown

blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; save the yielding of their City and State to his discretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assailed *Doria* with such desperate fury, that they break his fleet, *Doria* himself, take nineteen of his Gallies, fourscore boats of *Padoa*, and four thousand prisoners, recover *Chioggia*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genovais* barely to beg peace, to their extremest dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; and, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withal an over-cruel revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himself under an heap of straw, in a poor cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himself. Such are the fruits of Insolency.

§. IX.

How the affairs of *Carthage* prospered after the victory against *Attilius*: How the *Romans*, having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the Sea: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been lost in *Africa*, return to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit down, and assail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loss of *Attilius*, with their forces in *Africa*; and withal, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a gross Army, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the Promontory of *Mercury*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out purpose, upon the bruit of their coming, encounter them: but greatly

to their cost. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been besieged: and this done, they made amain toward *Sicily*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despite the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatened some violent storms, which ever hapned between the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-star*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus forewarned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withal, that the South coast of *Sicily* had no good Ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident: yet this of victorious Nation was perswaded, that the wind and seas feared them no less, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were advised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory against the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthless Towns upon the coast. The merciles winds in the mean while overtake them, and near unto *Camerina*, overturn and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but fourscore of three hundred and forty ships, so as their former great victory was devoured by the most of the Sea; before the same thereof recovered *Rome*.

call the North, or North winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that navigate in those parts, take harbour till those months be ended. Charles the fifth being as ill advised, in passing the Seas towards *Africa*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counsel of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his siege before *Marr* in *Lanaiet*, lost an hundred and forty ships by tempests, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuals, hories, and munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extremest dishonourable.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike vessels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Attilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicily* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imarked in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilibeum*; where he begins to vex the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicily*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while

* There is no part of the World, which hath not some times of outrageous weather beside these accidental Hurms. We have upon our Coast a *Mistral* that bloweth in the West Indies in the months of *August* and *September*, which the *Spaniards* call the North, or North winds, are very fearful: and therefore they that navigate in those parts, take harbour till those months be ended. Charles the fifth being as ill advised, in passing the Seas towards *Africa*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counsel of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his siege before *Marr* in *Lanaiet*, lost an hundred and forty ships by tempests, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuals, hories, and munition: a loss no less great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extremest dishonourable.

while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to Rome.

Very delirious the Romans were to be doing in Africa; to which purpose they employed C. Servilius, and C. Senpronius, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the coasts of Africa; but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the lands, and like to have perished, near unto the lesser Syrtis, where they were fain to heave all over-board, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of Lilybeum, in their passage from Panormus towards Italy, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enrich them with upon the Land, Neptune robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and six Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-army into Sicily, under L. Caelius, and F. Furius, their Consuls. These they transport in some three score ordinary passage boats, by the straits of Messina, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which Attilius received in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them less cholerick against the Carthaginians, than before; so that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countreys. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in Sicily, without a Navy, much less to maintain the War in Africa. For, whereas the Romans were to send forces from Messina to Egesta, to Lilybeum, and to other places in the extrem West parts of Sicily, making sometime a march of above an hundred and forty English mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in less than 14. dayes; the Carthaginians would pass it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between Cannus, and Edmond Ironside. For Cannus, when he had entred the Thames with his Navy and Army, and could not pre-

vail against London, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the West, landed in Dorset-shire, so drawing Edmond and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again slept his men, and entred the Severn, making Edmond to march after him, to the succour of Worcester-shire, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had Edmond there, he sailed back again to London: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the Netherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could pass their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Canons to Breda: making countenance either to besiege Boisdenc, or Gortezvelden Berg; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the Menne, turned up the Rhine, and thence to Tisil, and fate down before Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could march over land round about Holland, above four score mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Again, when the Spanish Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, Prince Maurice, making countenance to sail up the Rhine, changed his course in the night, and sailing down the stream, he was set down before Hulst in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the Spanish Army could return. Lastly, the Spanish Army was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Hulst, set sail again, and presented himself before Nymegen in Gelders, a City of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spain than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir John

Norris

Norris in the year 1589. from preventing Don Antonio, King of Portugal, before the gates of Lysborn; and that he would have kept off the English, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armado, by the fleet of Queen Elizabeth, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this his Army have been bestowed? If about Lysborn; then would it have been easie unto the English, to take, ransack, and burn the Town of Croin, and to waste the Country round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the Earl of Altamira, the Marquess of Salazar, and others did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand under the Earl of Andrade, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris, and his Associates: considering that the English charged these, at Fuente de Burgos, and passing the great Bridge, behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their camp; took their General standard with the Kings Arms, and pursued them over all the Country, which they fired. If a Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in Galicia, I think it would have made the Spaniards to quit the guard of Portugal, and make haste to the defence of their St. Jago, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution, as knowing, that Sir John Norris's main intent was, to bring Don Antonio, with an Army into his Kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindered his landing in Portugal? Did not he land at Peniche, and march over the Country to Lysborn, six dayes journey? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promises failed) pass along by the River of Lysborn to Cascaliz, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handful, yet were they Englishmen. Let us consider of the matter it self; what another Nation might do, even against England, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, Whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon Cæsar's

Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemies from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him with, that he had stayed at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belongs not unto this discourse. But making the question general, and positive. Whether England, without the help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing; I hold that it is unable so to do: and therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the encouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it almost perillous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshal Monluc, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guyenne, they of the Protestant Religion, after the battel of Montcontour, entred that Countrey, and gathered great strength and relief thence; for if the King (saith he) would have given me but reasonable means, j'en eusse bien gardé à Monsieur l'Admiral de faire boire ses Chevaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne. Monsieur de Langey, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held against the Emperor Charles, when he invaded Provence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a country as France is, strengthened with many fortified places: and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firm land, that these great Captains spake: whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is of an Army to be transported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I say, That such an Army cannot be resisted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countrey: except every Creek, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerful Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted;

granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and 6000. at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and rowing their long boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Army on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkstone* be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to do, that they shall be glad to fend for help to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embarque his Army, so that he will find it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sail towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea, the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les armées ne volent point en posée; Armées neither flye, nor run possé*, saith a Marhal of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at Sun-set, and after it, at the *Lizard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot shall not be able to march in six dayes. Again, when those troops lodged on the

Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they will at length lit down in the mid-way; and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our Trained Bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilbury* in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force, as to encounter an Army like unto that wherewith it was intended, that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in such a case. There are not many Islands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art; being every where hard of access; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monfieur de Chatters*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marques of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the *Marques* having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed ere *Monfieur de Chatters*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood; had instructed *de Chatters*, and his followers, what they might expect at that *Marques* his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying in relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be persuaded to make such diligent haite, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble Ships of *Spain*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or answerable strength.

The

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged against this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large Coast may be defended against a strong Fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an Admonition mine cited, with omission of my name; I may, by a civil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty; I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders should not think any advantage great enough, against a Fleet set forth by *Elizabeth*: and further, I was unwilling, that some *Low-Country* Captains, and others, not of mine own Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their help I was driven to turn tail. Therefore I took with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, volunteers, whom I could not refuse; as, *Sir William Brook*, *Sir William Harvey*, *Sir Arthur Gorges*, *Sir John Skot*, *Sir Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sir Henry Tinnes*, *Sir Charles Morgan*, *Sir Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Lawrence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others such as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the working of the Sea, the steepness of the Cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or

six companies of the enemies, that fought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketers lay on the Reef for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a Rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well known to some of the Gentlemen above-named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it still in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom *Sir Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this Digression, I hope that this question shall never come to tryal; his Majesties many movable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no less disdain, than any Nation under Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere by a forain enemy; yet to entertain those that shall assail us, with their own Bief in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty after God, will employ his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

s. X.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt again to get the Mastery of the Seas. The Victory of Cæcilius the Roman Consul at Panormus: The Siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gally entered Lilybæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received under Claudius and Junius their Consuls, abandon the Seas again.

When, without a strong Navy, the Romans found it altogether impossible, either to keep what they had already gotten in Sicily, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa, or elsewhere; they resolved once again, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their Fleet and Ships of war. So causing fifty new Gallies to be built, and the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Attilius* and *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwreck which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xanthippus* in Africa, were less daring than they had been in the beginning of the war: and withal, that one of the Consuls was returned into Italy, with the one half of the Army, and that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*; he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consul was better advised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat near the Town, *Cæcilius* caused a deep trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattle a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and pass over the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire by slow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means pass. Thus they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it self, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously upon their own foot-men, and utterly disordered them. *Cæcilius* espying his advantage; called

with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this Victory being brought to Rome; the whole State filled with courage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred sail, which they sent into Sicily, to give end to that war, that had now lasted fourteen years. With this Fleet and Army the Romans resolved to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in Sicily; and all (indeed) save *Drepanum*, that was near adjoining. They set down before it, and possess themselves of all the places of advantage near unto it, especially of such as command the Haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground six Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faith not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lieutenants, and other petty officers, that conspire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achean*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treason, saved *Agriumentum*. *Himilco* useth the help of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and employs *Hannibal* to appease the troops of the *Gauls*, which did waver, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All, promise constancy and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the Roman Camp as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entered the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolved to set upon the Romans in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire their engines of battery. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans, being more in number, and having the

the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the service; and having received his dispatch, sails with one Gally to *Ægusa*, a little Island near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gally, he past through the beft of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere any of those which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boarded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his return, he set sail, and shipped his Oars (his Gally being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the Channel) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himself out of danger of being encompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable; and much wondered at in those days: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afar off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to pass by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouths against him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at war, our *East-land* Fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the Straights of *Elfenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion* to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could to stop them, or sink them at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elfenour*; which at that

time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long, since that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to maff it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the bank of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the Water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to pass by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extreme dear in *Antwerp*, passed in boats of ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it; when a strong Westerly wind, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as also with a contrary wind, and an ebbing water, they turned back again: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not us in the year 1596, when we entered the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Pantal*, when we were entred, beat us from our anchoring by it; though it paid upon us with four demi-cannons within point-blank, from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege, of *Offend*, and of many other places, may be given for proof, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without angling her as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra in Terceira*; that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; there, and in such places, it is of great use, and fearful: otherwise not.

But to return to our adventurous *Rhodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and perform it with the same success. The Romans therefore labour to choke the Channel; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the Tides clears it again in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied-boats in the beft of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rifting and heap, like a ragged Island in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that a *Carthaginian* Gally, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her self aground thereon, and

was taken. Now comes that brave *Rho-*
dian, thinking to enter, as he had done be-
fore; but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little
before taken, gave him chase, and gathered
upon him, he finds what she is, both by her
form, and by her swiftness: and being not
able to run from her, resolved to fight with
her. But she is too well manned for him,
so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed,
the Souldiers being worn with labour and
watching. But in this despair there rose so
violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans*
Wooden-Towers, by which they over-top
the walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned.
A Greek Souldier undertakes to fire those
that were fallen, and performs it: for the
fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown
unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increas-
ed so fast, as it became resistless, and in the
end burned all to ashes, and melted the
brazen heads of the battering Rams.
Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the
Romans from repairing their Engines: so
that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve
the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply
of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from
Rome, under *M. Claudius*, the Consul. He
arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over
Land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforc-
ed the Army, and supplied the Gallies with
new Rowers, he propounds the surprize of
Drepanum, a City on the other side of the
Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains
and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the
Consul embarks his troops, and arrives on
the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Ad-*
derbal is Governour of the Town, a valiant
and prudent man of war, who being
ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lily-*
bæum, was at first amazed at their sudden ap-
proach; but having recovered his spirits,
he persuades the Souldiers rather to fight
abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he
promiseth great rewards to such, as by
their valour shall deserve them; offering to
lead them himself, and to fight in the head
of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged
his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the
Romans. The Consul, deceived of his ex-
pectation, calls back the foremost Gallies,
that he might now marshall them for de-
fence. Hereupon some row backward, some
forward, in great confusion. *Adderbal* finds
and follows his advantage, and forceth the
Consul into a Bay at hand, wherein he
rangeth himself, having the Land on his
back: hoping thereby to keep himself from
being incompassed. But he was thereby,

and for want of Sea-room, so straightned,
as he could not turn himself any way from
his enemies, nor range himself in any order.
Therefore when he found no hope of re-
sistance, keeping the shore on his left hand,
he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Gal-
lies, besides his own, and so fled away: all
the rest of his Fleet, to the number of ninety
and four ships, were taken or sunk by the
Carthaginians. *Adderbal* for this service is
greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*,
for his indiscretion and flight, as much
disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great
loss, arm threecore Gallies, with which
they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul,
to take charge of their business in *Sicily*. *Junius*
arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the
whole remainder of the *Roman* Fleet, those
excepted which rode in the Port of *Lily-*
bæum. One hundred and twenty Gallies he
had; and besides these, he had gotten to-
gether almost eight hundred ships of bur-
then, which were laden with all necessary
provisions for the Army. With this great
Fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stays
a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to
wait for some that were too slow of sail to
keep company with him along from *Mes-*
sana. In the mean time he dispatcheth away
towards *Lilybæum* his Quellers or Treas-
urers; to whom he commits the one half of
his victuallers, with some Gallies for their
Convoy.

Adderbal was not careless after his late
victory: but studied how to use it to the best
advantage. The ships and prisoners that he
had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own
Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who
had threecore and ten more under his own
charge; and sent him to try what good might
be done against the *Roman* Fleet in the Ha-
ven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction,
Carthalo suddenly enters the mouth of that
Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more at-
tentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Car-*
thaginians, than to the defence of their own
against another Fleet. So he charges them,
boards, and takes some, and fires therest.
The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens
to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the
Town, is not behind hand; who falls out
at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to
great distress, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to
go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along
the South coast of *Sicily*, devising how to
work mischief to the enemy; wherein For-
tune presented him with a fair occasion,
which he wisely managed. He was adver-

tified by his Scouts, that they had discried,
near at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all
manner of Vessels. These were the victual-
lers, which the Consul *Junius*, more hastily
than providently, had sent before him to-
wards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear
of their coming: for he and his men were
full of courage, by reason of their late victo-
ries. Accounting therefore the great mul-
titude of *Roman* Hulks, approaching, to be
rather a prey than a fleet likely to make
strong opposition, he hastens to encounter
them. It fell out according to his expecta-
tion. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: but
were glad to seek shelter in an open Road,
full of Rocks under the covert of a poor
Town, belonging to their party; that could
help to save them only from the present dan-
ger, by lending them engines and other aid,
wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that
assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having
taken a few of them, lay waiting for the
rest, that could not long ride under those
Rocks, but would be forced by any great
change of wind, either to put out into the
deep, or to save their men how they could,
by taking land, with the loss of all their
shipping. Whilst he was busy in this care,
the Consul *Junius* drew near, and was disco-
vered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and
finds him altogether unprepared to fight as
being wholly ignorant of that which had
happened. The Consul had neither means to
fly, nor ability to fight. Therefore he like-
wise ran into a very dangerous Creek;
thinking no danger so great as that of the
enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, be-
takes himself to a station between the two
Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to see
which of them would first stir, with a re-
solution to assault that, which should first dare
to put it self into the Sea. So as now all the
three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicily*,
between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and
Lilybæum; a Tract exceeding dangerous;
when the wind stormed at South. The
Carthaginians, who knew the times of tem-
pest, and their signs, finding (belike) some
swelling billow (for so we do in the West of
England, before a Southerly storm) basted
to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to
cover themselves from the rage at hand. But
the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight
than how to Navigate, and never found any
foul weather in the entrails of their beasts;
their South-layers being all land-Prophe-
ters, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous
South-wind, and all the Gallies forced
against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity to discouraged the *Romans*,

that they resolved again to forsake the Seas;
and trust only to the service of their Legi-
ons upon firm ground. But such a resolution
cannot long hold. Either they must be
strong at Sea, or else they must not make
war in an Island, against those that have a
mighty fleet. Yet are they to be excused,
in regard of the many great calamities
which they had suffered through their want
of skill. Here I cannot forbear to com-
mend the patient virtue of the *Spaniards*.
We seldom or never find, that any Nation
hath endured so many misadventures and
miseries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their
Indian Discoveries. Yet persisting in their
enterprises with an invincible constancy,
they have annexed to their Kingdom so
many goodly Provinces, as bury the remem-
brance of all dangers past. Tempests and
shipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies,
heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of
diseases both old and new, together with
extream poverty, and want of all things
needful, have been the enemies wherewith
every one of their most noble discoverers,
at one time or other, hath incourted. Many
years have passed over some of their heads in
the search of not so many leagues: yea more
than one or two have spent their labour,
their wealth, and their lives, in search of a
golden Kingdom, without getting further
notice of it, than what they had at their first
setting forth. All which notwithstanding,
the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers,
have not been disheartened. Surely, they are
worthily rewarded with those Treasures
and Paradises which they enjoy; and well
they deserve to hold them quietly, if they
hinder not the like virtues in others, which
(perhaps) will not be found.

S. XI.

The City of Eryx is surprized by the *Romans*,
and recovered by *Amilcar*, who stoutly holds
war with them five years. The *Romans*,
having emptied their common treasury,
build a new fleet at the charges of private
men. The great victory at Sea of *Lucatius*
the Consul; whereby the *Carthaginians* are
forced to crave peace. The conditions of the
peace between *Rome* and *Carthage*.

THE *Romans* were careful to supply
with all industry, by land, the want
of strength at Sea. Therefore they con-
tinue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to
make sure to themselves all places, whither
the enemies ships could not bring relief.

The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound
IIII 2 dishonour,

dishonour, which he had received, be thought him what enterprizes to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the Country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottom, (both of which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* set forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a Fleet and Army, who failing to the coasts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the spoils which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Bruttians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entered he into *Sicily*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infect the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himself between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized upon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity to scour all the coast of *Italy* with his Fleet, waiting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard work, lying near unto *Panormus*: where in three years abode, he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a strange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to pass, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountain, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no less was *Amilcar* himself restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to

relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more, hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans*; and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of this business at *Eryx*. Wherein it seems true (as *Hannibal* in *Life*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon confidence of their land forces, which they held refitless; *Amilcar*, with a small Army, had so well acquitted himself, to the honour of his Country, that by the trial of five years war, the *Carthaginian* Soldier was judged equal, if not superior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasury was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purses. Divers of the principal Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to do the like, joyned with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their pattern, that excellent shift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *G. Lucatius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicily* the Spring following, and entered the Port of *Drepanum*; endeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindful of the late losses which his Predecessors had received; he was careful to put himself in order, against their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise

in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprizes; and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every loss received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this been employed against the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Soldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsel, when, having shewed himself an unworthy Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he defended of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficial he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Navy, with all needful provisions for the Soldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making preparation was the best of his qualities): but he had neither been careful in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpected *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the refitless force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to sail to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and having thus lightened himself, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himself, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his ene-

my repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this design: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, and for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the Seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was despatched; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemy, that had the wind of him, than to suffer his convoy to pass along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lighted his Gallies of all unnecessary burthens; and he had taken aboard the choicest men of the *Roman* Land-Soldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fifty of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, and seventy taken, wherein were few less than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of wind, escaping to the Isle of *Hieronejus*.

The state of *Carthage*, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time, there were none left; their best men of war by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whose valour and judgement the honour and safety of the Common-weal rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicily*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto *Amilcar* himself, and authorized him to take what course should seem best unto his excellent wisdom, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

Amilcar, whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make trial, whether his necessity might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to *Lucatius* the Consul an overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* State, waited beyond expectation in the former war, that he formerly harkened unto it. So in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratify it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearly abandon the Isle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at liberty, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransom. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former

sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they took order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicil* it self, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Islands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punic War*, that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinquereines*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*. That the *Romans*, in general, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punic Warrs.

S. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries.

THE *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Islands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That laws are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privocnates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privocnum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in those words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud dururam*; If the peace be good and faithful that you give us, it will be perpetual, if it be ill, then of little continuance. To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was

said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; An credi possit, nullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cuius eum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum*; That it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce? Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the loss and dishonour received, than until they could recover their legs; and the strength which had a while failed them to take revenge. But occasion, by which (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowess or virtue, withheld the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after the first *Punic War* was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Affrick*: the care of which business he committed unto *Cæcio*, to whom, as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Cæcio* had an especial consideration of the great sums, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and withal, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to persuade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptiness of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratify the Publick State, by remitting a great part of their own due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second companies; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of persuasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellows, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dis-lodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compel them to trust up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods: add there lay waiting

for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to musing; the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share, and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands; to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largess.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole Army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the account. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*, tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges wherewith the Common-wealth had been in the late War; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian Army* was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks, Africans, Gauls, Ligurians, Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, and were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenour of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appeale them.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissant loud noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part

of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into our rage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they encamp.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own error. It is a good Rule,

*Curandum in primis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & misiris.*

Have special care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppress'd with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the Rule, hath also been careless in providing to secure her self against the inconvenience that might follow. She had suffered the whole multitude, whereupon she was like to give cause of discontent to join it self into one body, when the several troops might easily have been dispersed: she hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poor men, which had she retained in shew of kindness, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by employing a miserable penny-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakened the reputation of her bravest Captains, that might best have served to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire robe used as an instrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereupon may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldness to impose the blame of his own wretched counsel upon the liberal promises made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price

they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senators into the Camp; who promise to satisfy all demands, as far forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chuse but add much insolency to the passions already stirred-up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon grows wise, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publick service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some years by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captains direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had been sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst the War lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiniers; who might easily have been satisfied with far less charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed about this Corn-money; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, should be chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condescended, and made choice of *Gesco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himself at all times, a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africk*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them; and to please them the better, comes not without money: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the

the Captains, and then the several Nations apart, rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs always be mindful of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two-facited Ring-leaders of the multitude had not flood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not chuse but fear, lest his own death should be made an example, to deter others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrymen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any foreign Mercenaries. For (saith he) *These* our companions have no more to do, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behind in *Africa*, shall be called to another manner of account, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home beggars, rather than laden with the money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. *Te* are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our hang-bag Masters of *Carthage* do reign over us. They think it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition; which they have as other times been accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their sovereignty: What will they now do, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as free-men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? *Te* all do know, that it were a very shame for us, if having been so forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not

dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soon as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us: their hatred will shew it self when their fear is once past: unless we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, condescend them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, where-withall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best army that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lyes at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our swords once drawn, all *Africk* would rise on our side. As for the *Carthaginians*, whether can they send for help? The case it self is plain. But we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of *Gesco*, by incensing these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joining with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.

By such persuasions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrel, which he that seeketh will not miss to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuel to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a shew of stones, flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by those good spokes-men: so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *Thron*.

Now the rebellion begins to take form. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crew of *Rufians*, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principal men taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while, he works with the several Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knows: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calm, by his fair language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that so the Army may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this follows open war. *Matho* solicits all *Africk*, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needful to use persuasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversity hath never been untold of her errors: and as she is ever assured to hear her own, so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheel, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilefs; that they took from them the one half of their Corn; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the

Carthaginians themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear arms, are ready to do service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to fail for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. By this great forwardness, and liberal contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threefold and ten thousand *Africans*: and are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfy the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Divers Observations upon this War with the Mercenaries.

I. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.

HERE let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travel. Behold a tyrannical City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a tyranny should be upheld by Mercenary forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all war made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldom hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny is procured or fought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldom or never do we read of any war that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyranny, is, *A violent form of Government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbear to say that it is, the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a meercr tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great City, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, that I should call this form of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare; unless himself be either a mad man,

man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyranny is not always of a like extremity: for some Lords are more gentle than others, to their very slaves; and he that is most cruel to some, is mild enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it self unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of several men, it is commonly seen, that the taste of sweetness drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their Pursets, and now he hath enough: but (as Covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviseeth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in fear, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to disarm all his Subjects; to fortifie himself within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lusty Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most unhoneft that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now, left any of these, either by detestation of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the Tyrant himself: they

shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfy their own appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more allured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write; I must be fain to say, that there are not dreams: though some *Englishmen* perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyranny grows to stand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, finally assured unto the Tyrant.

I. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worse than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.

NOW concerning the tyranny wherein with a City or State oppresseth her subjects; it may appear some ways to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearful of her life: the less need hath she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any other great occasion drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary sums of money; the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous and hateful, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperor, to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) that I may do what I list, and to whom I list: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her slaves, that whilest he was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State oppresseth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity; likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull that she should keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or

K k k k k 2
Agathocles

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyranny, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, that the miseries wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavy, as the burdens imposed by a cruel City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a show of naked Courtians, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and general approved custom, we are to censure the quality of a whole State, not by the private virtue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysical abstraction of the universal from the singular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded: I say therefore, (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down, but a few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him: all which failing; yet is there hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortal, and will not slacken the reins, until they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them less mindfull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same fore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return

home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These fly into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of our Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter, then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil War. The Romans had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting-Magistrates: yet we find, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provincial Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgement. If the Subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The Romans imposed no burthen some tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as precedents to instruct another; every man resolved to do the like, when it should fall to his turn; and he was held a notable States-man, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the Government of *Verres* the Roman in *Sicily*, that it is lively set out by *Tully*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punic* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more general proposition; That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Suitable

Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and again, sutable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* Souldiers; in *Africa* it self they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punic* war, shift his Mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futuris uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent; that the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africa, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges.* It is disputable, I confess, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings could properly be termed Mercenaries: for they were subject unto *Carthage*, and carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

t. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forraign Auxiliaries.

THE extrem danger, growing from the employment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithfull, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charles* the eighth of France did pass the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said French King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza* the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who being entertained by Queen *Joan* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the

sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the son of this *Francis* by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own Father had been. For having waged an army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of forraign Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperour of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turks* against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over the Sea upon *Africa* side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander* the Son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdom, slew the same *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syracus* the *Turk* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar Soldan*, against his opposite: but this *Turk* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladin* his succesor became Lord thereof; and of all the holy Land, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Country; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two kingdoms.

Against all this, may be alledged the good success of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed these *Low-Countries* have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have seldom been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could

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ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitless attempts, made by the Prince of *Orange*, can witness it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, felt, to his grief, in his retreat from *Grœningham*; when, in the very instant that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either fought to hide their cowardize under a shew of greediness; or at least, by meer covetousness, have ruined in one hour, the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monseigneur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forraign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monseigneur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Country, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling yoke upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerp*, as verily believing the Town to be surpris'd and wone; the death of the Count *St. Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own troops, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own French who stood in need of the pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Hélas, mon dieu, que venez tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me?* So, the affairs of the Netherlands will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of forraign Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scotts*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the

Sovereignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continual war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just and wife (though not engaged in any quarrel) either to make profit of his neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence in the forces of these their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the cause that they took in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at the least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the same Religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a Country be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in general: That mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no less dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.

t. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans, gave them assurance to use the service of their own subjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindereth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

HERE it may be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to use the service of other Souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is, that their Armies were compounded usually of their

their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campesens*, *Hetrurians*, *Sannites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interred in the quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldom they did employ so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting; which served to keep in good order their subjects, that were always fewer in the army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if constanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; yet many privileges and immunities, which they enjoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke how easie soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of several advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have been reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have sharply been punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common City of all *Italy*. Yea, in process of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarvis* in *Cilicia*, where *St. Paul* was born, that all the Burgeses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects half of their tribute which they had been wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them, to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a special note of the *Romans* good Government, That when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvel, that *Petelia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own

good, as having been faithful to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governments, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is; they had, of their own, a strong army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

The moderate use of sovereign power being so effectual, in assuring the people unto their Lords, and consequently in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seem strange, that the practice of Tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is less difficult, (whoever think otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it; yet commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is offence to infaminate it self into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawless desires have bred many Tyrants: yet so that these desires have seldom been hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better form. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* *Arst. pol. holds. That tyrannies are of a short continuance*. But this notion do not satisfy the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their general good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concur, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtless, we must be fain to say, That Tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto brute beasts; and

lib. Dec. 1.
lib. 3.

lib. iiii.

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l. 5. c. 12.

and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptness to yield obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all Creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an improper term: since they grow from appetites, found in less worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, are held less vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse by sharper Laws, as being in general more horrible, and punished more grievously, than of that which is best; there is not any passion that nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of Ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of these, a dull spirit and overloaded by fortune with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist, yet the defective dulness, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which meer necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it self in the excess, with a false colour of Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptness to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are every where to be found: for this quality troubles not it self in seeking Empire; or it by some error of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some friend, or else a wife, is not waiting to supply the defect, which also

cruelly doth help to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & felix seculum*, a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. There is no reward or honour (saith *Peter Charron*) assigned unto those, that know how to increase, or preserve humane nature: all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to assist, trouble, or destroy it. *Cesar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and slain, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the error of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none other than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no less, than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityocampes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were assailed by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Freeman and slaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of Parents over their children, is natural, and appointed by God himself; so that it is always, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole Country; which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater and more Masterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said; *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth*: which also he continued unto *Noah* and his children, saying, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth*

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upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it self, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men; whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according to *Aristotle's* doctrine, to be naturally slaves.

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant; whom he hath slain by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because he is his money: or else by the captivity of the *Midianitish* girls, which were made bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords* tribute. Doubtless the custom hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be a servant of servants; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, men-servants and maid-servants, which were none other than slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kind of servility: but surely they are deceived that think so. Saint *Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giveth unto servants: Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. It is true, that Christian Religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves, unto the persecutors of Religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: but whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moor*s, it seems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, until the time of our last civil wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses, and other the like trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kind of dominion be lawful, or not, *Aristotle* hath well proved, that it is natural. And certainly, we find not such a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the Elect and Reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to reason, we shall find, that nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereunto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some Countries have subsisted long without the use of any servility; as also it is true, that some Countries have not the use of any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which uphold civil rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needful, unto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and the likes; or of every one, as are Hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toll of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the swarm of idle vagabonds should increase; by access of those, that are weary of their own more painful condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the general custom of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we find no cause to marvel, how Tyranny hath been so ripe in all ages, and practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other vices have likewise gotten head, and born a general sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? in the government of wife and children, some are utterly careless, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by masterly rigour, hold their own blood under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weal publick above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Heroical*. Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise

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be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the general good cannot be perfect, without reference unto the fountain of all goodness: we shall find, that no moral virtue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of more, than *Virtue*, as the *Heroical* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Jehaphat*, and *Josiah* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soon be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But he, that can find a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of State; a procurer of general peace and quiet; who not only useth his authority, but adds the travel of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whole Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throat; one that hath quite abolished a slavish Breach Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher virtue, and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of those that are, under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less, remarkable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto virtue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Sovereign. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do partake of virtue; since all things tending to the perversion of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodness, rather than the inaccessible majesty, with both of which himself is inducd, as far as humane nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Left any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bonds of reason; I add hereunto, that

such a King is nevertheless a man, must dye, and may err: yet wisdom and fame shall set him free, from error, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness,) The people that live under a pleasant yoke; are not only loving to their Sovereign Lord, but free of courage; and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters; if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaves outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, what *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of half his virtue, that day when he casteth him in*. *Hom. Odys. 17.*

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the general discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectual, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the war against the Mercenaries was diversely managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable success. The bloody counsels of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.

Being now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily find, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiniers. Had they all been subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principal part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength,

* *quica* is stated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the promontory of *Apollonia*. At this time it is called *Jutsa Firus*, or *Jutsa*, or *Jutsa*, or by the Africans themselves, *Grat Melba*. *Niger* saith, that the Town it self is ruined, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Megasthenes*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, said *Sidon*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the Romans in the third Punic war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar* *Vibor* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Geoffrey* the Arches, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

strength, besieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing towards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Camp at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the Country: for *Mato* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected peril, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very walls of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their General: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beafts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to do with *Numidians*, whose custom was after any loss, to flee two or three whole daies journey off, presently entered the Town; to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a victory; they assailed their own Camp, and with great slaughter, drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forced them to hide themselves within *Utica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with futable indiscretion; losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were

exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let all their shete-anchors; sending to the field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River *Mato*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these, that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many floods, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, *Mato* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiously, intensive onely to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravel, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that flow River, till the wind failing, or changing suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channel. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the news; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were in their own judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend upon him, watching for some advantage; and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptness was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds; that were fit

test for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he heed of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashness of his enemies to encrease, till it should break into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldness than good heed, they followed him so near, as would be little for their good, if he should turn unto them, he halted his march, even to such a pace, as made a slow little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of those that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that amazed, with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were six thousand of the Mercenaries slain, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Camp at *Utica*, others to the Town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he was the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunis*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africa*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to do their best, for the recovery of their freedom: he persuaded *Spendius*, and *Anturius*, that was a Captain of the *Gauls*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keep the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, where they might be free from the Elephants; and he himself continued to press the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his business required, to take such ways as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coaxed him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their *Numidian* and *African* succours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his personal worth did greatly benefit his Country. For *Naravasius*, a young Gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which

he much desired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar* signifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promised unto him his own daughter in marriage; and so ran from the enemies 2000. horse, that following *Naravasius* turned unto the *Carthaginians* side. With this help he gave battle unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slain ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellows, and four thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himself, with *Anturius* the *Gaul*, escaped to do more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more bear arms against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharp revenge upon all that should break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Anturius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that no man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety whilst *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertment, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respective only of their private benefit, and careless of the general good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Gefco*, and his companions, upon these traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Whom these *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous enemy *Gefco* would prove, if he might escape their hands. Whilst he is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Anturius*, and speaks his mind plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea, the only way, for the common safety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desirous to make their own peace, it would go hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gefco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course every one should be engaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than

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in victory alone; finally, that such as would speak here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Anturius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could speak sundry languages, in such sort, that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gefco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheless there were some, that for love of *Gefco* sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document unto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewith all contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they took, should be served in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of *Carthage*, should lose their hands, and so be sent home, which rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable ferity. As for the counsel of using it, it was like unto the counsel of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall bear, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong.* Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellows, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the punishment of less offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengeful spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added some deficiency of Laws, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the degree of their several crimes. A coward thinks all provision too little for his own security: If *Phocas* be a coward (said the Emperor *Mauritius*) then is he murderer. To be steadfast and sure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour; and a defensive against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianity; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise would have repented, and fought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect even their gentlest, as the introduction to extremity. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governors, are the errors of Laws. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the less offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his own security.

Against these inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, used with due respect are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his old Souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villainy with answerable vengeance, casting them unto wild beasts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himself apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may seem, for that nothing is remembered of him since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to such extremity, as threatened utter ruin to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joined his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood always firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Army, were lost in foul weather; and *Carthage* it self stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, two generals of one Army. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities *Athen* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; persuading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joyned two chief Commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-wealths have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have employed them. In this point the *Venetians* having been so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true; that

that the equal authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the war it self, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In wars made near unto *Rome* it self, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years service; it is no marvel, though each of the Consuls did his best, and inferred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joyned Generals: yet was this never so seldom, without as much concord, as any other virtue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able Captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and most dangerous overthrows; wherefore in the second *Punic* War we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their wars most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now of those ten Generals, which served the *Athenians* at the battle of *Marathon*, it may be truly said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alexandrides* together in *Sicily*: the one being so over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and so the contrary, by which the best

occasions are as often overslipt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Conde* was slain after the Battle of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the admiral *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Army) the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than a hindrance to their affairs. For so much did the Valour of the one out-reach the advisedness of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present business: who, though they were still sick of their ill-grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their Controversies, unto the Army that served under them. The judgment of the Army was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matbo* and *Spentius* had brought their Army near unto the City; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Camp above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the City was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron King of *Syracuse*, though during the wars in *Sicily* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because if no other State gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries, This they did to shew a noble kind of disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequel manifestly proved.

Whilst *Matbo* and his followers were busily pressing the City, *Amilcar* was diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off

off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly beleagured by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desert from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spentius* and one *Zarcas* an African Captain assisting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matbo* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naravajus*, made *Spentius* fearful to descend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himself to his former method of war, keeping the mountains, and rough grounds; or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spentius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battel: untill at length he got them into a straight; whence ere they should get out, he went to take of them a good account. Their judgment was enough to perceive their own disadvantages; and therefore they had the less stomach to fight; but awaiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present fear, and shut them close up with *Trencher* and *Rampart*. There they waited miserably, for succour there came not: and having spent all their victuals, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindful of them. But when they were driven to such extremity, that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was broken; and they threatened their Captains with what they deserved, unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such peace as might be gotten. So *Spentius*, *Zarcas*, and *Antarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yield themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their own companions. Hereupon they sent to crave parley, which is granted; and

these three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should chuse, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coat. When the peace was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told these Ring-leaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten; and so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed; and therefore amazingly ran to Arms. But they wanted Captains to order them; and the same astonishment that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of Justice, in accomplishing revenge and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain: being forty thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africa*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravajus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the war from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yield: *Utica* & *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matbo*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy. Coming before this Town, they brought forth *Spentius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in Arms. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*. *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents: and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matbo from the walls beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*; and with so great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he took *Hannibal* prisoner:

prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius*, by the same torture. Of this, *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terror was no less within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loss, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms, were sent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains surviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the employment of one sole General near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar's* Camp, and by all good persuasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this war lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibal's* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and withal diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one battle: wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar's* great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to his determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battle might have been

foretold, without help of witchcraft, *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious; and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future and present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old Masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced to take what conditions best pleased the victors. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had lasted three years, and about four months, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not love them, should with less expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, that were in *Sardinia*, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the *Illanders*. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the *Carthaginians*, in taking from them *Sardinia*, contrary to the peace.

WHILST *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africa*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Island to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could be spared in that busy time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety,

safety, and present profit, to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to endanger themselves by battle, for the good of that Common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousy and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjust war, to enjoy the performance of some notorious and villainous act, to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to perform some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kind of cruelty did the ungrateful *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedaemonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possessed himself of their City, by right of war, did not only spare the lack and spoil thereof, but gave them equal freedom, with the rest of the Cities united. These revolts are also common in our Court-wars; where, in the Conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Cesont les coups de vieille escrime. These (say the French) be the blows of the old Art of fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit less violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The *Illanders* were no less glad, than the Souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Isle, was devolved unto themselves, by right of Conquest. The same quarrel would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, and their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where

there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blows; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in Italy. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mantineans* had called them unto *Siela*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some Italian Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with Corn: of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbade all their Merchants to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Olbia*, offering it self unto their jurisdiction. This might have served as a notable example of the *Roman* Faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of Faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the virtue of *Amilcar*: who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*; in one main battle, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of merciless villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, whereto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one fallly made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*; then did Ambition put off her goodly vizard. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage* beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and

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impoverished City, under a shameless pretence, that the preparations made for Sardinia, were made indeed against Rome it self. The Carthaginians knew themselves unable to resist, and therefore yielded to the Romans demand; renouncing unto them all their right in Sardinia. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from Carthage. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of war. But necessity taught the Carthaginians patience; and the money was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complain of the Punick faith, in breach of Covenants: she herself hath broken the peace already, which Amilcar purposed to make her dearly repent; but what Amilcar lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by Hannibal his renowned Son.

§. V.

How the Affairs of Carthage went, between the African Rebellion, and the second Punick War.

THE injurious dealings of the Romans, expressing their desire to pick a quarrel; served to instruct the Carthaginians in a necessary lesson; That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place; and the best means were thought upon, for the increase of Puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousy of the Romans, forbade all attempts upon the Mediterranean Sea; but the riches of Spain, that lay upon the Ocean, were unknown to Rome: wherefore that Province might serve both to exercise the Carthaginians in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needful supplies. Of the Spanish Expedition, the charge and sovereign trust was committed unto Amilcar: upon whom his Country did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruin.

Hannibal, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the general love and honour, which daily increased towards Amilcar and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietness; ad-

vising men to beware of provoking the Romans, in whose amity they laid, that the felicity of Carthage did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of Amilcar was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the Straights of Hercules, (now called the Straights of Gibraltar) and landed on the Western coasts of Spain; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a battle that he fought with a Nation in Portugal, called the Vettones, (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which in many signal victories, he had acquired the name of a second Mars.

After the death of Amilcar, Asdrubal his Son-in-law was made General of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthage: adding so many subjects and confederates thereunto, that the Romans began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdom of Granada, opposite to that of Oran in Africa, and gave it the name of New Carthage, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now

* Carthagena. With this success of the Carthaginians in Spain, the Romans were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the Isle of Sicily, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselves in a war of far less importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding both in the bodies of the men, and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken from them. But how to help this, at the present they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the Gauls, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request,

* The Spaniards have since built a City of the same name in the West-Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1533, was called by the English in the year 1585.

request shall have the virtue of a command.

Yet were the Romans utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in Spain. The Spaniards were then unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no Mamertines, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours; but in the enterprise of Sardinia, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in Spain. For though it were apparent, that the Spanish affairs had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that Asdrubal had any purpose to extend his victories unto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of Iberus. In addressing their messengers, rather to Asdrubal, than to the City of Carthage; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pills, to avoid all occasion of war with Rome, yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and resenting the injury, return such answer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrel, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But Asdrubal finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent covenant inserted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their ways contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of Carthage, thereunto pressed by the Romans, for fear of present war, had ratified this new composition made by Asdrubal; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of Asdrubal, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians of perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with Asdrubal, the Romans won some reputation in Spain. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the City which would needs be Mistress over them, stood in fear herself of receiving

blows from a stouter Dame; there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with Carthage. But the Carthaginians will shortly teach them another lesson. The Saguntines, a people on the South-side of Iberus, entered into confederacy with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawful unto the Romans to admit the Saguntines, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemy in war to the Carthaginians) into their Society: and unlawful it was unto the Carthaginians, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with Rome. Nevertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with Asdrubal, we shall find that the Romans could have none other honest colour of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River Iberus a bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon Spain: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians; though Rome, as yet, had no foot on the one side of Iberus, whereas Carthage on the other side of that River, held almost all the Country. Howsoever it were, this indignity was not so easily digested, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthaginian, should behold Saguntum resting securely amongst them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries; or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to do themselves right: war against Saguntum was generally thought upon, let the Romans take it how they list.

In such terms were the Carthaginians, when Asdrubal dyed, after he had commanded in Spain eight years (being slain by a slave, whose Master he had put to death) and the Great Hannibal, Son of the Great Amilcar, was chosen General in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reign of Philip the Son of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long term of the first Punick war, and the vacation following, between it and the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had found it; though far weaker, as the

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after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: in petty tyrannies (bred of those inferior Captains, which in the times of general combustion, had seized each upon such towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatness, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in Macedonia, as had been in Greece, when Philip first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdom of Macedonia, between Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, and the Gauls: Antigonus the son of Demetrius, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the Gauls, and by Pyrrhus, as hath been already shewed, but by Alexander the Son of Pyrrhus the Epirot from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his Souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the Gauls, he was converting his forces against the Athenians, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young son Demetrius raised an Army, wherewith he chased Alexander, not only out of Macedonia, but out of his own Epirus, and restored his Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince Demetrius (though in another kind) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadel of Corinth; which was justly termed the *setter of Greece*. This Citadel called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky hill on the North side of the Town, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the Town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Main of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of Greece unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. Alexander, the son of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between Alexander's Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one Alexander; of whom I find nothing else, than that he was thought to be

poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this: Antigonus sent his young son *Demetrius* to Corinth, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seek her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; whereto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, Antigonus watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousy had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity becoming his old age. But as he had stolen it; so was it again stolen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loss of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this Antigonus, succeeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his virtue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Epiotians*, and *Acheans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the Macedonians began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of Demetrius, was a young child when his Father dyed; and therefore Antigonus, his Uncle, had the charge of the Kingdom, during the minority of the Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected Philip as his own son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; This Antigonus, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his Protectorship; and was also called *Dofon*, that is as much as, *Will-giver*, because he was slow in his liberality. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingness of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaïans* took from him the City of *Athens*, soon after Demetrius his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in Greece, if their own estate had not been endangered by a nearer enemy. But civil dissension, which had

had overthrown the power of Greece, when it flourished most, overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickness; and gave to this Antigonus no less authority therein, than Philip the Father of Alexander, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaïans* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greeks. By the equality of their Laws, and by their clemency. (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the Macedonian Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidae*, when *Tisamenus* the son of *Orestes* possessed the Territory of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*, after whom, when his sons fought to change the Legal Government of their Predecessors unto Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equal. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the reign of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedonia: who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve Cities, called the *Cities of Alliance* (whereof, *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battle of *Leuctres*) were, by disturbance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no less foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth Olympiad (in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world) two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimeis*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of the general accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them *Parisians* with sundry Macedonian Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a

strong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before (spoken of), and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into Italy. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimeis*, to whom also the Cities of *Tiræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themselves; *Agira* chased out her Garrisons; and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entered with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Achaïans*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and soon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Caryneus* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This Aratus was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who, living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of Antigonus *Gonatas* King of Macedonia, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the Greeks, than wise in looking to his own. For fear of Antigonus, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against Antigonus, whose subtlety was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsel of Aratus delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, and the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Evergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in Greece, partly was delighted with the conversation of Aratus himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of Aratus his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadel of Corinth; which he won by night, being thereto guided by some thieves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob Antigonus his

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it : though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants ; as mistrusting left the *Achaïans* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kinds of night-services, ambushments, surprisings, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant : in open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others ; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail ; and Whether the virtue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all virtue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion : though a natural inclination standeth in need of little practice ; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was *Aratus* in matter of War. In sincere affection to his Country he was unreprouable, and so acknowledged : as his following actions will truly testify.

When *Aerocorinthus* was taken, and joynted unto the Common-wealth of *Achaïa*, the *Allegarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entered into the same Corporation. So did the *Traxenians*, and the *Epidaurians* : whereby this new erected State grew so powerful, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, and *Argos* and *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterprize upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* waited the Isle of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransom, to allure the City by shew of love ; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carried more strongly. The *Achaïans* came sometimes to the gates of the City, but the people stirred not : once they entered in, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedom ; sundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants,

(who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slew one of them in battail ; and all sufficed not : untill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, periwaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resign his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Publians*.

Whilest this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysidas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Council of *Achaïa* : whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen General of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man :) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turns. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysidas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the general good ; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaïa*, as shall appear in due time.

The *Achaëans* having obtained so much puilliance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) General of their forces by Sea and Land ; made open War upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* *Gonatus*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrel had lost a battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become ; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in general of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur ; It is either base in service, or insolent in command.* Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force ; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaëans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do : but into their Corporation they entered not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaïa* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty ; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerful, by stoutness of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other virtue. They had

stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus* ; partly by daring to do and suffer much, partly by the natural strength and fastness of their Country ; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captains to other business, as hath been related. They had molested *Cassander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, and were themselves as much plagued by him, and by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the Son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or less with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often war with the *Acarnanians*, *Althamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus* : so that they were hardened with a perpetual travail ; seldom putting off their Armour. But their hardiness ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship, measuring all things by their own insolent wills, and thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outrageous as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had invaded the friends of the *Achaëans* ; taken and sacked *Palene* ; where, although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* *Gonatus* : who pressed them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Achaëans* ; which they obtained. The war which the *Achaëans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot : for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged ; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, devised how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achaëans* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance and Corporation : of which intent, the *Lacedemonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly to set the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaëans* together by the ears : hoping that if this might come to pass, they themselves should be called in to help (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their de-

vice unto *Antigonus* ; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdom hath sustained by the *Achaëans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware : who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedemonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late : and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Acadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedemon* : and thereby had provoked the *Lacedemonians* to look about them ; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Acadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achaean*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times ; and subject to the injuries of any stronger neighbour. *Pyrhus* had greatly weakened it ; The *Ætolians* entering *Liconia* with an Army, had carried away fifty thousand slaves ; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime been their general virtue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There was left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural Citizens ; of whom not above one hundred had Lands : all the rest were needy people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition ; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his Laws. To which purpose he caused them to pass an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equal division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this ; but the rich men opposed it. There had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part : being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends and Counsellors in this enterprize, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted : but the division of Lands they afterwards hindered, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdom, and the two advertise

adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dimissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the Laws, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the Law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and served to establish the important rule of a few tyrannical oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedæmon* to the *Acheans* Commonwealth: though it were great injustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the general good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by persuasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reversed the death of *Agis*, did also requite the unjust attempts of the *Acheans*, even in their own kind: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, should have been the principal; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slain, took his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own Son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and fought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So coming himself to be King, whilst he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally in so corrupt an estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruin. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Liconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegæ* and *Orchomenus*, Cities then Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the

labour of a painful night travel, and discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have stayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lysidas* and *Arifomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Arifomachus* was at that time General of the *Acheans*, (He and *Lysidas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serve, therefore he came in person, and took part of a business, little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himself against *Arifomachus*, who desired to give battel. Yet had the *Acheans* twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonians*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lysidas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardice. Nevertheless the *Acheans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their General the year following; against *Lysidas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being General himself, it behoved him to confute with deeds, the slanderous words of *Lysidas*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the *Æleans*: but was met withal on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battel, and drove him to hide himself all night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his own more natural occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their City. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before joyned themselves with the *Acheans*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achean* society. As this

good success repaired the credit of *Aratus* to another battel almost ruined. *Cleomenes* and he encountered near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Acheans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lysidas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians* whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them, and his followers driven back upon their own Companions, in such fort, that finally all the Army was disordered and put to flight. This was a great loss, and incited the *Acheans* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheless; wherein though *Cleomenes* won some Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Acheans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intinctive to another business.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journeys, forsook the *Achean* war on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then he gave an account of his doings; and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroached upon the power of Kings, and many disorders had grown in the City; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by chusing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it self from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well fatished, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of these his domestical troubles.

The *Acheans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for fear of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantineæ*; and ready to take

other places, even of *Achaia*. These news displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to hear worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed, and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth content about the possession of a few Towns: but adventured to win or lose all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantineæ*, *Tegæ*, and other places; to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he advised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruine. The office of General, when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battel all the force of his Country; to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprize, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Trish*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weal-publick, though in aiming at the general good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battel; that *Mantineæ* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Arifomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since General of the *Acheans*, was now revolted unto the enemy following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Pholomy* was too far off to help; and the nearness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be usefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose; and instructed them how to deal with *Antigonus*, and the

Acheans.
The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected

affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some special benefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the danger; was very faithful, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achaens*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent unto the General Council of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time born unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more general matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaens* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth as it might stand with the *Achaens* good liking. Particularly he commended himself by these Messengers to *Aratus*, assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Council of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achaens* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent; and praised the wisdom of the Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amiss, first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate; in that which

himself of all others did most with: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amiss: since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurely, the general consent.

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of *Aratus* might have been used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had been more honourable to make an end of the war, by yielding unto *Cleomenes*: that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both have freed his Country from all further trouble; and withal, should have restored unto the universal state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Virtue, having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it self, (as it were) in the seat of principality, by length of time, and success of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it self likely to be overtopped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedæmonians*: there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himself more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own honours reversed by the insolent *Macedonians*: and instead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poisoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of five descents, and whom perhaps he might have seen his fellows, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was lost: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had used to the *Achaens*: being warned, as may seem, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disburthing. *Cleomenes* himself, whilst this business with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achaens* to battle. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make trial; whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, and there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that

that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take upon him to be their General, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaens* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaens*: who desired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the war.

Now seeming the affairs of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had ever been since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* invasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extrem sick, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless he sent home the chief of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achaens* in their desire of his friendship; who assembled again at *Argos*: there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Country-men afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turn, he betook himself to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safety of his person. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement; and took it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded: For it had been an easie matter, to have told him so much at the first, & not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismiss. Yet that which chiefly seems to have troubled him, was the drift of his opponents; who sought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would adventure himself into the City, then to deprive him of all Royal shew, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, and for which he

sought to hinder his coming thither in person; left the people, hearing the promises of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, should presently be won with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more ado. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Council, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behind with him in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terror, he won *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this case *Aratus* sent his own son to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wished: saving that he utterly refused to do any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to help the horse against his enemy the Stag: but with condition, that the horse should suffer him to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithal contented, but wanting all honest colour to do it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himself out of their City, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ran to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made halt with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilst this was doing, he took special order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Town, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Ælians*, to *Peloponnesus*; promising, that if he would hearken to these persuasions, then would he give him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolemy*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured sovereignty of the Country; he

desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own son as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Acheans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seized upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Country of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Ætolians* held the Straights of *Thermopylae* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good success of this journey. At his coming thither, he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance; and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazard batel, but rather to weary him thence with hunger; against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to do: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loss of men; finally he resolved to turn aside, and seek a passage over the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, news from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no less troubled his enemies. The *Acheans* were gotten into that City; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left there, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present help. *Argos* had always been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the King of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbore to chafe out those whom he most suspected; partly, at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes*'s victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta* was agreeable to the *Spartan* Institution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannical, he did not. Thereupon, such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths

men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Acheans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadel at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear left his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Acheans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Acheans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets; when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hastening to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a safe retreat. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Acheans*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Acheans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-General over them and their Confederates: and further entered into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing, or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while &c. (somewhat longer *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kingsheart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town, (for Winter was come on) where he not only seated him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians* was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if instead of *Cleomenes* that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this god was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the

the burthen upon the *Acheans*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left unto himself at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this god was also spiteful. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfy his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been once Tyrant of *Argos*, afterwards General of the *Acheans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Acheans*. For he slew all the principal Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women and children, all for bond-slaves: dividing the spoil; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Acheans*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*, who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it to be new named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Acheans*; let us return unto this war against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, and *Telphusa*; *Mantinea* he dis-peopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Acheans*, with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinea*, &c. to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the Egyptian promised much, but would perform nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were

sent unto *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the business of *Greece*, rather for his minds sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumitted all the *Heilotes* which were the *Lacedemonian* slaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The Town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. These news astonished the *Acheans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering-places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of his unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Acheans*. When he had layn awhile at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamors, and suffered them to see their villages burnt; to bid him resign his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfy their passions with foolish words, rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his enemy: though he hereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedemon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troops; meaning to requite the bravadoes of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side laboured to keep the war from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where

where he made such a havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Lacedæmonia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonians* was fain to endure, in coaling of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliadians*, and *Orchomenians*, drove a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the *Achean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazard, by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epirots*, *Beotians*, *Acanthians*, and others; together with the *Acheans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Lacedæmonia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus* coming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blows, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defended Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley between those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battle, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclydes*, his Brother, a more valiant than skillful Soldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took much benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopemen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Acheans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if

their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; persuaded the Captains of the *Achean* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places; until they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopemen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intrusted some of his own Country-men to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskillfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and persuaded the men at Arms his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclydes* being manifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even terms. So he recovered the hill-top; where, though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great laughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydes*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battle ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay; finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battle, and most of his hired Soldiers dead, or gone away. So he persuaded his people to yield themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he halted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and embarked himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Evergetes*; who undertook to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean season, he had a Pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his Son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince,

Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, unmindful of all virtue, and hating any in whom it was found. When theretore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seem to invite him; *Ptolemy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to dismiss him (as he desired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakness of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner, the last act of him was, that with thirty of his Country-men, he undertook a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebel and seek their liberty. In which attempt he slew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to shew his indignation: and slew his Mother and Children, that had been (then) his Hostages, together with the Wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloody end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Selasia*: *Antigonus* without resistance entered *Sparta*: wherein to never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies: after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was an advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*: how the *Illyrians* over-ran and destroyed the Country. Had these news come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer, or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battle with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-straining his voice; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in

short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdom descended unto *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to reign in *Asia* and *Egypt*; boyes all. Of these, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy all the seventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*; bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdoms, as is usual in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the Coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romans

WHilst things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livy* saith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, it hath been shewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is not meet to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Stavromia*; a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*, for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prator, or chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the spoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the Town: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this,

this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus. That the old and the new Prætor should be jointly intitled in the victory, and have equal authority in distributing of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*, and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own business, but stoutly sallied out of the Town. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their Camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoil; and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophy, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrates (for they chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The success of this voyage highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the money, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneasy to enrich himself by setting upon the less warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank so immoderately, that he fell into a *Plurisie*, which in few daies ended his life. His Kingdom, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Tenta* his wife.

Tenta gave her people free liberty to rob all forts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had been sole Mistress of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell on the western coast of *Peloponnesus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessities. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gauls*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Argentinum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and

sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lie in Garrison within their Town. The *Gauls* were soon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* was presently in arms, and hastened to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian Army*, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Tenta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the straights adjoining, by which these new comers must enter into their Country; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other speed well in their business. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the Town, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Acheans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitiful terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus* to present battel unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Tenta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom their Town, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their coming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian Merchants*, whilst they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints made unto the *Roman Senate*, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Tenta*, that she should abstain from doing such injuries. These Embassadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short

space

space, tamed her rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town *Ilia*, which her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings, and, calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, That injury in publick she would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of those private wrongs that are born out by publick authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfy her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slain: as if that had been the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: for this injury is of such nature, as must be requited with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadors: the reason and ground whereof, seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadors should pass freely, and in safety, between enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this general Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrel; then it is as lawful to use violence to those Embassadors (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, and subjects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadors, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any law whatso-

ever. For whereas the true office of an Embassador residing, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawful for one Prince to practice against the life of another; much less may an Embassador do it without incurring justly the same danger to punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no privilege at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassador *Coruncanius*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error, that hath undone many of all sorts; greater and less than she, both before and since: Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; they had the easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*; was not much greater than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in arms; she would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self, & one part of it fell with

(a) *Dyrachium*, the other with *Coreyra*. *Dyrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In (b) *Coreyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Acheans* were called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Caryneus*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Coreyra*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, who took possession of it with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrachium*. In the mean season, *Tenta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so she was resolved to try any other court, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to

O o o o o

See

Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fulvius the Consul, of Demetrius his fear and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consul sailed thither; where he found the Town of Corcyra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and submitted it self unto the Roman protection.

(c) Apollonia, a City near Dyrrachium, or Durazzo, upon the Sea-coast. Pictus calls it Siponto.

After this good beginning, the Consul sailed along the coast to (c) Apollonia; accompanied with Demetrius, whom he used thenceforth as his Counsellor and guide. To Apollonia came also Postumus, the other Consul, with the Land-Army, numbered at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hastened towards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had besieged; but upon news of the Roman army they dispersed themselves. From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen Teuta to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in Risbon far within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leave the best places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; another part stays behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that Teuta was forced to beg peace; which the obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of Illyria, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Island of Lissa: except it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this Illyrian war, the Romans sent Embassadors unto divers parts of Greece, signifying their love to their Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good success upon Teuta, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadors were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans thenceforth might be partakers of the Illyrian pastimes. This was an idle courtship, but well meant by the vain Greeks; and therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrian expedition got nothing in Greece, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

s. VIII.

Of the War between the Romans and Gauls, somewhat before the coming of Hannibal into Italy.

The Gauls that dwelt in Lombardy were the next, against whom the Romans took Arms. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome's sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good, when they took Rome and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto Roman Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were laid to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave always careful heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon Rome were called wars; but tumultus Gallici, tumults of the Gauls: and rightly. For they gave many alarms to Italy, and used to rise with great Armies, but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the State of Rome, that against them made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the Gauls never fell upon Italy with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst Pyrrhus was travelling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former Punic wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this Imperial City. But it seems that the Gauls had no better intelligence in the affairs of Italy, than strangers had in Gaul. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart, when-

whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should find leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first Punic War. Once before this, the Romans had been bold, to set upon the Gauls in their own Country: and that was three years before the coming of Pyrrhus into Italy. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gauls, invading Hetruria, and besieging Arretium, had won a great battel, and slain L. Caelius, with the most of his Army. Mannius Curius the new Consul, sent Embassadors to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners. But these Embassadors they slew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it so well, that they expelled their Senones out of their Country, and sent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This caused the (a) Boji, another people of Gaul, to fear the like manner: who thereupon took arms, and drew the Hetrurians to their side. But the Romans overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted until the end of this Illyrian war.

(a) There were divers nations of the Boji, as in Gasconia, Illyria in Germany, in Bowmont, in France, and in Aquitaine; but these Boji were of French race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the River Rh.

It vexed the Gauls to see a Roman colony planted in their Country; who had been accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpinos (so the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alpes, though to us they were nearer; like as they called Cisalpinos, or by-hither the Alpes, those who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their loss, so their union might recompense it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carried, that the Cisalpinos and Transalpinos fell together by the ears, putting the Romans only to a tumult, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in Rome proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the Senones, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between Ancona and Ariminum: exterminating utterly those Gauls. Such an offer were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or Guiana it self, would not overjoy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of Rome took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminius had ever after their good will.

This dreadful President extremely displeased the Boji; who being neighbours to Ariminum, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the Gauls had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Insubrians, which inhabited the Duchy of Milan, joyned with the Boji, and upon a common purpose entertained the Gessates, Nations about Rhodanus, wageable as the Swissers in these times. The Gessates having received a great impress, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings Concolianus and Amoroestus: who with the Boji, and Insubrians, compound an Army of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the Roman Territory; to whom the Senogalli, that had been beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the Venetians, and the (b) Cenomanni, adhered to the Romans: as better believing in their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear about whose incursions therefore, the Gauls were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of Milan: with the rest of their forces they entered into Tuscan. The Romans hearing of this danger, sent Emilius to Rimini, to stop their passage; and in the place of C. Atilius their other Consul, who then was in Sardinia, they implored one of their Prators, for the defence of Tuscan.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerful Army, which the Gauls had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no less willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consul they sent forth to the war four Legions of their own: every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies thirteen thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the Sabines and Hetrurians fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which Army was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria. Of the Umbri and Sarsinates, which inhabited the Apennines, there were twenty thousand; and of the Venetians and Cenomanni, other twenty thousand.

(b) Cenomanni are the people about Rhodanus, on the north side of the River Po in Italy. There were also of these Cenomanni in France, and inhabited the Country of Maine.

land: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the General Army of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertain chances of war, thirty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, garrisoned in *Rome* itself, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and above these great troops; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbered four score thousand foot, and five thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seventy thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the *(g) Lapyges* and *Messpyges*, fifty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *(h) Marsi*, *(i) Marsumi*, *(k) Ferentians*, *rentians*, and the *Vesuvii*, of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanians* jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were registered two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about six thousand horse. Calling up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. But the number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead pay; for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he falls short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great soever this muster was, it seems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Italy*: at what time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects, he took a Roll of all persons able to bear arms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arin their slaves, even for want of other Soldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helms: though the *Roman Citizens* were, in

general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter preparations, the *Gauls* keep on their way: and entering into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman Army*, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had mislead of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discovered the *Roman Army*, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such as well befitted those that had none other occupation than war; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* return, charge them, and kill six thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the coming of the Consul, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should give the *Romans* battell, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneroestius*, one of their Kings, persuades them, rather to return into their own Countreys; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carriage, pest or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing that they were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the wars of these later ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extrem dangerous to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn

head;

head; yet in always going on from the pursuing enemy, they find within few miles, either straight, hedge, ditch or place of disadvantage, which they are enforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knows it as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the field, perceives and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make retreat, are always in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be engaged; and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retreat be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503, upon a retreat made by the *Marquess of Sal*, doth testify no less. For although a great troop of *French* horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Boiss* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroff* overthrown by the *Marquess of Marignan*, because he could not be persuaded to dislodge the night before the *Marquess* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French King Francis* the first wisely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night, as many other the most advised Captains, (not finding themselves in case to give battell) have done. *J'en trouve point* (saith the Marshall *Monluc*) *ant fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraite; I find nothing in the art of war so difficult as to make a safe retreat.* A sure rule it is that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la Noue* gives this judgement of a days retreat, made in *France*, presently before the battell at *Moncontour*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation, in shew, not to dislodge by night; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Cout de Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retreat at *Moncontour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the *Protestant Army*, then broken and disbanded; of which my self was an eye-wit-

ness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gauls*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* follows them as near as he can, without engaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius*, the other Consul, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gauls* inclosed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To sustain *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gauls* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gauls* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consul: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gauls*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestius*, with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatal overthrow, the *Gauls* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gauls*, to repair their forces, as the *Gauls* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boji*; but by reason of the great rains that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Genoimanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Offices; because the *Angures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foretold little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gave battell unto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bear him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Country of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in process of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gauls* about this time desired peace; and were like to have obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates* following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the Consuls halted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerre*, a Town not far from *Novarra* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already in the Dutchy of *Milan*.) To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clasidium*, a Town in the same Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerre*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clasidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls coming, and met him upon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personal valour,

that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slew and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great Victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* General slew the General of the enemies, with his own hand. To this kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cesar*, were better men of war than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima spolia*, The Armour of a General slain by themselves, when they were Generals, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerre* was yielded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpiners*, or *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Lombardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City itself, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possessed by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlaws and Thieves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing always open, when they had any war) (save once in the reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, untill the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their Gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick War.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

HANNIBAL, the Son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old, when he was chosen General of the *Carthaginian* forces in Spain. He was elected by the Army, as soon as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barches*) that had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been less envied by these domestical enemies, if the Allies and friends of the *Barchine* house, had not also born the whole sway in Government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This general good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar* in saving his Country from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained, by the same good Arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to tax the virtue of their enemies, that was unprovable; nor to perform the like services unto the common-weal; had nothing left whereby to value themselves, excepting the general reprehension of War, and cautious advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned other-whiles with detractions; saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppress the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill-will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no less *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himself. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were the never so quiet, and officious; unless she should yield to become their subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until

the *Romans* could find some good advantage, to renew the war: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilst their own cattle was in good case, the war should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yield unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon terms of disadvantage.

This disposition of his Country-men, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this business) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without molestation; there was good hope that he should find friends and assistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the *Roman* Armies in foreign wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that Spanish Towns alliance with her half friends. So should he assuage both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (faith *Livie*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war against *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needful to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the *Romans*. First therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Oleades*; and having besieged *Althea* (*Livie* called it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few daies, Master not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he first undertook, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagina*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoils he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the war against the (a) *Vaccæi*; and without any great difficulty, was first *Salmanica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, (b) *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martial judgment. For all such of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear arms, being made desperate by the spoil of their Country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Oleades*, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joyning themselves with the *Tolletani*; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men: and layed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborn* in *Portugal*. These four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never saw enemy, upon whom he durst not give charge; were thoroughly resolved, that his natural valour would at this time no less neglected the cold advice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to do, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himself a body of Crystal, that all men may look thorow him, and discern all the parts of his disposition, makes himself (withall) an As: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wife men, though they have single hearts in all that is just and virtuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottoms: which when others look into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle *Carthaginian*, when he served un-

der *Asdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the most adventurous, but that which may be seem a Captain, or inferior Commander, doth not alwayes become a Chief; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have been found more fortunate than wise. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himself from the River-side, as if fearful to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should thrust themselves in fury and disorder, into the swift stream, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear (the defences on the contrary side. But when *Hannibal* saw them in their way, and well-near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a kind of *Lance de Gay*, sharp at both ends, which they held in the midst of the staff; had such an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their strokes, clattered together, and unable to move or shift their bodies, as on firm ground, that they flew all those (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entered into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that side the River of *Therus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines* perceiving the danger towards them, cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and be-moaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed; only because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that War should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls (should be sent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africa*. But others went more *Roman*-like to work, and carried it. So it was only concluded; that Embassadors should be sent into *Spain*, to view the state of their confederates: which were indeed none other than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war against *Rome*, it was likely that he should give them, ere it were long,

long, a more plausible occasion to take Arms against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power to determine what they lifted themselves, upon the report of these Embassadors; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadors *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Historian of sincerity lefts questionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagina*, and had conference with him, though such as left them doubtful. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal's* whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more pre-emptory Embassage (as *Livie* confesseth) and fall to disputation about the covenants of Peace; if they had rejected that which was sent, upon none other pretence than prevention of war.

Whilest the Embassadors passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but some *Roman* pretences, against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that should do as the *Romans*; and implore his help against the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, and having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himself hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more ado, but sate down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embassadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions: not only because the War, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not halcy to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, until they had an Army in readines to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the feat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharim*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himself over-straightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions; or rather because he was of an unthankful disposition. The commotion of the *Gauls*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: to whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kind, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Isles of *Greece*; against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and seized upon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the business with the *Gauls* was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun, when he declared himself by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Emilius*, was sent against him: who in seven daies won the strong Town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terror upon the Country round about, that Embassadors were sent from all places, to yield themselves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: in which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not been too foolish. *Emilius* landed a great part of his Army in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning with twenty ships before the Town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power illud out against the Consul, and was soon intercluded from the Town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a Greek, where he had shipping ready for him, and imbarqued himself: leaving all his estate unto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This business, though it were soon dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* sate down, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave fallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their General received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lye many daies unable to move. Nevertheless, he was not undimfull of his work in the mean

mean while; but gave order to raise certain movable Towers, that might equal those which were built on the walls of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the Towns-men with continual travel, that at length it got within the walls; and was only hindered from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were so severe, and without all compass of honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assign some other place for their habitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustain themselves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other arms, to defend them, than their nails and teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept wherewith to pay his Army: the slaves and other booty, he divided among his Soldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his

friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These tydings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to send help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight months, looking still for succour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent Embassadors again to *Carthage*: demanding only, Whether it were by general consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made war upon *Saguntum*: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Common-wealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the General of our Army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counsel; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to ask us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; Whether it were lawful or unlawful for *Hannibal* to do as he hath done. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lucius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lucius*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawful for the *Romans*, to disavow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctual and precise warrant; the fameliberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour to perform those bargains which *Asdrubal* hath made for

for us, without our commandment and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meer cavil. For *Lucius* the Consul, in his Treaty of Peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better to have dealt plainly, and to have alleged, That after this League was made and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withal of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inferred their names into the Treaty of Peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other business between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of Peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoever we require; else will we make War, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken*.

But this the *Carthaginians* did not allege, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livie* herself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge: we may reasonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrel, to shew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliver unto them in plain terms the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you your self have a fancy to offer us. Many then (quoth

Fabius) take the War, and share it among you: Which the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make War, it was merely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of Peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty sword, and the empty purse, do always plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (seeing Peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kind of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second of *France*, with the *Imperials*, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Dout John*, with the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* the second of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great *Embargo* he took all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His Father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his Father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge of their Predecessors, that as soon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain, and Africk. His Journey into Italy.

WARR being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*,
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untill he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second Punick War; second to none that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*; where he licenced his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave instructions to his Brother *Asdrubal* for the Government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many troops of *Spaniards* into *Affrick*, to equal the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Affrick* thirteen thousand, eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected four thousand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; and he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their several States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his Brother, to guard the Coasts and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* and *Affrick*; he sent discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alps*. He also sent Embassadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his force, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadours and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he pass'd over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who fate still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without

asking leave: which that others might not also do, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey seemed the less tedious unto those that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he pass'd the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Arms to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Volce*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his coming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivarez*, and *Lyonnais*. For although many of them had transported themselves and their goods, into the Countrey of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further bank against him: yet such as remained, being very desirous to see their Countrey of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their Countrey-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of corn and cattel wasted, by the long stay off a great Army, as lay upon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher up the River; and lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Army were in readines; he sent *Hanno*, the Son of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was, that *Hanno* charging the *Gauls* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make rafts of trees, and cover them with Earth and Turf; whereof he fastned one to each bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose upon which the beasts were towed over.

Having past this first brunt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defended it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gauls Cisalpine*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from

from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alps*; that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extremely incumbered by the *Savoyans*; and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other side. And whereas his Journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen dayes travel, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this passage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory; gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made account to overcome, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vain solicited the *Spaniards* and *Gauls* to take their part. The Rebellion of the *Cisalpine Gauls* against the *Romans*.

THE Countries of *Spain* and *Gaul*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way home-ward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*, from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* persuade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise than to? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, have been utterly

rooted out, and destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I think, I may answer for the rest of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadours took their way towards the *Gauls*; using their best arguments to persuade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, thorow their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themselves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gauls* laugh't them to scorn, and had hardly the patience to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibal's* passage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies, who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this displeasing answer the Embassadours returned home, carrying no good news, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Maffilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gauls* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gauls* gave hasty proof. For when the news was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stir up the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners

Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flye to *Modena*: where they beſieged them. The ſiege of *Modena* had continued ſome ſmall time; when the *Gauls*, having little ſkill in aſſaulting Cities, waxed weary, and ſeemed deſirous to have peace, and to come to ſome good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpoſe, to draw ſome meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hoſtages in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wiſh. For the *Romans* ſent out Embaſſadours to treat with them, and to conclude a Peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in theſe quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haſte to the relief of the beſieged. But the *Gauls*, having laid a ſtrong ambuſh in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor ſo opportunely, as he was utterly overthrow, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by ſhift running to a little village, but deſenſible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Attilius*, another of the Prætors, was haſtily ſent to relieve the beſieged with a Legion, and five thouſand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Conſuls Army, and ſupplied by a new levy.

As the *Gauls* were too raſh and haſty; ſo were the *Romans* too ſlow, and indeed too ill-adviſed, in the beginning of this war. They were not perſwaded that *Carthage*, which had almoſt ſervilely endured ſo many indignities in time of the late peace; would be ſo brave and courageous on the ſudden, as to attempt the conqueſt of *Italy* it ſelf. Wherefore they appointed one of their Conſuls to make war in *Spain*, the other in *Aſtick*: reſting ſecure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Aſtick*, with an hundred and ſixty *Quingueremes*, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which preparation may ſeem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it ſhall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Conſul, made all poſſible haſte, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and uſed ſuch diligence, having the wind alſo favourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Maſſilia*. There he was advertiſed of *Hannibal* his having paſſed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found buſie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had alſo news of the Conſuls arrival: whereof he was neither glad, nor ſorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them ſent forth Scouts to diſcover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about

five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horſe. Theſe met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having ſlain only two hundred, and loſt of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found aſſuredly true) with an intent to look upon the walls of *Rome*. This interrupted his intended Voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless he ſent away thither his Brother *Cm. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his Fleet and Army, to try what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal*, and the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himſelf, taking with him a few choiſe bands, returned by Sea to *Piſa*; and ſo paſſing thorow *Tuſcane* into *Lumbar-die*, drew together the broken troops of *Manlius* and *Attilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gauls*: with which forces he made head againſt the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travel of his painful Journey.

S. IV.

Scipio the Roman Conſul overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Conſuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battle at Trebia.

FIVE Months *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious Journey from *Carthage*; what great muſter he could make, when he had paſſed the *Alpes*, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thouſand, and his horſe at twenty thouſand; others report them to have been only twenty thouſand foot, and fix hundred horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf in his monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeeth with the latter ſumm. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyined with him, are likely to have mightily increaſed his Army, in ſhort ſpace. But when he marched Eaſtward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſave thoſe remembered by himſelf in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have periſhed by diſeaſes, enemies, Rivers and Mountains; which miſchiefs had devoured, each their ſeveral ſhares.

Having newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce reſtreſhed his wearied Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he fought to win the friendſhip

(a) Theſe dwell about Ticinum, a goodly City, now ſubſequent to the Duke of Savoy: which from them took the name of *Augusta Taurina*.

of the (a) *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and reſuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town; and won it by force in three daies. Their ſpoil ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran thorow the whole Country: which joyed, or was all in readineſs to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the news of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrival, made ſome to be more adviſed than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten thorow the moſt deſenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryal of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behind him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibal's* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrival. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicily*, giving him to underſtand hereof: and letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbear to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelf. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybaeum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo near, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon both of them

prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed upon certain priſoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italy*. For theſe, having been no leſs miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to be delivered from their miſeries by any kind of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gauls* were wont to uſe in ſingle combats. Every one of theſe unhappy men wiſhed, that his own lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt be his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victory.

That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſolutely: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. This were ſome few couples matched, it killed not how equally: for all theſe poor creatures were willing, upon whatſoever uneven terms, to rid themſelves out of ſlavery. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought alſo upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but even him alſo, who being ſlain in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their General perceiving what impreſſion this dumb ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their own condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to run the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetual ſlavery: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelf any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountains, the Rivers, the great diſtance

stance from their own Countries, and the pursuit of mercilefs Enemies, mult needs reach all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own soil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many waies to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same Necessity, (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way press them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantial Argument, That there was no mean between Victory and Death, encourage his Companions. For, (saith a great Captain of France) *La commodité de la retraite avance la fuite; The commodity of a retreat, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, had they triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (saith he) ye your selves may make judgment what daring they have now remaining, after so many travails and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Roon*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran headlong towards the *Alps*: thinking it a less dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharp swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut down his

people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicily*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the grofs of his Army, with his Horse; and the *Roman* having alio with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gauls*, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their troops, to assist them: himself with his *Roman* men at arms, followed softly in good order. The *Gauls* (whether desirous to try the metal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for fear of being trodden down by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gauls* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well back. Neither was the Consul unmindful to relieve them: their hardiness deserving his aid; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needful. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his Son (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consul; an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compass them about, whilst he with his men at Arms sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ran away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose looks were fastned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betook them to their speed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wisdom, having lost so many of his Fleet upon the first puff of the wind, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest overtook him. For he saw by the low-riding morning what manner of day it was like to

to prove. Therefore his battail of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the retreat; and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left six hundred of his Rear behinde him: who were the last that should have passed, and staid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of War, *Sicertamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles attripat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be understood in this sort: If a General of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the success; or find his Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable to steal a safe retreat, than to abide the uncertain event of battail.

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could pass the River; *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and easing himself of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soon as *Hannibal* presented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Camp; the *Gauls*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Aneroestus*, *Britomarus*, and *Gessates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and slew many especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismissed them to their own places: as men likely to be of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consul stole a retreat, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himself with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow; if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoil, had not staid to ranck up their Camp: and thereby given time to all (save some few in Rear, that were slain or taken) to pass the River of *Trebia*, and save themselves. *Scipio*, being both unable to travel by reason of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the coming of his fellow-Consul; incamps himself strongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessity required that he should fo

do; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gauls* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hostages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Clasidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundusian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The news of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their loss received; seeing that in a manner, all their Foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him sent out of *Sicily*, awaited his coming. He therefore halted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyed in one, the Consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* received from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal's* arrival; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled; which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gauls*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affairs in those parts; fought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himself the sole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary; objecting the unlikelihood of the new come Souldiers: and withall, gave him good reason, to assure him that the *Gauls*, naturally unconstant, were upon terms of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to find out the dishonour

which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gauls*; he no less feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gauls*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessities, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fly to the *Romans* for help: and to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gauls*. Therefore he sent out a thousand Horse: which coming unlooked for upon *Hannibal*'s forragers, and finding them heavy laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own Camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* rally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battel ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in general desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the persuasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was adverted by the *Gauls*, his Spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, overgrown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choice

Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but forded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being therewith the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the arms they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The mass of these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their Light-armed, and Darters, in loose troops in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodness. When therefore the *Roman* horse ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot, were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the Horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferior in Horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or uneven grounds & wood-lands, would have been of no use. His second error was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grossly over-reached, and insinuated, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one faith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army tyred with travel, to*

an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of mind is but as an unprofitable vapour.

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got there-with into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showers; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearyed. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying, through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer than could have made resistance; if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*; where he did his office in chusing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with afresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of Hannibal from the Cisalpine Gauls into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roman Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Trasymene.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans* who, being not able to keep the field, lay warm in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarms: assailed divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two *Roman* Questors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in straight places, laden with Irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well intreated, but sent them to their Countries, without ransom; with the protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason would them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting

their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be descryed, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Apennines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddy companions and bring the war nearer to the gate of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Army greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more servicable friends abroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the *Apennine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needles to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes always foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of war, together with the resistance and fortifications which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscan*. In those Marshes, and bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading thorow deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, he lodged about *Arretium*; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entered into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should

detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town, and meant to take possession of his Office when the day came at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunctions, and hastening to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arctium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Romans*; hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Country between *Fesule* and *Arctium*, he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have listened still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of France hath said; *Pays geste n'est pas perdu; A wasted country is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Co-league. But of this he could not abide to hear; saying, that he came not to defend *Arctium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse, and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest, saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto; for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withal, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousy, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the lake of *Thrasimene*, was on a light fire; which while the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* to undividedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambush cunningly laid for him between the Mountains of *Cortona*

and the Lake. There was he charged with arrows, on all sides, (save only where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carcases of his Country-men. About six thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard, took courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation: and breaking throw the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity had wrought the effects of hardiness, was well adwaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fog that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon, the Air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they staid not to lament it; for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were decryed and attached by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return into the fight. For, decryed they were, and *Mabarbal* sent after them, who overtook them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yielded the next day, rendring up their arms, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm, saying, that it was made by *Mabarbal* without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or add unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargains; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded Peace: then can *Hannibal* be as *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousness gaineth no more in prosperity, than it loseth in the

the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ransom; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in straight prison, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the general safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation confirmed by success of many ages, is not lost in one or two battles. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battle of *Thrasimene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thousand *Roman* horse, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but, coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Mabarbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company: who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost half of them, drave the rest unto a high piece of ground, where they came down, and simply yielded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himself was in the mean time skirmishing with the *Gauls*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easy to discern the fruits of popular jealousy, which persuaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errors, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up: but the year before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battle, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and loss; else would he

not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hally to fight, before the arrival of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his Government of *France* ten years, *Cæsar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can do, to inform it self, within one years compass, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of them have returned as wife as they went out; others have profited more, & yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and Government, sitting the Country, they have been called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever been the old course of the World, rather to follow the errors, than to examine them: and of Princes and Governors to uphold their slothful ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likeness of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perwaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius the Roman Dictator, sought to conjure the force of *Hannibal*, by lingering War. Minutius the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rashly upon *Hannibal*, and as like to perish with his Army, and rescued by Fabius.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than ever did war since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Souldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could

could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only fought honour, and fought (as it were, upon a bravery; demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, and his ability; which to withstand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictator's power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto contrivance of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were, if that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the one Consul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the best reputed man of war in the City. *Novum fulgus novum consilium expetit, contrarij winds, contrarij courtes. Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which Officer was customarily as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matters of Religion: a good beginning and commendable, had the Religion been also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion; then must we believe that those books of *Sybil*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified, as having not been rightly made before: also that great Plays should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other Trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passions; whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their Sons return alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bear witness, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The Walls and Towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the Bridges upon Rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of *Rome* itself. In this tumult,

when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* Fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in Spain. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Serolius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Offia*, to pursue them: whilst he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*, four Legions he had levied in haste: and from *Ariminum* he received the Army which *Serolius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he always lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*; and made his dispatches from *Carthage*; presenting his friends, which were in effect, all the Citizens with part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their patterns in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia* a Northern Province of the Kingdom of *Naples* spoiling the *Murrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: only he had assailed *Spoletum* a Collony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent in a great siege. This the Protestant Army found true at *Pesicert*, a little before the battle of *Moncontour*; and their victorious enemies, anno after at *S. Jean d'Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wife. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise, as should detain him; and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battle, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But

Fabius

Fabius would not bite. He knew well the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in Spain, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no officer seen the enemy, than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* foener, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the country from utter spoil. He injured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to look on the *Lyon* afar off, that in the end he might sit on his tail.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*: taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indifferency and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battel: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be persuaded, to adventure the *Roman* Army in battel: but being far too weak in horse, he always kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight; that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in fight, though afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was laden with spoils in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must pass along by the Dictators camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Collicula*, and *Callinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-country, which he had already wasted; into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer error of his guide, that he first entered within these Straits. For he would have been directed unto *Callinum*, whence he might both assay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under-hand, and hinder the *Romans* from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide mis-understood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Callinum* to *Callinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should

not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose horns he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army recovered fire ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him and the City, whilst the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barns and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully persuaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtlety and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extrem peril of death.

death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no less glad, that he should play with a more adventurous Gamester. Therefore he drew near, and to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third part of his Army to waste the Country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, won it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his Horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his own men, terrify his enemies, and give him leave to forage the Country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many days issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battle to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the foragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and laden with booty, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Adruval* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This emboldened *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not much hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the news, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own Camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius* and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saying that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline, and fearfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so likewise, and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly. That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these Sermons every one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our only Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider, what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the War to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and confer it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people

people hereto, I should seem to do him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, That the Matter of the Horse may be joined in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor less necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill persuaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficial at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his general intent, and care of the Weal-publique, was less than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was in that manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation, not one of the principal Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the State at several times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Tarentinus Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the son of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew by often brabbling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard pull at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility; saying, That it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they sought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by War; especially by War at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor mans living, and find him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wife; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Country, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed,

Before this busy day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of new Consul, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finished all requisite business, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the camp as soon as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the Horse equal to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him by lot, according to the custom. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that withal of the Army he could not work such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best, and so taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile and a half from the Dictator. Needful it was (though *Livy* seems to tax him for it) that he should so do. For where two several Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joyed in Commiſſion, but have each intire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp shall not hold them both without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither finds fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two Consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turns. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractory, and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it; as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

It behoved the Master of the horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less careful of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could

not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoining, had many and spacious caves; able some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places Hannibal bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But left by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needful care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (feeling that Hannibal seconded his own troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself & his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by halting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius*'s approach, Hannibal retired: fearing to be well wetted with a shower, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilst his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corficans*; passed over into *Africa*; and there negligently failing to spoil the country, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the loss of 1000 men. Weighing anchor there-

fore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicily*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans prisoners in the Castle of Cannæ. The new Consuls set forth against Hannibal.

With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principal Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custom; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* General had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpful to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behaved him to strike, whilst the iron was hot: his own worth being little or none; and his credit over weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commonalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that Hannibal was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two; but, had all been joynt together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul,

Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needful to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could with more, than to keep it, by well-deserving of them. By such persuasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other virtue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alleged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed (either as was pretended) for some religious impediment; or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls: This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*; and governed successively, by the space of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Vigiles*, carrying the *Falces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with those Ensigns of power. This custom was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well allayed. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publicly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour born unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fa-

thers, against the virtue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed to manifest, that when the People had urged the business to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that both, to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpected, and heated man, one of great sufficiency and reputation, should be joynt with him, as both Companion and Opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who a few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great business of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, he, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in mind each of them in his second Consulship wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befall that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus* omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more, than once to have a fight of Hannibal, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might find the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is

uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hierò the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barley, and other Provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruins, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly balanced. He gave them also counsel, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Othacilius* the Prator, which was to go into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africa*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger account by *Poll*, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus*, another of the Prators, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip*, the Son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battle. Many skirmishes they

had with them; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannus*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessities, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Cannus*: for the Town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his Horse, longer than the *Romans*, having to many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battle, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Piece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battle with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of *Italy*. Nevertheless answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a Power sufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was always done with great solemnity: especially, whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good success and Victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Volunteers for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Emilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to do his Country remarkable service. *Terentius* his

Attendants

Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troop no less in greatness, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to have exhorted the Consul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous folly of his fellow-Consul. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his best for his Country, but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less rashness to adventure upon the Enemies sword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diffension between the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battle of Cannas.

THESE new Generals, arriving at the Camp, dismissed *M. Atilius*, one of the last years Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weakness: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad success hitherto, had gathered more cause of fear, than of courage. He willed them to consider not only now, their victories in time past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no less than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. He told them in what danger their Country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of persuasion. But the most effectual part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambush he had stolen the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* and *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, until he was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darkness whereof he went groping (as it were blind-fold) into their snare:

Finally declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their best. They were easily persuaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* virtue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to think, that under a Captain so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Emilius* was known to be, they should easily prevail against the *Carthaginians*, that came short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not always thrive. But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, having preconceived a victory, thought all delays to be impediments: and thereby sought to rob themselves of their best help; which was, Good conduct. They remembered what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the war quickly; wherein since *Emilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them, forbear to use it: Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no less popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is always tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtful passions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diffension* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Emilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy mult shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places less fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last years provisions, return into *Campania* to gather a second Harvest? This would (said *Varro*) favour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth favour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turns interchangeably every day. *Emilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where

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the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come, he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless, he fate down close by *Hannibal's* wife, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilst it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their *Pelites*, some troops weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Emilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lie upon the Eastern bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight than at this present; because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equal terms. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himself, expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannae*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army foraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Livie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*; telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Livie*) but ten dayes provision of meat. He had no money to pay his Souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stola away into *Gaul* with all his horse, and left his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsel, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southernmost parts of *Apulia*; to the

end, that both his unfaithfull Souldiers might find the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilst he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which he most desired, even to fight a battel upon open Champain ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam* [dicuntur] *agitasse*; *Hannibal* [is said] to have bestowed himself of flying into *Gaul*: where he makes it no more than a matter of hearsay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process it self, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, coming out of *Gaul*, thorow the *Marishes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could find victuals enough, and all things needfull unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially since he had plaid the careful Husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Suitable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but Corn and Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the general agreement of Historians; who give it as a principal commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he always kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations, no less different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men soever fought bravely with an enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and swore, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaul*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal* being there with his whole Army, took lo

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little pleasure in the Country and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or could he be trusted, either there, or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live, having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable foot to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extoll their own Country-men; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to find in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye incamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of the day he began to pass the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him, and fought; as in former times, to have dissuaded him from putting the estate of his Country to a needless hazard. Against those words and substantial arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other than point of Honour. *Hannibal* had presented them battel at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Nuvidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans*; that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drave them shamefully to run within their defences; which also they made offer to assail: Must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Antitus* perceived that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Romans* he caused to be left behind, in the greater Camp opposite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal*

would be compelled to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the battel, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrifie and distract the enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the lesser Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battel: the ground on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause, and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; he bade them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (saith he) pray for any greater fortune, than to joyn battel with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (saith he further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to mind that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in mind: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: how are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his Brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what news; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are

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(thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee, Brother, that among them all, I fear them never so diligently; thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing; and so did all that stood about him; which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no less troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his Brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more many; than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battel of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fifth: saying, That of the *Frenchmen*, there were now to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battel is in hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the business: especially, where other needful care is not wanting, without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself, expressing no less perfection of his military skill, than was greatness in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousness of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battel; he marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might do his best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Balcares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name, *Enfans Perdus*; but when we use our own terms, the *forlorn-hops*. The grofs of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thralymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*,

armed each after their own Country manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad fwords, that were forcible in a down-right stroak; the *Spaniards*, short and well pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navel upwards, as confident in their own fierceness: the *Spaniards*, wearing white Cassocks embroidered with Purple. This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew, and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soon wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were less eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughness of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the place which they held in this battel, added confidence joyfully unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests, and in *Gaul*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to employ the uttermost of their hardiness, as knowing that the enemy could not press far upon them, without further engaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse; by which he was able, if the worst had hapned, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance, leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be over-hardly pressed. So, casting them into the form of a *Crescent*, He made them as it were his Vanguard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened and thickned against all impression. The circle

hereof

hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it: though such figures, cut in brass, as I have seen of this Battel, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, doubtless well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalions and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Lævi* saith *Mahabul*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, and the leading of the Rear. The whole sum of *Hannibal's* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usual form: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troops might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seems, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battels accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which this manner of imbatalling was very unprofitable, so far as that their charges better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Emilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yield for very weariness unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horsemen, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the battel. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having

their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

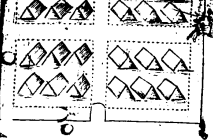
After some light skirmish, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and Slingers of the *Balcares*; *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered: not after the manner of service on horse-back, as in those times, wheeling about *Alman* like; but each giving on a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and break throw. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting up again, they began to deal blows like footmen. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over-born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, were not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequal both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battels came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough, to break that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gauls* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battel drew towards the midst; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and fly back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear: and were with no less haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behind them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and so far as the Rear, or Horns of this Moon, pointed into the safe retreat, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retreat, or flight of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half Moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof disordered and broken though it were; when it was forced to turn the inside outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and recoving very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance.

§ ffff

(f nice)

stance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principal strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, behind: and forward they could not pass far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easy. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Crescent*, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiscerned, until now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themselves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of slaughter; had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior Captains: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, having broken the troops of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River side, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himself was either driven upon his own Legions, or willingly did cast himself among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless he cheered up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: bearing down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battle; and with better success. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troop of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harm; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company alighted, thinking that the Consul had given order so to do: as in many battles, the *Roman* men at arms had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consul had willed his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was marvelously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Marshall*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great sandy Plain, raised a foul dust; which a strong South wind, blowing there accustomedly, drove into the eyes and mouths of the *Romans*. These, using their advantage both of number and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battails were even ready to join; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behind their backs, (as was the manner of those which yielded) and throwing down their arms, rendered themselves. This was good luck to begin withal, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Under their jackets they had short swords and poniards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field of such as were slain, and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain level ground, found means to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal* (having in short space broken the *Roman* troops of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Company of *Emilius* that rushed into the grove of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their own Battalions) did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back

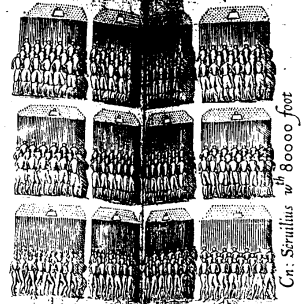
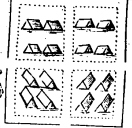
The greater
Camp of the
Romans



The lesser
Camp of
the Romans



The Roman Camp
beyond the river



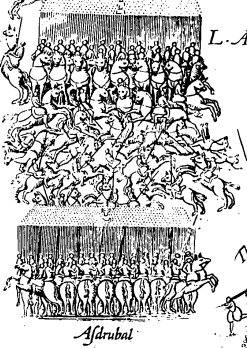
C. Scruilius w 80000 foot

L. Emilius Paulus

The Roman
Vidites

C. Terentius Varro

Agrius fluvius



Mabral

The Balans

Spaniards & Gauls

Afri

Afri

Hanno or Mabral

The Camp of
Hannibal



cans

cans

Hannibal & Mago



back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behind it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismal storm unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatness of his own peril; nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thrunk from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have endured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying troops, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pittiful slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whilst every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw nearest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consul sitting all bloodied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himself; offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing *Lentulus* to shift for himself, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of that day's loss. Further, he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius*: willing them to fortifie *Rome*, as fast as well they could; and telling *Fabius*,

that he lived and died mindful of his whole some counsel. These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawn to that battel, or when he beheld the first defeat of his horse; at what time he put himself in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul and his troop, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Croſs of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeed as within a sack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whilst the battel yet lasted, and whilst the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himself; was now (had he never so well been mounted) unable to fly, having in his way so close a throng of his own miserable followers, and so many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battel he fought no less valiantly, than he had warily before, both abstained himself, and dissuaded his fellow-Consul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lien in his power to save his own life unto the good of his Country, never more needing it; I should think, that he either too much disesteemed himself; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* virtue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, son to that famous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battel of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, and acceptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livie* saith) escaped into the lesser Camp; whence the same night, about six hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with such

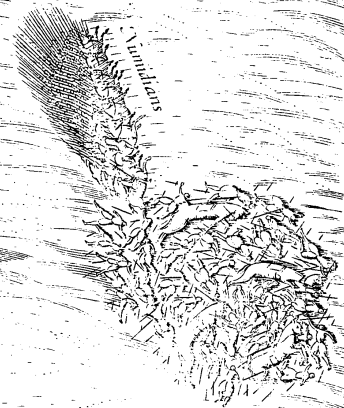
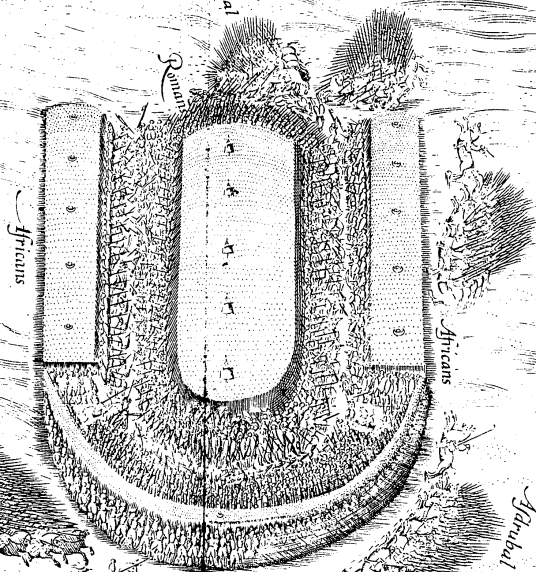
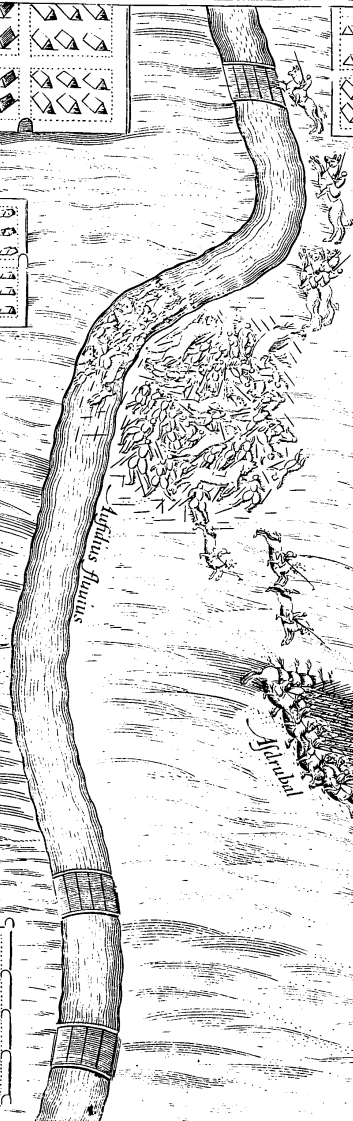
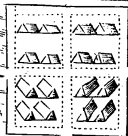
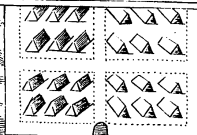
of those in the greater Camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troops, partly dispersed into *Cannussum*: the next day the *Roman* Camps, both less and greater, were yielded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: only he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of *Ausidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the Camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-near done, the battel was lost: and *Hannibal*, coming over the water to them, drave them into their own Camp; which they quickly yielded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, coming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilst their fellows, making defence in vain, retired into their Camp, and held the enemy buied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behind the River; and *Terentius* the Consul recovered *Venusia*, with three score and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvel: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his nearest way thither, had been thorow the midst of *Hannibal's* Army, if the passage had been open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of fight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contra*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consul, but took other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slain, all save three hundred, who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battel of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Emilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* *Quæstors* or *Treasurers*, and one and twenty Colonels or *Tribunes* of the Soldiers, four score *Senators*, or such as had borne office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of special mark, as having been *Ædiles*, *Prætors* or

Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battel, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps, which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yielded in the greater Camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they find it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred Horse, or thereabouts: a loss not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he believed not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.

§. IX.

Of things following the Battel at *Cannæ*.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Tacitus* the *Roman*, and *Philostratus* the *Carthaginian*; who, regarding more the pleasure of them unto whose honour they consecrated their travels, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* *Quirites*, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantial arguments, to justify his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either



either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deserved, of his own Country. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter find in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat less *Roman*, or else, that some works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needful at the present: such is the repugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we find in the best narration of things following the Battel of *Canne*. For it is said, that four thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*; that others to the number of ten thousand got into *Canusium*, chusing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Canusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadors from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutual dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* Camp, and trussed up the spoils, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpinis*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first Town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his Brother *Mago* to take in other places, he halted into *Campania*. The general affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable

unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly endure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now after this great victory at *Canne*, he had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands; rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love by gifts, pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whilest all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them that he bore no mortal hatred unto their Elitae; but being provoked by injuries, sought to right himself and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of these two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage* should bear sovereign Rule, not which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to chuse ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransom: and together with these he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and General of his Horse, to feel the disposition of the Senate, whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these Arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past, but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not untill the former Generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all in *Italy* most bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutual affinities therewith as straightly conjoynd, as were any save the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania is the most goodly and fruitful Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the Country, whereof it was Head; so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no less convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*.

But of all qualities, Bravery is the least requisite unto sovereign command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like *Jayes* by their fathers, despised the unfortunate virtue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other Cities, that bore especial regard unto the Majesty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular desires; whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their City to the *Carthaginians* shortly after the battle of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the nearness of the *Roman* Army, or some other fear of the *Capuans*, hindered them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or, had leisure served, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle usage, and free dismissing of some prisoners in good account among them) unable to hold any such negotiation, without advice of the Senate, which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yield up their Town to *Hannibal*, and meet him on the way, with some of their Nobility that should assure him of all faithful meaning, were driven to sit still in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens; who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding to tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawful government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to fear lest the Senators would become the Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more straight subjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made use of, to serve his own ambition. He discoursed unto the Senate, as they sat in Counsel, about those motions troubling the City: and said, That he himself had both married a *Roman*

Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forsaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to join themselves with *Hannibal*, who should countenance the fact, and save them harmless. This he spake, as a man well known to be beloved himself by the people, and privy unto their designs. Having thoroughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promised nevertheless to deliver them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; he called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that these wicked Governors were surprised by his policy, and all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should chuse a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearsing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he asked what their judgement was of those. All cried out, That they were worthy of death. Chuse then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for such an election, was silent, untill at last some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, baseness and insufficiency; or else even because they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the fittest man to be substituted, having been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtless) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obsequiousness, to court the people, giving the

the people unto their lawless Will, who else were likely to cast them down. All the City being thus of one mind; only fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battle at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed; and few there were that would open their mouths to speak against the rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serve the *Romans* in the Isle of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent unto *Tarentum* the Consul, to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Fear. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their States, and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them the greatness of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, That all was lost; and that the *Campanians* must now not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themselves, but make war in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campanians* against the *Sannites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish Invektive against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, how he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcasses, and to feed upon mans flesh, with such other stuff, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campanians* themselves, he put them in mind of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*; the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions; that the *Campanians* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Laws; That no Citizens of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campanians* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as themselves would chuse, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, opposed himself earnestly; using, in vain, many persuasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multi-

tude; whom he put in mind of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were lending Embassadors unto *Hannibal*; and this also did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the Town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not far off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the Camp. This *Magius* refused: alleging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hastened himself towards *Capua*; forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*, which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, and was not well provided to lay siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnity and pomp: all the people issuing forth of the Town, to behold the great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first entertainments, he came into their Senate, where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; he prayed them, that they would not use him as a *Campanian*, but a Traitor to the State, and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting to death a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campanians*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the Son of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilst he was at supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the Town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the

present they could lay hand ; or (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune , with those of *Capua*, ran some other Towns thereabouts which dependeth on this, as their Mother-City, *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Castine*, and *Acræ*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to find them weakly manned ; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled Towns ; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extrem fear of *Hannibal's* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Canne* : and the grief of that loss was so general , and immoderate , that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loss already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Couriers were sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went : whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition ; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatal books, buried alive two men and women, *Gauls* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions ; we may justly think that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked South-sayers ; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Ambassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo* ; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatness of their fear ; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prætor of *Offaculum* ; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africa*. In these were contained news of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the kingdom of *Hieron* their good friend and confederate ; and of another fleet, riding among the Isles *Ægeæ*, which was in readiness to set upon *Silybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Pro-

vince, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needful to call home *Tarentine* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take sovereign charge of the Weal-publick, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange ; that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate : which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the general reputation. If this coming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people : what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion ? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks ; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence : that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirits let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief : had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head ; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished from them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator ; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and one thousand horse : though with much difficulty ; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator ; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for the custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field ; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed ; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, that whosoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence,

offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arm these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up : among which, were 6000. Armour of the *Gauls*, that had been carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman*-like.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canne*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience, was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge ; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their suit ; which yet they obtained not. Besides the general custom of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken prisoner in the former War) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy, much was alladged against those who now craved ransom : but the special point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poor men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls ; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money ; and therefore could not want excuses ; whereby to avoid the disbursement : whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must we regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the war, are said to have cost more, than the sum did amount unto, that would have ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been severe ; when as indeed they were suitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Masters, at no more, than every one the

third part of a common Souldiers ransom : and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men ; yet must we withall consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) until the war should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen : but, seeing he dealt openly for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austerity, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the Souldiers that escaped from that great battel. These were charged for having fled : as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse : when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is fain to help it self, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now : condemning all those that had served at *Canne*, to be transported into *Sicily* ; and there to serve, not as others did, until they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or else were fifty years of age, but until this War should be ended, how long soever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure was afterwards laid upon others, for their mis-behaviour : but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other herebrained fools his companions ; who, being frightened out of their wits, with the terror of so great a loss, were devising, after the battel, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distasteful to the Commonality : and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the people ; nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no less apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull business within the City, took the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find : nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania* ; where (as

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may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evil : for of any evil done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ofstia*, with a Fleet ready to set sail for *Sicily*, having one Legion aboard his ships ; and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up : with which forces he was to defend that Island, and do what harm he could in *Africa*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he sent thence of his new Levy to *Rome*, for defence of the City ; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannifium* : delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them : who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian* ; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward ; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples* : affaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty : had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoil of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field : which if he laid waste, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude : and such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief ; a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especial mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans* ; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ* ; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman : and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why

one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* State, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personal valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that no thing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola* ; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans* : but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison ; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition ; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him : who although they durst not stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison ; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly beset, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus* : not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Town ; which he fought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers : whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise ; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised : and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls ; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three several gates, looking towards the enemy : he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder, against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them ;

them ; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault : which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing less, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field : suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected fall, more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him : the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force ; yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus* being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola* ; condemning above threescore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off ; and so leaving the Town in quiet obedience : unto their Senate, went and in-camped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the mean season was gone to *Acerre* : where being excluded, he thought it no wisdom to lose time in persuasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded, they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty : which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing news of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal* ; as being unwilling that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua* ; where he meant to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian* : who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battel, but by a sudden eruption ; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how crest-fallen they were : that having three years since demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be deliv-

ered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens ; could now please themselves, as with good news, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not a relick. At *Caslinum* the Dictator was not : but many Companies of *Italian*, Confederate of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about four hundred of *Ferussa*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battel at *Cannæ*, being sent by their several States to the Camp : whither whilst they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them, and sent them back forrowfull ; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard news from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua* : and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellows ; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturinus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors ; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountered with greater forces : but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with loss : and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined ; and they countermined : opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the Horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River : who fain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him an express charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come : his way being stopped by the overflows of *Vulturinus* ; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported : but if the water

stayed his journey, such intreaties were needless. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at Rome so long, as till extrem famine had consumed the Garrison in *Castine*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was lost, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of Corn were sent by night, floating down the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, stuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew green under the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the Carthaginians ploughed up the ground; whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seed. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Castine* until the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranfome; which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, according to his promise. Seven hundred Carthaginians he placed in *Castine*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Prætor* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their virtue, to be made Citizens of Rome. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were in *Prætor*: which is no weak proof, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the Roman Government. This siege of *Castine* was not a little beneficial to the Romans; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook him long before he could dispatch the business: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though effeminate it was, He therewithal did often beat the Romans in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

s. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage, to be sent to Hannibal into Italy. How by the malice of Hanno, and sloth or parsimony of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Romans Historians, how partial they were in their writings.

WHEN *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar* had spent some time about the taking in such Italians, as fell from the Romans after the battel at *Canna*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyful message of Victory. He told the Carthaginian Senate with how many Roman Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded or slain; how the stout Romans, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the Britains, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other people of Italy, that followed the fortune of those great victories, had revolted unto the Carthaginians. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief seat of their Dominion in Italy; and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained; where he meant to rest that winter attending their supply. As for the war, he said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war far from home, in the Enemies Country: that so many battels had much diminished his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberal rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian-friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other necessities; but that these things must be sent from Carthage, which the victory would requite with many amends. Finally, he caused the golden eagles, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were slain,

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to be poured out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatness of the Roman calamity, forasmuch as none but the principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

* Thus Livy reports it; and credible it is, that while Rome was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted; though otherwise *Jus Auspicis*, the wearing of the Ring, was the general privilege of the Roman Equites.

Who so considers the former *Punic War*, may easily find, that the State of Carthage never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvel, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perwader unto peace with Rome, Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yielded up unto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the Carthaginian Senators *Paires Conscripti*, by a term proper to the Romans; and putting them in mind of his own shamefull overthrow received at the Islands *Agates*: yet the sum of his speech appears to have been no less malicious than is set down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himself, at his departure out of Italy, exclaimed against the wickedness of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchinets*, had oppressed their Family, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, it ill befecomed him, who had vanquished the Romans to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their Camp, filled forthwith with spoil, to make request for meat and money. To these cavils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the Roman Camp: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio*'s are afterwards said to have done, when they wan the Camp of *Adrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of

Spain, in his journey towards Italy) then might such an objection more justly have been made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno*'s Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seek peace, whilst they had so much the better in war.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easy to say. For though it be likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing Italy from the danger of war; yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would have been kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shamefull overthrows; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve Carthage from ruine, longer, than until such time as Rome was at leisure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seem temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served only to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a main consent of the Senate, that forty thousand Numidians, forty Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, should be levied in Spain; not only to supply, as need should require, the Armies in their Province, but to be transported into Italy.

This great Aid, had it been as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed; the Roman Historians would not have found cause, to tax the retchless improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Canna* to Rome, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finished the business, with less dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following War. But either the too much carelessness of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than sense of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been so well set down. The * Elephants * Liv. l. 26. were sent: and some money peradventure, uncertain

uncertain it is how long after. But those great forces of threecore thousand foot, and four thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of war. Only some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Africanal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the War of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the loss of *Agathæ*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arm for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrrus* their Mother-City in the bottom of the Straights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When the time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it self, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* fallhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of Faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousy was bred, that this mighty City would again rebel. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatever should be enjoyed them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yielded up all their wea-

pons, and engines of War; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandize, by which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; a wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villanous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words, plainly shews, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thou I think*, and that *Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height wherunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilst the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skillful than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principal regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perwade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of trial, by fortune, against the enemies, or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the war, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and thus subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dull-

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Liv. l. 1.

ness, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perwaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set up all their reit at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible to hold a Country of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running War, by which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their main intendment against *Rome* it self, untill such time as every little thorn were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporie* have been besieged and forced: which, by reason of alliance with the *Maffians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of *Emporie*, was too strong to be won in haste: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified: a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Gracians*, though not over much trusted. Wherefore to force this Town of *Emporie*, that was, besides the proper strength, liko to be so well assisted by the *Maffians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little less difficulty, than was the *Romans* war (in appearance) after the battel at *Cannæ*: yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the feat of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong war upon their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the feat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accellary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at opportunities, and hope that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that

thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travel for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in general highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had been somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in general, were far less honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weal-publick above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complain, with feeling sighs, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let pass, as if it were coll enough to send a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* business, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon success of things in *Italy*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard and almost impossible to set down. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Livy*, the tender love of his own Country, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake, believe those lies, which the unpartial judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them original. It were needles to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in the life of *Amilcar*, set down by *Emilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such fort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* Soldiers, and the singular virtue of their General, insufling such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus*, when

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the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Eryx should lay down their arms and forsake *Stell*, threatening, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition: *Amilcar* boldly bade him chufe, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Arms which his Country had put into his hands to use against her enemies, it was not his purpose to yield up unto them. Now since the Romans, contrary to their custom upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his will, and not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were far from thinking him a man confuted with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; saying, That howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* and his Souldiers between other old Writers of the Roman story) and those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of Rome: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shameful overthrow at the Islands * *Agates*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at Eryx, as if both of them had had a like event; yet I elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of Carthage were never better, than a little before the loss of their Fleet in that battle at Sea; wherein himself was General. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in Spain, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, and others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his Rome, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

§. XI.

strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before *Aldrubal* the Son of *Amilcar* followed thence his Brother *Hannibal* into Italy.

I Thath been shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul returning from

Gaul into Italy, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the Alps, sent before him his Brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into Spain. Two Roman Legions, with fourteen thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in Spain against *Hannibal*; who, since he was marching into Italy with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* believed, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the Spanish Expedition; and therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his Brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himself remained in Italy all the time of his Consulship; which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into Spain by the Senate, with an Army of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in Spain against the *Carthaginians*; whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durst adventure to break it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arm the Naturals against these invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the Romans, were it only by the memory of such ill success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure; which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his Italian Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in Africa. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it; the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to say, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth answer. That if *Aldrubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say by him in Spain: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that

that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration. That *Aldrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battel, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, Elephants and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards the Pyrenees, and so toward Italy; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together. That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so have they said to have done in the last battel between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and Spanish, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio's* in Spain, not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven Town, not far within the Pyrenees, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the flame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto Rome, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself in to the love of the Barbarians, among whom, his dexterity inprudence had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand, than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some; others were to be hired with money; and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battel against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of Accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembered to insert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances never forgot, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; Majestyatem Pop. Rom. commiserant; which is, as *Tully* interprets it,

That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Majesty of the people of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome; yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became *ditionis Romanæ*, of the Roman jurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage thoward Italy; and therefore the more easily shaked out of obedience, particularly in the *Barguntians*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them such an apprehension of the Roman greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs) he made him not only Lieutenant-general over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but took from them all inferior Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*; with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joy, it being the custom of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indifferently into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanais*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the Spaniards and French; as more sensible still of the present evil which they felt, than regardless of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize: Tenthousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battel with *Scipio*, wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stiffum*, a Town hard by, and won it. But *Aldrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the Roman Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarraccon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the Country; and with great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he

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* Agates
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ante oculos
propositis,
Ec.
Liv. l. xii.
† Liv. 23.

Orat. pro
Cn. Balbo.

ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*, *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aid his Fleet; where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Albanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Aufentani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief Town; which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield; and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next news, that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romane*, subject unto *Rome*, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told us thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep Snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they fought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkning again unto

the comfortable promises of those that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own Country Laws, and not under Governours sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testify: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*, till when they were never thoroughly conquered.

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground, he took; and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given Hostages; whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to fly into the uttermost corners of the Land, and hide himself in *Lusitania*. Yet it follows, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebel; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him Hostages. These took from the *Carthaginians* three Towns, and vanquished him in two battels; wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two Brethren joyntly administered the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celiberian War*; the two *Scipios* did hand cum hand, without both fear or doubt, pass over *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many other, the same *Celiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*. *Bofar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be persuaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the Country, was by freely restoring unto them their Hostages; as resting without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* General; persuaded them, as he had done *Bofar*, to make the Liberty their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much love, if the

if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipios* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Africa*: He repairs his Fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*; because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an Island people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making a head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good success breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported; and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore presently sends word to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or, if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to employ they should find work more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse; *Asdrubal* must needs be gone: *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by Land

and Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countries he must pass, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great Impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipios*'s hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest Town in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*, who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battle with him; which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain; and few should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the *Romans* take and spoil; whereby (questionless) they are marvellously enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian Expedition*. This dayes event joyns all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are, That they have neither money, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an evil season; the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Canna*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent; how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere into the relation of things, whereof the truth is less questionable. At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipios* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with an

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Army

Army of threecore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinenna* is now in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgi*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Ilergetes* their nearest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The Town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resisted them: & having victrualled the place, encourage Town-men to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threecore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight Ensigns.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages when his Camp was taken after the battle by *Iberus*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubal*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castro Altim*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*,

Publius Scipio incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoefull, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons viclorie*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the Southern Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gefco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Betis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus*, to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fix and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtless) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Zigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battle fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* flee to *Auriges*;

Auriges; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* again; but kills not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entered into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Countrey once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it, as they need not to blush, for having so long forborn to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they won *Saguntum*: and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed Citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the Countrey of the *Turdetani*, that had ministered unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubal's* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporie*, an Haven Town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Messinians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by persuasion, other-whiles by force, & sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they

took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battails lately remembered, after every one of which *Asdrubal* fate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little less than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we hear before. That they had yielded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made war against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Livy* follows, to call every messenger, or straggler, that entered that camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to help the *Romans*: out of which, 3000. of the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of these three hundred return back unto *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal's* men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipios*, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the Enemies; who lie not far off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Antiochia*.

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With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago*, the Son of *Gefco*, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days march, and, by running into the furthest part of the Country save themselves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better Souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army, leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his Brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gefco*, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They join their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his Trenches; wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Manassia*, Prince of the *Masseylii*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with seven thousand and five hundred of the *Suesetani*, to join with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the Camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind; but come so fast upon him in a Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck thorow with a lance, and slain: very few of his Army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty daies after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own Country. If *Antiochus*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beutenius* takes it, a *Celtiberian* Town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they

should have had for hazarding their lives. *C. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable, without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to join with his Brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gefco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his Brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night, but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he finds of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his Camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio*'s Camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuse a General by most voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gefco*, coming upon them; this *L. Martius* do encourage his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats: the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely founds the retreat; relieving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished,

vanquished, and now again little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and, utterly despising him, set neither Corps de garde nor Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads him forth by night, and steals upon the Camp of *Asdrubal*; where, finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsie, he enters without resistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath preposited, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart; which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two Camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming, *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed, he comes early in the morning upon this further Camp; which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seven thousand of the enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* adds, that the Camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain; and that in another battel with *Asdrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livie* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battels. That, whilst *Martius* was making an Oration to his Souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head. *Livie* reports as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and tempe-

rately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name, which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these occurrences *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, he styled himself Propretor. The Fathers were no less moved with the trydals than the case required; and therefore took such careful order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the Companies levied to serve that Province, could be sent away; yet could they not stay a tyde for defence of the City it felt, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *Claudius Nero* was dispatched away with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and offered means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends; whom how to reclaim, it could not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the Brother of *Hannibal*; whom he found among the *Ausétani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a strait, whereon the *Roman* seized at the first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to

to incamp in such a place, I do not find : and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, that *Asdrubal* feeling himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*; upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parley with *Claudius* about his businels; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the Son of *P. Scipio* sent proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who after ward transferred the war into *Africa*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned; especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other virtues that purchase loves of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too

much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; how a Dragon (which might have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entering her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this Noble City might seem not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorn this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsul was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on a high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*; as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the two partial *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; and with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Cousadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinguerens* Gallies, with these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon*: amongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such Majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him; and so much the greater was their fear, by

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how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next Year) he did nothing; but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, intreating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprife was against new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slen-derly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some *Filhermen* of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the walls; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-Iland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Western side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the *Filhermen* of *Tarracon* had founded; and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low-water men might pass knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navel, *Scipio* thrust threinto some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walls without resistance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend itself by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livius* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, that some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of *Africa* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages (or at least of the adjoining Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie: restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due

to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Laetani*, nearest Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unfire token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set agood face on the matter; saying, that a young man, having stoln a Town by surprise, was too far transported, and overjoyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, Gate down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business,

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between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingering War of taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in trial of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*, his Vancurers charged to lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drove them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Romans* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore side, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazard of a battail, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drove both men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flye. Out of such a battel, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troops, and having marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, are reported after this to have

consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into *Italy*, whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Posthumus the Roman General, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedonia enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the Etolians, make war upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their business against the Carthaginians.

WE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoiced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good news from *Carthage* of such mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattle to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army: by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled Towns in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Canne*: but had he spent much time about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring following, until corn were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Canne*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious success, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battel; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the walls of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was

was wanting, unless they would freely yield it. But this great part of the care and travel was past, when so many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay siege unto that proud City, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I find not: only we find, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the Alps, had been lost in his journey through the Marshes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps inform him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to pass along through *Spain* and *Gaul*, as he himself had done; and increase the Army, by hiring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main strength of their City, to the hazard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needful provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfy his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year served, he took the field: and having finished what rested to be done at *Castinum*, fought to make himself Master of some good Haven town thereabout; that might serve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to do what else was needful, he sent *Himilco* unto the *Locris*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Isles of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, since the siege of *Rome* must needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slew above two thousand of his men; with the loss of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* sped far better. By help of the *Bruttians*, his good friends, he won *Petelia*,

or *Petelia*, by force; after it had held out some months. He won likewise *Consentia*, and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yielded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over against *Sicily*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whose earnestness in rebellion may seem to prove the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Sovereignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefit alay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for help: where their messengers received answer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Associates that were so far distant. The *Petilian* Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the *Roman* subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Town, against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation again: and having thoroughly considered all their forces remaining plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some months: and having striven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloody victory over them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them unto terms of great extremity. For whereas in a great bravery, before their loss at *Canne*, they had shewed their high minds, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithstanding the great war that lay upon them so near at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad, was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumus Albinus* their Prætor they had sent,

with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaul*: to the *Illyrian* King *Pinus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebel, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumus* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gauls*; in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gauls*, *Litana*; thorow which he was to pass. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumus*, with his whole Army, was entered into this dangerous passage, the *Gauls*, that lay about the Wood, began to cast down the trees; which falling one against another, bore all down to fast, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed. Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entered, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done, and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, that of *Posthumus* his skull, being cleansed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an holy vessel for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*, the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none; neither do I find that any was a second time demanded; this we find, that with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*, *Illyrian* Kings as also with *Centius*, who rained within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even terms; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further

For having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, he sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*; with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, until it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army, should pass into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, until he had subdued all his enemies (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus* and others) leaving seemingly unto him the full possession of that Country, and the Isles adjoining. But such predilection of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine providence, which therein shews it self; not (as *Herodotus* falsely terms it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and Majestical in upholding that unpeakeable greatness of Sovereignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lye, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These news were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the Camp of *Hannibal*; who entertained them after a better fashion, and concluded the business about, which they came, upon the points before remembered. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be descried by the *Roman* Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chase. They did their best to have escaped; but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboards and trusting to the lye that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip* to make a league with the people of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any further than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before:

before: and (which marred all) *Gefco*, *Bostur*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to find all out: so that at length *Hannibal's* own letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole business confessed. The Embassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were cast into prison, and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went, and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some loss of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed; thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evil hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and suitable unto that, whereby they kept off the storm, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie with small force to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joining with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their most faithful Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following succets of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quingentum* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was true about the Sea Towns, that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*, which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Æthiops* craved help of *M. Valerius*; or rather excepted his kind offers; who had none other business to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towns men in good order, but not to keep out the *Romans*; of whose daring, to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Town, and sent thence a thousand men, under *Neivius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain, which got by night into *Apollonia*. There he made a notable fall, and brake into *Philip's* Trenches

with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his Camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his Fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was faine to burn his ships (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*; a Nation always enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*; and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else where been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*; after which they had gaped long, and whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had been his own. So a league was made between them; and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*, and by the *Romans* in their Capitol. The conditions were, that from *Bolus* to *Coreyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Country should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer than whilst he abstained from doing injury to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the only point whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf. That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*; unless it were with like condition of including the *Æthiops*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*; as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus* in *Asia* the less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readines which they disclosed to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the only men, of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was said to court the Majors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto

whereunto the *Ætolian* tended. He repaired his Army, made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infect the Kingdom of *Macedon*; walted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and over-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardaniens*, and others, whom he held suspected, came down into *Thessaly*, whence he made them as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, he thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoining, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, he left *Perseus*, his Son and Heir, with four thousand men, upon their borders: with the rest of his Army, before greater business should overtake and intangle him, he made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Mædes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he should be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Otrivada* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently situated to let in an Army; and consigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenour of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians* to die (as we say) every Mothers Son of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haste of the *Macedonian* (who laid aside all other business) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyra*, which they took: the *Romans* assailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the spoil.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came over to assist the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jealousy of *Philip*'s greatness; though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principal Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he took in very loving part. Against the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joyed with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battels; and was victorious in each of them.

Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him, and used their best means to get it. And when the day appointed for the conclusion therefore, was come: their Embassadors, in stead of making submission, proposed unto him such intolerable conditions, as ill befemed vanquished men to offer; and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being besieged in their own Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This fear being taken away; by the encouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever; and thrust a Garrison of their own, and some *Roman* friends into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the straight from *Naupactus*, walted the Country in a terrible bravery; wherein *Philip* required him, coming upon them in great haste from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them faster away, but nothing richer than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*; no less than *Attalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Navy into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*; and upon greater reason, as being more interested in the success of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea; and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Romans* *Quinquageneres*. Wherefore it behoved him to use the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aid came somewhat too late; which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that Country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he should correct the *Elcans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principal Confederates. But in assailing their Town, he was encountered by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* Garrison, which drove him back with some loss. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment in his retreat from *Elis*: rather he had given testimony of his personal valour, in fighting well on foot; when his horse was slain under him. He had also soon after taken a great multitude of the *Elcans*; to the number of four thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattel, which they had brought together in a place

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of safety; as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned; that this pursuit of the *Romans* foragers about *Sigona*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torn off one of the horns, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Grath. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and showed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horns were well known, and the tale believed. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar; and not only the borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but some Captains of *Philip* easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ran into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men to assist his friends the *Achaians*. He also took order to have beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant shortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favourably; especially in the Isle of *Euboea*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*; this City, lying over against *Euboea*, *Attalus* had won more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used: now because the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the sack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his sharers. But whilst he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tidings of *Philip*'s arrival, made him leave all behind him, and run away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this misadventure, or tidings of *Prusias* to *Bithynia* his invasion upon the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* return home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonoi*, *Drymon*, and many small Towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more bravery than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the mean season, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arrival, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chuse two new Kings; and to comfort themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the City, proved no less unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a Tyrant rose up among them; upon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for fear of the *Achaians*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speak more hereafter.

Philip entering into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Country; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to do with an Enemy that was very nimble, and made War by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*; and now into *Achaia*; but could no where find them, such fast they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not always prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their loss. The *Achaians* were glad to hear these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored their Nation (some Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitians* their confederates, he rendred *Aliphera*. The *Dymeans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he fought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their own City. Further, passing over the *Corinthian* Gulf, he fell upon the *Ætolians*, whom he drove into the mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achaians*, and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearless of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardaniens*, his neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ran along the coast

coast of Greece, salt by them where they lay.

This good success added much reputation to the Macedonian, and emboldened him to make strong war upon the *Etolians*; at their own doors. As for the *Romans* either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some fear of danger at home, when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*; caused them to give over the care of things in Greece, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Etolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to sue for peace unto *Philip*, and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five galleys, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Etolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrhacchium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battle, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himself close within the walls of *Apollonia*, making some overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Etolians*, as had *Philip* to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithstanding the royal offer that he made them, to serve their turn in *Italy*, and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound either to secure the transportation of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Etolian* Piracies. Only once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrival: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip* with his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretched dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno*'s tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the

world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envy could suggest, to persuade the *Carthaginians* unto a life and thrifty course: which was not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrify the *Romans*, and compel them to send part of their forces from home, that might find this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the war, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, if care to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might address their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in Greece, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsel of *Hanno* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians* of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as far as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, where to his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithless promises. When therefore the *Etolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the war, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their

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fakes but they despised him, as if the quarrel were merely his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered by this War, being part of their old *Illyrian* Conquest: Places now way belonging to the *Macedonians*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the Covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atinanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Country about *Apollonia*; then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their loss.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Acheans*, *Boetians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians* and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named; first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pluratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabii* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messeniens* and *Athenians*. The *Etolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messeniens*, followers of the *Etolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*; they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a buse people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publick necessities of their Common-wealth.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves; and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole War, in far shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the less harmful, if their care of *Italy* had been fought as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies; which being still preferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conqueror could have desired. The death of *Posthumus*, and destruction of this whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations much to their prejudice, in the whole life of *Scipio*, as also that War, of which we last spoke terminated from *Macedon*, happening all at one time, and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannae*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, admitted matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to perform all that was decreed for *Italy*; yet could not that prohibition hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their several Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* war, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the War in *Spain*; the lingering aid which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these) their attempts their hasty catching at *Sicily*; little deserved to be thought good reasons of negligence.

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ding the main point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered a part by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italy made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatness, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to Necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cume*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but always with bad success. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the Roman side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and employed in sundry parts of Italy at once. *Naples* was even in those days, a strong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force. Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwayes frustrate. Upon the Town of *Cume* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the *Cumans*, desiring them (as being also *Campanians*) to be present at a solemn sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made them to entertain; but privately sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the Roman Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of war, and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have been *Posthumus Albinus*, that was lately slain by the *Gauls*: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they feared so to have done, because this was the first time, that ever two *Plebeian* Consuls were chosen together.

Marcellus therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion or superstition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campanians*: not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intente to all occasions, that should be presented. The *Volturne*, or *Slaves*, that lately had been armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his Army skilful in the exercises of war, than to keep it from quarrels that might arise by upbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilst the Consul was thus busied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cume* sent him word of all that had passed between them and the *Campanians*. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himself into *Cume*: whence he issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that City were expected by the *Campanians*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hame*: three miles from *Cume*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magistrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather devising how to surprize others, than fearing himself to be assailed. The Consul that might bear word of him to the enemies, issued out of the Town when it grew dark: his men being well refreshed with meat and sleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights service. So he came upon the *Campanians* unawares, and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander, losing not above a hundred of his own men. Their Camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater loss, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hame*, forthwith he marched thither; hoping to find those young souldiers, and slaves, busied in making spoil, and loading themselves with the booty. But they were all gotten safe within *Cume*; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent treaty of the *Campanians*, *Hannibal* assailed the

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the next day. Much labour, and with ill success, the *Carthaginians* and their fellows spent about this town. They raised a wooden Tower against it; which they brought close unto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high Tower; whence they made resistance, and found means at length to confume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were busie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, falling out of the Town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drove them to their Trenches, with the slaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Consul wisely founded the Retreat, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readines to requite their service. Neither would he in the pride of his good success, adventure forth against the Enemy; who presented him battel the day following, near unto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore seeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the siege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small Towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people severely punished for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Army was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yielded; and withall to abide (as it must do) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it self, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of war: and instead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invasion upon the whole Countrey, to pass from place to place; and wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrey of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*; as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Sovereignty. They held it reason, that they should be protected by such as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more easie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intente as necessity constrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and joynd with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus*, the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, That being himself Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but caused himself to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, served to put the *Campanians* in fear, that *Capua* it self should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi* (where he lay, harkening after news from *Tarentum*) and having with his preference comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vain, hoping to have won it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was six thousand strong: and did their duty so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good success, could only shew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*, which having done, and once more (with as ill success as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilst he was in his progress thither; *Hanno* made a journey against *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the last years Consul, halting from *Nucerina*, met him there; and fought with him a battel. *Hanno* had with him about seventeen thousand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelve hundred horses; very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest *Numidians* and *Moors*. He held the *Romans* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaves, had received from their General a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they must purchase their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour imposed by their General, of cutting off the slain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindered the service by employment of so many hands in a work so little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* there-

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fore finding his own error, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battle, if they won the day. This encouragement made them run head-long upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the Roman-horse could have made their part good against the *Namidiæ*. But though *Hannibal* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battle, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of them, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatened before the battle unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Griefs of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the loss. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The Roman General gave unto all his Souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sickness forced them to break his order. So the victorious Army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publick by the Townsmen; some sitting (some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custom of slaves manumitted) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battle, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into Italy: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hume*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans*, through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The farms of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplussage, that might be exchanged for other needful commodities: and they were in Italy that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could

worse do than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it self. *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yield great profit, hardly now maintaining the Roman Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*; every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Country, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the *Roll*, yet must it be far less than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatness of the war within the bowels of Italy, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the peril, wherein *Sicily* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the *Naturals*, declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonians*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of Italy, if they were not at the cost to find him work at home; the greater threats of *Ashdrubal*, to follow his Brother over the *Alps*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in Spain; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortal dangers; were driven almost even to extrem want of counsel. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from Spain; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; Wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Pretor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuals, weapons, apparel, or the like things needful to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuff, or were Artificers; must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labors, until the war were ended. Hereunto he effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in Spain, as well supplied, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the Roman Censors; taking in hand the redress of disorders within the City, were chiefly intensitive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present war. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*;

Metellus; who after the battle at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all Italy, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellows made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp, with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the wars, after the term which the Laws appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtful only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, following; That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into *Sicily*, there to serve until the end of the War, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at *Cannæ*. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and account of the Citizens; to chuse or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those whose unhoneest or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Houses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much revered and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could do) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But, besides the care of this general Tax, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man encroached upon the Streets, High-ways, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customs, and other publick Revenues to farm: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no

(small help to conferre the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being chnoxious unto the Censors; which were always of that Order, and careful to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impoverished by War, and having small store of Lands to let, or of Customs that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or, if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly as the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the War. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, until the City were in better case to pay. In this general inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as far forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widows living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Quæstor kept a Book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widows and Orphans: whilst the whole stock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed, with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride, yielded half so much commodity, as might be laid in balance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this War did rather inable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom the forthwith undertook, than abate or slackened the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman metal grew more hard and solid: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athenæ*, when

when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happiness of the universality. Certain it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to pass, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say that our Age hath been a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and strength grew chiefly from that ill affluence, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it self to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it so, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Commonwealth, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the City was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautiful, should in all reason have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens and subjects of *Rome* could have believed their own interest to be as great, in those wars which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great virtue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those ways, by which Kingdoms rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIV.

The Romans win some Towns back from Hannibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two Victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the War: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Town of *Castellum*, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and likely to have been relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the enterprize was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, that many such things, as were not at first to have been undertaken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be prosecuted unto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campanians* dwelling therein, grew fearful, and craved parley; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversely reported) *Marcellus* seizing upon a Gate, entered with his Army, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifty of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved Commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himself after the *Roman* fashion, with some equivocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsian* in *Calabria* taken by the Marshall *Monte*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parley about composition; the besieged ran all from their several guards, upon a silly desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entered by *Scalado*, and put all save the Governour unto the sword. Herein that

the Governour of *Mount Marsian* committed two gross errors; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parley without Pledges for assurance given and received. Some such oversight the Governour of *Castellum* seemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monte*, was very honourable. When this Work was ended, many small Towns of the *Samnites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken or slain, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Country grievously wasted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to hear from those, that had promised to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thrust so many men into it, that the Traitors durst not stir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himself in vain with expectation. Yet he wasted not the Country, but contented himself with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*, which he chose for his wintering place; and began to victual it when Summer was but half past. It is said, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his Winter more timely than otherwise he required, he did not like the *Romans*; whom necessity enforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to travel up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Scil*, whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than the Consulship, we will speak hereafter.

The new Consuls chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the Son of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needful for the publick service, to employ oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawful, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chuse such as had lately held their places before; without regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his Son: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his Son unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve *Lictors*, which

carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to pass by them on horse-back, which was against the custom. But the Son perceiving this, commanded the last of his *Lictors* to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The Father cheerfully did so; saying, It was my mind, Son, to make trial, whether thou didst understand thy self to be Consul. *Cassius Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battel at *Cannae*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend, came privily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples; and to make this *Albinus* a pattern to all Traitors; using him as *Cassius* and *Fabius* had done those that offered their faithful service against the *Falisci*, and King *Pyrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the Father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as prisoner; until they could better resolve, what to do with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal* understanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not sorrowfully; but thought this a good occasion to seize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might seem rather severe, than covetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his Camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himself. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which he won by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of *Hannibal's* Souldiers lay in the Town; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust forth by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was underfoot, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the Townsmen suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: protesting, they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were

were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wills. In process of this discourse, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Town, presently made head against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, like it that *Hannibal's* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Romans* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to pass forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other loss, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred and twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the general hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentians* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yielded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himself a Captain, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in foraging the Country, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited ere he could bring his desire to pass: and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; he contented himself with taking in some poor Towns of the *Salentinum*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Ambassador, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*.

where they suffered death as Traytors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently, as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*; and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for made before. *Nico*, and *Philomenus*, two of the chief among them, used much to go forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldom or never they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion: From the Camp of *Hannibal* it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also, to make his enemies the more secure, he caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order; he took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Four score light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear lest he, and his troop following him, should be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet lodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal*, guided by *Philomenus*, came close to the Town: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrival; *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watch-men. *Philomenus* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under

under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entered two young men, laden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenus* ran him through with his Bore-spear: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had slain, he entered the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entering *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their General, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheer. All the Town was in uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskillfully sounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadel, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal* assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such spoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addressed himself against the Citadel; hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery falling forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drove him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could run; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadel stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall against the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawley. This cawley *Hanni-*

bal intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadel; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece itself, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilst he was buied in his works, there came by Sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former council. Now for as much as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not pass forth, whilst the *Romans* held the Citadel: it seemed likely that the Town would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilst the *Roman* garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather willed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven to guard the mouth of it, and cut off supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them; that this might well be done: for that their Town standing in plain ground, and their streets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and launch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise buied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereinto the loss at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under seventeen years of age: and to send Commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from their their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawful age. Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victuals, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the

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great waste and spoil, which the *Romans* had in foregoing years made upon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. He gave them comfortable words, and sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to store them selves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horses, as if this had been enough to victual *Capua*. Such was the retchlessness of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; against which he made provision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needful for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their camp; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to assail the enemies Camp; and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that he was there with the first break of day. By coming so unexpected, he had well near forced the Camp on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the less desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to go more leisurely and substantially to work; to send for his fellow-Consul, with the rest of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus discouraging, and about to found the reitrait; he saw that

some of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldiers) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore some Ensign-bearers threw their Ensignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unless they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a loss. Fear of such ignominy (than which nothing could be greater) made the Souldiers adventure so desperately, that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Camp was won: in which were slain above six thousand; and taken above seven thousand, besides all the store of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty; that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a piteous Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in mind of all the love that he was wont to protest unto their City; and how he had made shew to affect it no less than *Carthage*. But now, they said it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoil, whilst he himself was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many Towns adjoining, to yield unto him. Among the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Eastern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the death of their Hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the *Roman* garrison was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more ado, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reason, had not some companies layn in their Town; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning; inviting to their gates *Hanno*, and *Mago*, that were near at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their service to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed up their gates. A little for-

formality they used in pretending fear, left the enemy should break in together with the *Romans*, in saving *Atinius* himself, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a (small while) because perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they should yield to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good success, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilst the Consuls fortifying *Beneventum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves to the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Consul, was slain, either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to secure the back of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that business. The *Volones* or *Slaves* lately manumitted, forsook their Ensigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, and drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; inasmuch that it caused them to dilodge. They removed by night, and went several waies: *Fulvius* towards *Canna*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compass about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of five

thousand men. The Fathers were unwilling in such a time, to reject the virtue of any good Souldier, how mean soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand: and he himself being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up so many volunteers, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) slain, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with eighteen thousand men was in *Apulia*, very careless and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he halted to visit him: hoping to deal the better with the main strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those forces that lay in the Provinces about, under men of small ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offered battel to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blows, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Nevertheless, all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should go substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*: which was of great consequence; both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sat down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Stesivula*, to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Campans* relying on their own strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed up, they sent messengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey: in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadel: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*, upon advertisement that he should be

be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how, a few days since he had chased the *Consuls* out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and send the *Romans* going as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himself, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leisure to do what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Eastern parts of *Italy*; whilst the *Roman Army* spent it self in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered, and thereby gave the *Consuls* time both to fortify themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilst he himself pursued hopes that never found success.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*; retaining the same Armies, as *Proconsuls*. The Towns-men often faltered out, rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* used to thrust out some troops, that should hold them skirrmish. In these exercises the *Campan* usually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who scorned to take foil at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore, devised that some active and courageous young men should learn to ride behind the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four small darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kind of service, they much disheartened in the main. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*; and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of unserviceable people by the walls, which with a loud noise of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appian Claudius*

opposing himself to the *Campan*, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repelled them, that he drove them at length back into their City. Nevertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, he received a wound that accompanied him in short space after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to this task by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian Army*. The *Roman Camp* was even at point to have been lost; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slain upon it, fell into the ditch, and filled it up in such sort, that their bodies served as a bridge to the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives that could speak Latin well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the *Consuls* name, That every one of the Souldiers should thrust for himself, and fly betimes unto the next hills, for as much as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it self, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) withheld him from taking *Rome* it self; and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine Citadel*, had well-near lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadel, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himself and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater use: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, even to set upon *Rome*; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of War that threatened *Capua*. This, he thought, would be a mean, to draw the *Roman Generals*, or one of them at least, unto the defence of their own home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campan*, should well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terrour of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His only fear was, lest the *Campan*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yield themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*; who running as a fugitive into the *Roman Camp*, conveyed himself thence over the innermost Trenches into

into the City. The Journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good success resting in the suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore he caused his men to have in a readiness ten days victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman Generals*, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsel to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into peril of being taken by the enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out and fend him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needful to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoveful: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Army; with which he halted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travel by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having passed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then halted he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Frigelle*: which, as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoil their Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians*, running before him; driving the Country; and killing or taking multitudes of all forts and

ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The Messengers of these news came apace, one after another into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the Streets and Temples in *Rome* were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with soldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was halting to the defence of the City. The Office of a *Proconsul* did expire, at his return home, and entering into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the City, in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equal power with the *Consuls* during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The *Consuls*, and *Fulvius* incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater, so took they more careful & especial order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio*, or *Amien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with two thousand horse, and rode along a great way under the Walls, viewing the light thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman Story* saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by the care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest, one accident was both troublesome, and not without peril. Of *Numidians* that had shifted aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*; which were appointed by the *Consuls*, to pass thorough the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colentina*, where it was thought that their service might be useful, among broken ways, and Garden-walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such

such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the walls. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of catel, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stopp'd up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Walls. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which had been dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following *Hannibal* pass'd over *Anien*, and presented battle to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible shower of rain, caus'd both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their several Camps, and that this happened two days together, the weather breaking up and clearing as soon as they were departed afunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten days provision, could not endure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they suffer'd him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advis'd men: if they offer'd to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibal's* coming to the City, how great soever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared less than the first apprehension had form'd them, was much and soon abated. Hereupon it helped well, that at the same time the Supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipios*, were sent out of the Town, and went forth at the Gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Pinch terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden confederation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashion'd it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of their wift not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell

who had sent the Afs into the Camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity; whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no less, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemy, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteem'd him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamp'd, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This dignity coming to his ear, incens'd *Hannibal* so much, that he made port-sale of the Silver-Smiths shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he rais'd his Tent. But this counter-practice was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceiv'd; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had propos'd unto himself, this Journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what spoil he could to the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he pass'd like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrival was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cur'd the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

2. *Fabius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yield before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evil deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Bofar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again, if means could only be found, how

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to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*; who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it happened ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bofar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement entreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make War against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions, whersoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking such a course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view; promising to make a desperate fall, if he would once more adventure to set up, and on the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bofar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best, and now began to faint under the burden of that War, wherein as afterward he protested he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his *Persians*, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannionians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shew'd) unto the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing terms, caus'd them to assemble and consult, about the yielding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators and such as a few years since, had been most forward in joining with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper; telling them, that when they had made good cheer, he would drink to them such an health, as

should set them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of his motion, ended their lives together by drinking poison. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yielded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; wherat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entering, disarm'd the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* Camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid Irons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the general multitude, they were referred unto the discretion of the Senate, yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the mean while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received; yet was he not inexorable to the *Capuans*, as having loved them well in former times, and having giving his Daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom he spake before. But this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance; for fear, left upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoveful to the common safety, and honour of their itate. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*; where he caus'd all the *Capuan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all Towns of Italy the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Capuans*; and bred a general inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines*, and *Sabatiners*, people of the *Campanians*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear and want of ability to resist. They were therefore us'd with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*; who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young Gentlemen burning with fire of revenge got into *Rome*; where they found means by night-time, to set on fire many houses, that a great part of the City walk'd to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire

fire in divers places at once, argued, that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free-man, that should discover who those incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campani* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls; and this extreme severity caused them at length to become suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto several places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the Town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious sight: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be therein; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present War. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyl being far spent and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in Sardinia and Sicily, held War against the Romans in those Islands, and were overcome.

WHilst things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in arms, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harciscor* with his Son *Hyofius*,

mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*; that promised the assistance of his Country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindered the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harciscor* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor; who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilst they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise was such, as may seem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For, whereas they sent over *Asdrubal*, surnamed the Bald, with a competent Fleet and Army, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Earchine* house, and near kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custom of the *Romans*, to preserve and uphold in their several Provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had been first subdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron; the first Conqueror, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence in every Province, and had always in readiness fit men to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required

required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harciscor* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arm his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at *Calariis*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Country, and fought out the enemy. *Hyofius*, the Son of *Harciscor*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his Father, who was gone abroad into the Country, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battle to the *Romans* at his own discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier; by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirty thousand of his followers. *Hyofius* himself, with the rest of his broken troops, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Island; whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeat came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soon enough, and strong enough to save the Town of *Cornus*, and put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himself back to *Calariis*; where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his assistance; their Country being wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refused to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calariis*; where, if he had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their strength. For after some trial made of them in few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazard of a battle; wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies, and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hours the battle lasted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had been broken in their unprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyofius*, and of his Father *Harciscor*, that slew himself for grief, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himself with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Army fled into *Cornus*, whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space

won the Town. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, following the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Roman*; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their several offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calariis* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicily* was of greater length, and every way more burdensome to *Rome*: as also the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only saviors of their own, as in *Sardinia*, but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battle at *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a steadfast friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this present war. He left his Kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his Son, that should have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his successor, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors; of which the principal were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdom, by the same Art, whereby himself had gotten, and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of so many coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and said, that he was able to rule the Kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caused others to do the like; hoping thereby to get the King wholly into his hands; which came to pass in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of government, gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: or, if he had any regard of his Royal dignity, it was only in matter of exterior shew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his Son. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gave proof, that in course of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to all that were about him; so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the

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rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it self. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso*, continued in grace with him, and were his Counsellours, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some dissention about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleasure, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, having more regard of his honour and profits, was very earnest to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtful which way the King would incline, a conspiracy against his person was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speak any thing: but yielding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confessed, that he had been set on by *Thraso*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were near in love or peace unto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrunk for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yield to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soon after found means to execute their purpose. The King himself, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, love to seem wiser than their Fathers, by taking different courses. And the Liberty of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessity, had of late been such, as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers far off, regarded only the things present; and the weakness of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his Grand-father had laid out in vain, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*, who readily entered into good correspondence with him, that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* born,

but Grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*; that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuse*; his messengers were dismissed with an open scoff. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Canna*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himself, saying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*; so wonderful was the victory, as they reported it. Having thus dismissed the *Romans*, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reign over all *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stir; partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels than were enforced upon them by necessity; and partly (as may seem) for that the reputation, both of himself, and of his City, had received such blemish, by that which happened unto him in his journey, as much discouraged him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their necessity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him; it being refused by the *Roman* Senate, with greater bravery than their present fortune would allow. But instead of returning the money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noised abroad that he should do; the war against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside vain-glory, and send word after him, that he should consign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwise wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into such a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as must needs have bred sorrow and commiseration in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilst *Hieronymus* was more desirous of war, than well resolved how to begin it;

it; his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the State of *Syracuse*; which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it been wisely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Country with two thousand men, to solicit the Towns, and persuade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himself with an Army of fifteen thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium* a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste; and accept him for Sovereign. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden, as he was passing thorow a narrow street: and rushing between him and his guard, struck him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Masters death. Yet, for fear of the worst, a great largess was promised unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcase to lye unburied. This news ran quickly to *Syracuse*; whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away, to signify all that had passed, so stir up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his followers would make offer to usurp a tyranny. The *Syracusans* hereupon presently took arms, and made themselves Masters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island; being yet uncertain what to do: between desire of making himself a sovereign Lord, and fear of suffering punishment as a Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes; putting him in mind of that well-known Proverb, which *Dionysius* had used; That a Tyrant should keep his place, till he were baled out of it by the beels, and not ride away from it on horse-back. But fear, and better counsel, prevailed so far, that *Andronodorus*, having slept upon the matter, dissembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech unto the people; telling them that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in fear, lest they would not have contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather

have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ravish their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever, he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had been an evil Master both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But such was his desire of Sovereignty, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himself strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracusans* Prætors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their Captain, had done him, whilst he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to return home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted both for that the *Syracusan* Magistrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtship; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good Souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made hew; they were more mindful of the business for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosoms of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusans* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the Sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his own, and of his wife. But seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, & *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterward accused to the people, of all the evil

which they had done; whilst *Hieronimus* lived, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessory to this dangerous treason: and that the unquiet spirits of these women would never cease to work, until they had recovered those royal ornaments and Sovereign power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to dye, and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Solippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgment. Her husband *Solippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that respect hated by *Hieronimus*, that being sent Embassador to King *Ptolemy*, &c. he durst not return home, but stayed in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration when it was too late, together with some pitiful accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cried out upon the Authors of so foul a butchery. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfy their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slain: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the less that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a general cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracussians* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vain, and seeing that the people stood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practice. The *Leontines* had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by such fugitives, and mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to do

many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly and boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the *Syracussians*, that they had already broken the leagues; and that the peace would never be kept sincerely, until this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the war, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himself unto the *Leontines*, whom he persuaded to rebel against the *Syracussians*. For he said, that since they had all of late served one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracussians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enjoy the Freedom purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should bear Dominion over those that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracussians*. For it was agreed, That all which had been subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronimus*, should henceforth be Vassals unto the State of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedom, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been subdued by the same hand, which took liberty from the *Syracussians*. But seeing they had long since yielded unto *Syracuse*, and been subject unto that City, by what form soever it was grounded; this claim of liberty was rather seasonable, than just. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: in so much that when messengers came soon after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracussians*, to make any bargains for them with the

Romans,

Romans, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracussians*; who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with took the business in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault *Leontium* was taken, all save the Castle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the Town of *Herbessus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had won the Town, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains used after victory, to seek out the fugitive *Roman* slaves and renegado's, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoil them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slain Man, Woman and Child, and put the Town to sack. These news met the *Syracusan* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyn with *Marcellus*, who had ended his business before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had been sent forth of *Syracuse*, under *Sofis* and *Dinomines*, two of the Prætors; to serve against the *Leontines* and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had been so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best, to turn their unquiet thoughts another way, and set them awork in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So towards *Herbessus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischief, devising what further harm they might do; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no less well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little less desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbessus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and

so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vanguard; that had been well used by *Hieronimus*: and some of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian war, and lovingly dismissed them. These *Creteans* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheer, saying, That no man should do them harm, as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident ran swiftly from man to man, with general approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by severity, which would not serve. For when they commanded these two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what course to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* devised a trick, whereby to help himself, and better the uncertain case wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his own penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trusty *Creteans*, directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusan* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeited Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproar was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forsake the Camp, and fly for their lives. All the *Syracussians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They persecuted also a mischievous knave, that had served amongst the *Leontines*, to justify the bruit of *Marcellus*'s cruelty, and to carry home the news to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witness. This incensed not only the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole Town with causeless indignation. In good time (said some) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would have dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whilst they were thus discouraging, and devising how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates,

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unless for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the soldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entered, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers till night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himself and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, sent before him, some to require a parley. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, that the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those that had murdered and banished so many of the principal Citizens. Wherefore they required that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Town, might be suffered to return and enjoy their own: as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to say to them: but since it was directed unto others, they should do well to return, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the War which they threatened, he told them, they should find by experience, that to besiege *Syracuse* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he sent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected, the quick and easy winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of walls as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned with no better kind of Soldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault.

Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his labour was disappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill success of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the virtue of the Defendants, or any strength of the City, that bred such despair of hasty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse* *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of war, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gun-powder; had they in that age been known. This *Archimedes* discouraging once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his study unto things of use: that might preserve the City from danger of enemies. To such Mechanical works, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal sciences, to submit learned Propositions, unto the workmanship, and gain, of base handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an Author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed unto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly talk a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his representation. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published: and being once made known, to be undervalued; as falling within compass of the meanest wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon our *English Brewers*, and their fervants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of *Malt* was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the less, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the trade

trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being devised and bettered by great scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such as could slubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchemists, and all others that have, or would seem to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels of an understanding brain, beside the loss of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yield less benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envy have in it any thing allowable and natural, as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and ferseth against those, which would usurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, after the example of him that *suffereth his Sun to shine upon the just, and unjust*: it will appear more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world, those good things that lay buried in their own bosoms. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrevocable poison: much better it were, that such a Jewel remain close in the hands of a wife and honest man, than being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad; to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his own direction; that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especial benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanic

ical trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose. *Marcellus* had caused certain of his *Quinquereme Gallies* to be fastened together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundry devices; of which any one fort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavy stones, and long pieces of timber, like unto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay far off. They that were come nearer the walls, lay open to a continual volley of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an Iron grapple were taken by the prow, and hoisted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the Air, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten, that they durst never come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land Army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only overwhelm the men, but brake down the *Roman* Engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the walls, they should be (as it were) under the point-blank, and receive no hurt by these terrible instruments; which were wound up hard to shoot a great compass. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came down right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very far off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wall, they ran away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his Engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have helped it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Romans* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having to goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be confounded with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsel to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Steil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there to deal with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horses and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Steil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians* did yield unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, began to turn unto the *Carthaginians*, *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Felorus* and *Herbasus*, which yielded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force and sack it: either to terrify others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep in heart. His especial desire was to have saved *Agrirentum*: whether he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*, carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumstance that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, intending to join his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easy victory against the dispersed and half unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joining with *Hippocrates*, ran over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battail to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entered with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the City. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Camp: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and flew or betrayed the *Roman* Garisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Army before *Syracuse*, that he might not seem to have given over the siege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intensive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrirentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*: as unable to prevail; and he himself was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feasible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assayed to prevail by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusan* Gentlemen that were in his Camp, starting them to practice with their friends, who remained in the City. This was not easy for them to do, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to run away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where he talked in private with some few, as he had been instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourscore, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they like Traitors put to death. In the mean while, one *Damaspippus* a *Lacedemonian*, that had been sent out of the Town as an Ambassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not far from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more expeditious Art of Geometry, fell to numbering the stones: and making an estimate of the height, judged it less than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it, made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprize. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feast was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to last three dayes: and that, because other good cheer was not so plentiful within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large distribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wished. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Festival night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuse* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipole* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some pieces, he had the commodity of a better and safer longing, with good store of booty, and better opportunity than before, to deal with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* and the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto composition, as being much terrified by the loss of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sacked. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harm, or none they did, unto those that were sheltered under strong houses: although it may seem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his help; since they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegades, were more careful than ever to defend the rest of the City: being sure to be rewarded with cruel death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradina* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assaults were repelled. Nevertheless they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as straightly besieged, as he himself did besiege the Town. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cau-

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ried the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat less) afflicted with the same pestilence, inasmuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to do his Country service: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachinus* with a strong fleet: where he stayed; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better serve the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he stood off into the deep; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* return into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrirentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good news.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could safely, unto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Town three miles off. There had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave ear: for he had stayed there long enough; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; that they should be Masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death, new Prators chosen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate, perswading the other Mercenary Souldiers, that the Citizens had bargained only for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently took Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prators; whom they slew, and made election of six Captains that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again set on foot, and wanted

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little of conclusion : which yet was delayed ; either by some fear of the Citizens, that had seen (as they thought) proof of the Roman avarice in the sack of *Epipole Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken ; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might use the liberty of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subject to *Rome*. *Mercurius* a *Spaniard* was one of the six Captains that had been chosen in the last commotion : a man of such birth, as usually is found in Mercenaries ; holding his own particular benefit above all other respects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt secretly : having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligerens*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embassadors, daily palting to and fro. This crafty Agent perswaded *Mercurius*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain* : and that if ever he purposed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where else ; it was now the only time to do it ; by conforming himself to the will of the *Roman* General. By such hopes the *Spanish* Captain was easily won, and sent forth his own brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratify the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusans*, cannot well be commended as honest ; neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country : much less, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister unto the people of *Rome*, advantage against them. The poor Citizens could not make good their priors against the hired Soldiers ; and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death *Hieronymus* ; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicles* : it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slain many the principal of *Epicles* his followers ; and many of themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascality, and some ill advised persons ; joyed with the fouliders in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken ? Ought therefore the *Roman* General, in a

treaty of peace held with the *Syracusans*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries ? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home : but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracusans* with gentle words, and promise of good usage in time to come ; than to retort the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many ways important. Nevertheless if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious ; both by evil neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed we may truly affirm, that it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all foreign enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein : but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens ; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousy, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome* ; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition ; wherewith by *Marcellus* his victory it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable : unless we should approve the answer of that thief, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from sick man, said, *He never leaves drinking*.

By the reason of *Marcius*, the *Roman* Army was let into possession of all *Syracuse* : wherein the booty that it found, was said to have been no less, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it self ; that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*, and nothing left untouched, save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicles*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitiful accidents ; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noise, and uproar in the City ; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him ; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Up

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on his Tomb (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inscription of the proportion between them ; which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great Artist better, than the devising of all those Engines, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For many an one would think the money lost, that had been spent upon a Son, whose studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Towns in *Sicily* yielded unto the *Romans*, except *Aggrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Aggrigentum* lay *Epicles* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side ; and withall made his own name great. By his persuasions, *Hanno* and *Epicles* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themselves as men expecting to be besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsel, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envy in *Epicles* and *Hanno* ; especially in *Hanno*, that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal* ; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himself. It is like, the indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside into *Heraclea*, for the pacifying some troubles there among the *Numidians* ; advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicles*) not to meddle with the enemy, until his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight ; and offered battle unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required ; which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two Armies ; far greater were the odds between the Captains. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour ; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains ; and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*, were much more offended, when they saw

that the vain-glorious envy of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Country-man. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident ; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten by whom they had been misled. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge ; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into *Aggrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not to have hazarded a battle without need ; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into terms of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leave the Province ; and soon upon his departure, there landed in the Island a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Cannae*, took it very haughtily, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate ; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home, and not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their General. *Mutines* had pacified his Country-men the *Numidians*, and like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno* ; finding that there was a great alteration ; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacify his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those Island towns that had rebelled : and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Country ; yet he hindered the Country from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above three-score Towns, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily* : of which *Aggrigentum* was the principal, and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despite of the *Romans* : not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, instead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with en-

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vy, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have a share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own Son; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spiteful dealing occasioned the loss of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Country-man, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Levinus*, the Roman Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook these indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that City, which was likely to perish by the evil counsel that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Country-men had lately done, content himself to see his Adversaries reap the bitter fruits of his own malicious over-weening: and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conspired against them to deliver up *Agrirentum*, and to help to expel them utterly out of *Sicily*. The Consul was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize upon a gate, where at they let in some Roman Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the Romans intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himself to flight: and saving himself, with *Epicides*, in a small Bark, set sail for *Africk*; leaving all his

Army and Adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercy of the Romans, that henceforward continued Matters of the whole Island.

Levinus the Consul having taken *Agrirentum*, did sharp execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principal of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the Romans: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to Rome the money that was raised of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein Rome stood in no less necessity of gold, than of steel: which may have been the reason, why *Levinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrirentines*. Nevertheless, the fame of such severity bred a terror among all the Dependents of the *Carthaginians*, so that in great haste they fought to make their peace. About forty Towns yielded themselves quickly unto the Romans; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and six only stayed to be wonn by force. These things done, *Levinus* returned home to Rome; carrying with him about four thousand men from *Agatirra*; that were a company of out-laws, bankrupts, and banished men accustomed to live by spoil of others in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Bruttians*; a thievish kind of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the Romans. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of Rome: where he lived in good account; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especial service. So by this enterprise of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the Romans, in the end of this war, the entire possession of this Island; which they wanted when it began.

S. XVI.

How the War passed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victory of Metaurus.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to Rome: where for his good services done in the Island of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the war, but was fain to leave his Army behind him in the Province. He stayed not long in Rome, before he was again chosen Consul together with *M. Valerius Levinus*, who succeeded

ceeded him in the Government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making war against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alleging their great friendship to the people of Rome, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance; excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to Rome, than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned the labours & dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto the Romans, whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to allege, the Senate made such an end of the controversy, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopeful promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicily*. The Isle of *Sicily* fell unto *Marcellus*, which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem hindered by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatched, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicily*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with pressing of Soldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navy. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there money enough in the Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter un-

to further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already indured so much, as well it could undergo; and somewhat more, than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintain the war against the *Carthaginians*; or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That since the common Treasury was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no persuasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, that every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the money that he had; and that no Senator should keep any vessel of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowl wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of Rome. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet; *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*; and *Levinus* toward *Sicily*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakened, by the loss of *Capua*: which gave them cause to look unto themselves; as if his help there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons in-

to all the Towns that he suspected, and thereby to diminish his Army, that he should not be able to keep the field; or else he must leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealousy grew so outrageous, that he sacked and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himself; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him: and some of those, whom before he had least cause to doubt. The Town of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loss, than the Town itself. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dafius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafius* in private, and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convicted and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of meer malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to press his adversary anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reason; that he who could not be believed by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul took by force, *Maronea* and *Metes*, Towns of the *Sannites*; wherein he slew above three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once; but was fain to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow business of far less importance, had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had been so long promised and expected. This, if they had done in better seasons, *Rome* it self might have been stricken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himself to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with

five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set sail for *Spain*; whither, when he came, it was appointed that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been so much talk. These news did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best; and the *Romans*, to prevent the threatening mischief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his Brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay near unto *Herdonia*, to get the Town by practice. It was not long since, near unto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherwards; and came to *Herdonia* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As soon as he came, he offered battel to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haste than good speed. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout, and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himself, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were lost: of the common Soldiers, that were slain, the number is uncertain; some reporting seven, others thirteen thousand. The Town of *Herdonia*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good cheer; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numistro* in the Country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battel: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted until night, and ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battel, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light; and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, until *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius* considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed

purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could win; like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued them command of those Legions that served under him the year before) to press the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might have no leisure to help *Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* sifter than himself, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battel, but upon equal terms. The *Carthaginian* had not mind to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong until the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captain, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; until they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him blood. Hereupon followed a battail; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took six *Engis*; and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of his dishonour, that he rated his men, as *Pelants*, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions; which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratagem. with these and many other like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did so vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their General; they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their *Engis* the day before, bade them be careful to win a victory; whereof the news might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shameful overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quite: and therefore was ready to fight again; since all other motives, continued the same, and his men had been heartened by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up with desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which afflictions gave a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by seeing themselves disappointed of their

hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battail *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battail, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his business at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volcentis*, that willingly yielded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had been authors, or bulwark doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Levinus* had lately brought from *Agaterra*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a Town of the *Brutians*; and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *salentines*, fate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof he gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great account her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these news: and said, that if the *Brutian* were far in love, he might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his Mistress, to do what the world have him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to convey himself into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own persuasions, partly by the flattering intreaty of his sifter; was him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the business, and

and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as happeneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Neco*, *Democrates* and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Caribalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seem to have won the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithful dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: wherefore the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carried, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Canlonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first burnt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yielded. When this business was done, he

hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The Romans have also their Hannibal; we have lost Tarentum in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few days together, so near as he was unto Tarentum: and thence departed to Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same City; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their wars: for they got every where, save only at *Canlonia*; where they had lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seem good fortune, to have been so rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Canne*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*: where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes, those that had escaped. It was there-

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fore likely to come to pass within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any further help; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to return home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campanians* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no less partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve, the Embassadors continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies, did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be laid upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good services, this their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to detain them in the City, nor yet to dismiss them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own consideration of their ill deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopeful and fortunate success. Nevertheless,

they were fain to open their most privy treasury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to let him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not pass from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie success at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Nevertheless, it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at less warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiss to note, that since the *Romans*, being in so great a necessity of money, were driven to furnish the Army in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stock that was left: it must needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far less than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howsoever *Livie* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrival.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Asdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the year following. After the great battle at *Canne*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Canne* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himself Master of a good haven; for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turn his principal care to the Eastern parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though far later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his Brother was to pass; that therein he might make a party against the *Romans*. The loss of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkening to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, and the weariness of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Are-*

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times, to take such counsel as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to Rome. The Roman Senate, hearing the rumour of this conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Hetruria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrarywise the Roman Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporizing: persuading themselves, that in battle they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as *Livius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginians* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of Engines; sending for a Fleet out of *Sicily* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battle. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compel the Enemy to battle, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the Roman Fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, wherinto the Romans fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire

of *Hannibal* to waste their Army by little and little: which to do, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the Roman camp; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the best of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principal men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who discovered not themselves, until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horsemen, that were of the Colonie of *Fregelle*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their camp: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the custom of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was fallen into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had happened were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: withing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithal signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite.

requisite. For his messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employment as he should think needful. The device was plain, and no less plain was the revengeful mind which he bare against that City; because of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to rake their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a Roman fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of Roman fugitives armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened fair and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when six hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, halted away to *Locri*, whereunto *Cincius* the Admiral of the Roman fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurers, made the Romans in all confusion haste, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus* the surviving Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Commonwealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other business; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after died. Then was it thought needful, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so near unto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning,

not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the alloy of a more staid wit. The Fathers therefore endeavoured to joyne unto him in the Consulship, *M. Livius*: one that had born the same office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Consul with *L. Amilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called unto judgement by the people: and this *Livius* condemned; *Amilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battle at *Cannae*, it was apparent what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: when *L. Amilius* rather chose to yield to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of Rome, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himself anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange still vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, being Consuls two or three years ago, had brought him into Rome: where he lived private in discontented sort, as might appear, both by his carelessness in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he used to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some business weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood up and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many brave men were lost;

new ones were chosen such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Virtues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to say, that it was great pity, so worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not used in this dangerous war. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other of necessity a *Plebeian*; and since neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Maximus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyed with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livius* would not endure to hear of this. He said it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by persuasions and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himself to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such unthankfulness to well deserving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the second King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended Conquest of *Portugal*, required the service of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. This is wisdom often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the ways of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* used at this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for many more, if they had known how to levy

and maintain them. Of these which they had, four served in *Spain*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in several parts of *Italy*, where need seemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution; and would not be tied to the punctual observance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not stir out of *Rome*, against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*, until he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to serve under *Lucius Porcius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentine*, near unto *Tarentum*, unto another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless, the Consuls, by the especial instance of *Livius*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own discretion. For news came that *Asdrubal* was already passing the Alps; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genna*, with their neighbour people, were in readiness to join with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would adventure no further, than he safely might. When all was ordered as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the City; each his several way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and win the victory betimes; but rather they stood in fear, lest all diligence, wisdom and valour should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not been slain; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joy, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happiness than could be expected, that each of them should return home Victors; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to find. With extremum difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever since the battle of *Canna*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another Son of

Amilcar;

Amilcar; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himself. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, thorow barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Army: this *Asdrubal* in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, descended from the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations, and the like, of which fear presented many unto them; caused the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Consuls out of the Town, like a pensive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, upon whom in the like sort they had given attendance the last years; but saw neither of them return alive, from a less dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accustomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstain from giving or taking battel, until he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, that he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory; or by seeing the overthrow of his own unjust Citizens, satisfy himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his Journey into *Italy*; such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livius*. Yet I think it not amiss to add in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his History concerning that accident: *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reason of those Captains that were sent from the City of *Carthage*, to join with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy Son of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses undertaken, it cannot be known; since of those Books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the spiteful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicily* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himself, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Island: we may conceive, that against the

Brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needful, by these mischievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Nevertheless, *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot; and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His Journey into *Italy* being resolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Botula*, not far from the Mines of Silver; whence he was to furnish his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*; and drove him out of his Camp; though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could or would come to his assistance. The overthrow seems not to have been so great, as it might have been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and seeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, sent away all his money with the Elephants before him: but stayed behind himself to sustain the *Romans* a while, until his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire, afterwards he gathered his broken troops together; and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his Brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*; that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have stopped him in his Journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had sent to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Coming into *Gaul*, and following the steps of his Brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilst that the passages of the Alps were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his Journey over the Alps, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For these poor men, at the first coming of *Hannibal*, were verily persuaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their

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their cattle 3 and to make spoil of that little wealth which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in process of time, they were better informed. Therefore, understanding that there were two mighty Cities, far disjoyned afunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condescended to take their part in the fortune of the invaders. The like affection upon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Patruvians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Asdrubal*: set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his coming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his Brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* he so timely, and easily passing the Alps, was about to leave his wintering Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from joyning with his Brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he dayly offered battel to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, unto the Country of the *Etrurians*, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the Journey intended. Afterward coming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless, he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed again, to make way by force to his Brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canusium*, where he sat down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit down by him: and

both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very well; that his Brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canusium*: where, if he could once again deal with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had so fallen out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have need to wish any second victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Canus*: If such an Army as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy General had good reason afterward to say that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which else no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was coming to their succour: he was advertised of *Asdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his Brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livius* the Consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyful. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avoid, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of so strong a war at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithful Associates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effects. It seemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to stay the progress of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readiness, that could do service in such a needful case; excepting those, that were already employed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tie himself to his own charge, which was the war against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where

where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* Brethren, was far more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the less importance. Six thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making shew, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow-Consul. His Messengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to pass, that they should be ready to meet him with vituals, and all other necessities for his Army. *Livius* the other Consul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal*, within half a mile of him. In six dayes *Nero* had finished his Journey thither; and when he drew near, sent Messengers before him, to give notice of his coming. *Livius* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert until dark night, and then enter secretly into the Camp: lest the Enemy, perceiving this access of strength, should accordingly frame his counsels. This was done; and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as well horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their own-fort. Their Company was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheless it was not needful that the Quarter which received them, should be enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their arms. The next day they held a Council of war: wherein some were of opinion, that it were best for these new arrived Companies to refresh themselves a few days after their weary Journey, before they should be drawn forth to battel. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make use of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own Camp, ere *Hannibal* should have notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero* were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battel would not have been undertaken, without this their coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsel brake up, that the sign of battel should be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pavilion.

Asdrubal was no less willing than the Ro-

mans to come to battle, having long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and some of their arms and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the Camp: and gave order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth, yet should there good observation be made, whether the Enemies Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be encreased. The Camp, as hath been said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded only once in the Quarter of *L. Portius* the Praetor, did now, contrary to former custom, sound twice in the Quarter of *Livius* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the best way, to go leisurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*: nor troubled himself, perhaps with over-strongly fortifying his own Camp. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dilodged secretly by night, intending to get over the River *Acetum*; whereby to keep himself as long as he could, from necessity of battel. But whether it were so, that his guides did steal away from him in the dark, so that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavy, and hindered his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horse, and stayed him from passing any further. Soon after came *L. Portius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battel. *Asdrubal*, seeing himself overtaken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gauls*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficulty, be able to climb: in the right wing he stood himself with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed

placed in the midst; and his Elephants he bestowed in the front of his battels. On the Roman side, Nero had the leading of the right wing. *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battel. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Livius* the Consul with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*; by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtful. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the Roman fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the less, or were able now to do, being placed in the midst. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius* found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to come to blows with the *Gauls*, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who, seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compel him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compassed, he fell upon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flank. Here began the victory to be manifest on the Roman side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battel: and falling upon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slain. The *Ligurians* and *Gauls* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the rest were slain: some by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, began to wax unruly, and rush back upon their own battels following them,

the guide had in readiness a Mallet and a Chizze, wherewith he gave them a stroke between the ears, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beasts upon a sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harm as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the Squadrons following them, is said to have been the device of *Asdrubal* himself, who died in this battel.

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Livie*. He is said at all times to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his Father, and *Hannibal* his Brother; to have driven with great patience against many difficulties, whereto he fell by the means of those Captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battel all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he saw the loss irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battel, the report of *Livie* and *Polybius* do very much disagree. For *Livie* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no less an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Roman* at *Cannae*: that is fifty six thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* Citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slain eight thousand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well furnished with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battel of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannae*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* sides; and two thousand of the *Roman*, to have been slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battel. Whereby it may seem that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their Country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no less in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever since it were known in what sort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consul should make such a great adventure

ture, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakened, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the success; with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the Temples with Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in council, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would ask every ones help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first news of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters contained all that had passed, there was not only great and joyful concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) & attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certify *Hannibal* of the misadventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given burial to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civil, and less prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is that he hoped much more by the sudden terror of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which was passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himself, being overjoyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battel of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not after-

wards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight besides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, withdrew himself into the Country of the *Bruttians*: and thither he cauled all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places, as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compass, in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fatness, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this business *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this removal of the *Lucans* and *Adiapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Consul tarried among the *Cisalpine Gauls* untill the end of summer; there to set things in such order, as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause he desired leave to return home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was to have the honour of triumph as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well known, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was so given, that not only *Livie* with his Army should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Army behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers, because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horseback, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good service. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither

ther, indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the present war, until the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little mind to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruin, yet in himself alone, they thought there was force enough to hold himself upright. And surely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the most war-like, he obtained so many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians* and *Greeks*, which were neither in Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they never fell to sedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soil of the *Bruttians*: which when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and virtue, he kept his Army in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatness of reward and booty; since after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no invasion upon the wealthier parts of Italy; but held himself still among the poor *Bruttians*. Where we must leave him; until he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whose doing will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman made entire conquest of Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Mago, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, took upon them the charge of Spain, when *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar* departed thence into Italy. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levy a supply of men;

and *Asdrubal* withdraw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his business, and returned into Spain: where he met with one *Hanno*. (the same perhaps that had lately been employed in *Sicily*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*; and came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that Spain was now the better, and more readily furnished with men and all things needfull from *Carthage*: when that son of *Amilcar*, whose authority had been great, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it self, against that noble race of Warriors; when it should appear, that things did prosper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set upon the *Romans*. So he entered into the country of the *Celiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by money and over persuasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himself in the Eastern parts of Spain: attentive, as it may seem to the proceedings of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*; against whom he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italy, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Consuls. But hearing of the levy made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celiberians*, he sent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitive *Celiberians*, who became his guides, that their Country-men incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew near to these *Celiberians*: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* coming to their succour, instead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loss. *Mago* saved himself with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies journey brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slain or taken: among whom *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken prisoner; though he kept himself out of the fight until all was lost. As for the *Celiberians*, they knew better how to make shift; and

and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could not otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein Italy stood, by the coming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spain (as it is reported by some Authors to the defence of his own Country) or was perhaps, about to send them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intensive to the necessity and success of his Country-men at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spain; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that served under *Hannibal*, & those that had been sent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, that all which hath followed *Asdrubal* into Italy, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was clofed up in a strait, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themselves unto the will of the Victors. That it was the success of things in Italy, which gave such confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, because he took not this great enterprise in hand, until the Summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore used the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Army into many garrisons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Town of *Oringis*.

Against the next years danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Army; and spared not cost, nor travel, in strengthening himself, for the trial of his last fortune in Spain. With seventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I believe, that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italy. *Scipio* thought his Roman Legions too weak to encounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needfull to use the help of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtful of

relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colebus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty Towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service; he resolved to make use of those, and some few others, that might help to make a shew; and yet not be able to do any great harm, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his first coming, *Mago* and *Masanißa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilst he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of horse in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betook themselves to plain flight. After this encounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmishes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at far distance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before designed. But *Scipio*, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty; using herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his Father in the battle of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battel. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertain the *Romans*; whilst he himself arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he

incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since, being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retreat unto their foot; and one troop seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noon he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battel of *Spaniards* far behind them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal*'s wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed, and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battel which was coming against them; though it was as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal*'s Army stood idle, until the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battel of *Cannæ*. Wherefore he did only employ his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his friends. When they were chased with wounds, they could no longer be ruled as their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In process of the fight, the Romans who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty; when the others began to faint with travel and heat of the day. Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forced the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward again to have caused his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easy to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led

by the obstinate passion of fear, which haerens to no performance. The Camp of *Asdrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the Romans, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men; but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his Subjects: many followed this example; and soon after two strong Towns were yielded up to Scipio, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battel, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away faster than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. Scipio followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruel slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand that with

Asdrubal himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend; but wanting there necessities to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea side, that was not far thence, he took shippings and set sail for *Gades*. When Scipio understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their Camp, which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masimissa* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masimissa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army dispersed it self; some flying over to the Romans, others taking what way they like. So upon all the Continent of Spain, there were only three Towns left, *Iliturgi*, *Casulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of war against the Romans: of which only *Casulo* had a *Carthaginian* Garrison, consisting of

of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it seems that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Casulo* yielded long since unto the Romans; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Iliturgi* had sometimes been inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder Scipio's, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and slew the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrows. *Astapa* was a Town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoil of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not until the next year) Scipio went against these, and took him self *Iliturgi*, and *Casulo*: *Iliturgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Casulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcium*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market place; whereinto was thrown all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burn them if the Romans got into the Town. This provision being made, all the Inhabitants that could bear Arms, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the Town forthwith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the Romans consumed with the flame; whilst they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Massestæ*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For Scipio having driven the *Carthaginians* out of Spain, did forthwith be-think himself, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distress in *Africa*. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement;

of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also been beholding to P. and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captain into *Africa*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to Rome, and made league with the City in time of great extremity. So that hereby P. Scipio conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africa*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over C. *Lelium* his Embassador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in Italy, and had nothing now at all to do in Spain, easily persuaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* General should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto Scipio condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from Spain, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time with *Asdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous unto him, had he been desecured by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbear to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: But the *Roman* excused himself, by want of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed Scipio, with whom he readily entered into Covenants, which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funeral games held by Scipio. A Duel between two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

Scipio returning into Spain, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Iliturgi*, *Casulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end, he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funeral games, especial-ly

ly of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of Rome: for there were enow, that either offered, themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their several Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to defer the decision of their Controversies, to trial of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orfus*; Colongermans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Iber*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish* *Tamphry*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the principality: which though himself received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his Son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up their quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battel, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the War of *Troy*; by *Thebes*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the War of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Meneleus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want their examples of them among the *Hebrews*; whereof that between *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight between twelve of the Tribes of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjaminites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albani*. The combat of *Marcius Corvinus*; and shortly after: of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, as having

only reference to bravery. In England there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Cannus the Dane*, for no less matter than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort*, against the Earl of *Eloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honour of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles* is, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French* and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gaye de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of several Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we speak even now, between *Corbis* and *Orfus*. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon *Wager*; such as were that between *David* and *Goliath*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry of Boultonbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Montbray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Anselmy* and one *Catrington*: whom *Anselmy* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert of Mountfort*, and *Henry of Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh* of *Grimby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but he, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our trial by battel do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved; I cannot affirm. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or according to the customs of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punish-

ed by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Peramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yielded, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Camp close*, that is, within rails. Now this trial by combat was ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip* the fair his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect; That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the *French* Proverb, which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, That *He was tried by the Law of Loras, or Borne*; on le battin oye l'amende, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent trials by battel that great learned man *Two*, Bishop of *Chartres* did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of trial, was retrencht by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jaques le Gris*, and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his countryman; wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces defences par un dementir; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the *Lya*: otherwise it was concluded, that the defendant did *faillible-*

ment confesser le crime; silently confess the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lye* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personal combat; every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lye* mortality to self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fifth had patiently endured. From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Trial of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the *Lye*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in halt by the *French* Gentlemeo, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, there are (among many no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lye*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsely. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle

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fluffe in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and (worn to pay the moneys and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Ljars by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lied to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and Court-like kind of lying? It is (saith a wise French man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *un marche & complot fait ensemble, se mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres; A kind of merchandis, and complot made among them, to mock, lye, and deride each other*; and so far now-a-days in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynical. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complemental lyes, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and fear; the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the *Lye* it self, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect, to it I say, That whosoever giveth another man the *Lye*, when it is manifest that he hath lyed, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himself a Liar. On the other side, He that gives any man the *Lye*, when he himself knows that he, to whom it is given, hath not lyed; doth therein give the *Lye* directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say that the Sun shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lye, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himself a foolish Russian and a liar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lye* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Lifegives it impertinently, and Russian-like.

I will not deny but it is an extrem rudeness to tax any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered;) But all that is rude, ought not to be civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsel of God. But you will say, that these discourages favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wise, and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall find ten thousand seven penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance less, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitudo is a diligent preserver of it self. It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. Sic ut non Martyrem pona; sic nec fortem pona, sed causa: As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man: but fighting in a good cause. In which, whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Country: as he may justly be numbered among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own consciences; *Anima q3 in vulnere ponere; And to drown our souls in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries? I say that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: and the Laws of all Christian Kings and States; do favour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly ask me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to satisfie the challenger in private combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which*

So Thomas
saith in
his Com-
ment
of
England.

can judge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, seeing the Laws of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Laws of God appointed the Devil to second the Conquered, dying in malice: I say, that he is both base and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this, perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England, and other Christian Kings, have seldome taken any such advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have slain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the King, to approve themselves by battel and publick combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves unto the shameful revenge thereof; the fame revenge (because it detesteth murder) that hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Thieves: Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: yet it is not the man-slayer freed from his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Affize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I use his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-slayer) be convinced either by great Affize or by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-slayer shall die notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the Law of our Realm, to justice & to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in words or blows shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable: I say, that a Marshalls Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all things else by which the lives of our selves our wives, and children, are sustained; to the Judges of the Law; because it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why should we not submit our selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet again, it may be objected, that the loss of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us, than either the loss of our goods, of our

lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear unto us: other than a kind of History, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In these he that is employed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equal in persons and arms: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to the Common-weal.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to save every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confess that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himself of them upon advice hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are fervice, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monfieur de Pleffis*, that was tricked in France not long since by a Baron of the same nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gave judgement, *M. de Pleffis* was set in a chair under the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, where-with he had tricked *M. de Pleffis*, both which weapons he delivered into *Pleffis* hands, submitting himself to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of *Pleffis*, to use his own discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himself, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who struck *M. de Pleffis*

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like a Russian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner: or whether *Monfieur de Fleffis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Thief, when he is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no grace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shameful: because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakness. Certainly as wife men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be an honest man, scorns to hunt after opinion.

Now these power which the Constable and Marshals of France have, hath also a Marshal of England, or his Deputies: by whose judgement in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honor, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in England, in France, and elsewhere: was no less charitable than politick. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honey bees as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers, or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of several nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the

wrath of God upon supream Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which *Henry the IV. of France* also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Prædecessors could never do: in beating down and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called the *deadly feud*, a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royal care shall be no less happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of Duellists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between Lies of necessity upon breach of promise, or complemental lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort being excusable by weakness or levity; the latter being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo, or per insidiam*: though our Laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his own privilege, commandeth that the *guiltful* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every *guiltfull* murder performed by the sword, nor by overt violence: but there is a *guiltfull* murder also, by poisoning: and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between coming presumptuously upon a man, to slay him with guile; and lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the Birds. *Francis* the first, Queen *Mary* of England, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guiltfull murder*. Of the first kind, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talar*: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & support de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardinal of *Bellay* (in especial favour with the King) was one; was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. 2. *Mary*, upon a Noble

135. 118. 119. 120.

Exod. 11.

14

Prov. 11. 11.

Noble

Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her, *His Majesty*, upon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no less ancient and faithful, than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing *guiltfully* by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artificians, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing *guiltfully* by the pen (that I may not speak of any English Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable instances: the one of des *Esbars*, who (saith *Paquiere*) *fit mourir Montaignu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celui dont il estoit lors idolatre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle; Who caused Montaignu great Master of France to die to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Elbars worshipped as his Idol; but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who to satisfy the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admiral *Chabot*: a man most nobly defended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings the passion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with some offences, which he had formerly committed: The Admiral presuming upon the great good service which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Marseilles* against the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publick trial. Hereupon the King (it being easie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings Advocate, to question the Admirals life: The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Judges with so great cunning; with others with so sharp threats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings displeasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty, though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment and condemnation? *Belle les on certes (saith Paquiere) Ja tout juge pur de-mourer toujours en soy, & ne laisser fincher sa conscience debans les vagues*

135. 118. 119. 120.

†. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

The last business that troubled *Scipio* in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort that the rumour of his death ran current throughout Spain. This encouraged *Andonius* and *Indibilis*, petty Kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the *Romans*. They were vainly persuaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spain. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatness of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suessetani* and *Seditani*, confederates of the *Romans*; and waited their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Suero*, instead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reped such profit of the *Roman* conquests, as might satisfy their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time served very well, to enrich themselves with the spoil of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bridled their fury; they chose out of their own number two base fellows, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umbro*, to their Commanders. These took upon them all the Ensigns of Pro-consuls, or Pro-pretors; as if their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers after the death of the two *Scipios*: But whilest they were devising what ex-

plots they might do, for the enriching of themselves, in time of such combustion as was expected, there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent unto them from their General: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further over-shot themselves; led them to *Carthage*, there to receive their pay. Before their coming, *Scipio* had resolved to do exemplary justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deserved. Therefore he caused *Syllanus* to make ready their Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he caused *Albins* and *Atrius* with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings: he called the Mutiniers to assembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpose, he bitterly inveighed against them all as Traitors. This done, *Albins* and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners were haled to the stake, where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the Roman custom toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in arms: notwithstanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the severity used to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them, and found them in a valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and sending *Lelius* with all his horse, to fetch a compass about the hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preserve themselves and their estates, other wise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himself and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves less free Princes than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masaniissa*, who secretly promised to do him all service, if the people of *Rome* would send him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gader*,

came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he should thence depart from his fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, to join with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, as he himself sent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himself laid hold upon all that he could find in the Town of *Gader*; without sparing either private men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In this voyage thence, he landed at *Carthage*; hoping to have taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt, and was lo beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himself a while at *Gader*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not suffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Town, to complain of this un courteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth unto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Isle and City of *Gader*, was yielded to the Romans, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeed him therein: & himself with ten ships returned home. At his coming to *Rome*, he made suit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet been granted unto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as received that dignity after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse, the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the City, *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul, and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans, might not by the custom of those times, go far from the City as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cesar*, and others, who in ages following held the same office, were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being far and long absent. Hereby it came to pass, that *Scipio*, desiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so far off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtains leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of Masaniissa who was joyned with Scipio. The victories against Asdrubal and Syphax.

POb, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entering into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: where it was decreed, that *Scipio* should be allowed, to bestow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treasury; upon the setting forth of solemn plays, that he had vowed to make whilst he was busied in his *Spanish* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the same purpose, did the *Spanish* Embassages avail much in the Senate; especially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deservedly; saying, that they were the most happy of all their countrymen, since they being present, had seen him chosen Consul, and should carry home such joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embassadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate: as their faith to *Rome* (though costly it were both to them and to the Romans) had well deserved. Nevertheless, when *Scipio* proposed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainsaid him. Of these was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who seems to have been troubled with that disease, which too often caused men, renowned for long approved virtue, to look askint upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kind. He alleged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul; whereof the chief were, that the Treasury was unable to sustain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perilous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* itself, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as also concerning the honour of the Consul, which would (he said) be greater in setting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spanish* wars, as of less moment than the intended voyage against *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having suffered *Asdrubal* to pass into *Italy*: shewing, that it was

greatly to be feared, left the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithstanding the good success of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whilst the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, that neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province; which the Consul nevertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted upon this one point; that it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive war, especially against such as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves, by help of money, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise, he proposed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who resented in this honourable man, a little spice of that arrogance, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himself wholly to the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of *Sicily* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate have little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, coming on the sudden from the *Baleares* to *Genna*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion upon *Italy*, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Army of the *Ligurians*; for that he found them distracted with civil wars. Therefore he was driven to make choice of his party; and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesome business, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady *Gauls* ready

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconsuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardy* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disabill him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of money, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatal voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk* disturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Against *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have been pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent his Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Funic* and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission and carelessness; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they find a notable change. A great pestilence infesting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is said to have been the occasion of this years idleness; which fell out not much amiss for the City of *Rome*, that was marvelously impoverished by this war; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loss, the tenth part of the fine was ordained, as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make press of Souldiers for his *African* voyages; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councils of estate, that the buse, or obstinate heads of a few do carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their own judgements, to the wisdom, that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles,

thereupon. Therefore, he that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often find himself deceived: the counsel of those many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-throw the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature sorted well with the business, that fell out in the chief of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fabius* adhered; with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of time required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needful resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand Volunteers. He had also provision from the several Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for sails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mills, and the like implements; Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets and Spears of all kinds: every place furnished him with that commodity, which it best could afford.

Unto this willingness of the people, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of five and forty dayes he had both felled his Timber, built, and lanchd twenty *Triremes*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; where-with he transported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Canna*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy sentence. They had served under *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, at the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africk*, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the War, highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilest he was providing to have things in a readines for *Africk*, the banished *Locrians*, that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed and rewarded.

Scipio

Scipio being advertised of this gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded, and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aid. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest that their paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Consul *Scipio*. The Town-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate; not only against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoiled by these barbarous Thieves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate to make present amends to the goddess for this sacrilege: saying that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principal offenders; whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewith contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkned to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to run on in these wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissoluteness of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindful of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Island; two of the Tribunes, and one of the *Ædiles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastened him on his journey, and gave him

high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lelius* in *Africk*; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and struck no little terror into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affairs to be upon terms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masaniissa*, he well informed himself of the state of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyu with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masaniissa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made underhand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profess, *Livie*. That there was no such evident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancy, in following times, must help to prove, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian far inferior to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to pass, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unless we should believe, that he wisely forbear to rehearse a Tragedy; the sorrow whereof would cause men to think amiss of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was thus * *Appian* tells it: and many circumstances of things done, confirm it. *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*, had a fair daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masaniissa* loved. *Masaniissa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to be his son-in-law. When the Virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon *Syphax*, without standing to acquaint her father or *Masaniissa* therewithall: This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masaniissa* was advertised; and forthwith entered into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but (some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveyed himself home, into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth we may believe *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following.

L. v. lib. 9.

ing. Only it seems, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet since this their countess proceeded from fear, he thought it wisdom to continue and increase the same their fear, by making fair promises to the *Romans*, untill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it self, wherein *Aspian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears, by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Masanissa was the son of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto *Desales* the brother, not unto *Masanissa* the son. But this Uncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder son, who took possession of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain in battle by a Rebel, that made himself Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himself against *Masanissa*, whose return he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: He and his Pupil, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*, that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memory of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason would have been glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate, that they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilst his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrivall, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheless *Masanissa*, still retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained strong enough, to infect both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distress, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians*, and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lelium* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haften on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aid and succour was reposed more hope of good success, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into

Sicil about the same time, which was little pleading unto *Scipio*. He excused himself of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chuse but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved native Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as therto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For, the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness of many adventurers. Left therefore the failing of this hope, should work too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the best way to prevent all discourse, and let the war undertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to confider, that what he had promised, he had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, He called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lelium*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent me; greatly wondering upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracuse*. And left any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; halted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them, which to leave behind for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain: Some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needless to set them down: since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took

took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſs, I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercury*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrival, helped to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontory* to have been the place, that was also called *Mercurius Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrival, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the Promontory of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Contry with a troop of horse, to find out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lelium* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army & Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compaſs to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have disembarked nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentiful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Country thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustentance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lelium*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he

better advise them to set sail for *Utica*, and make war upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the of son *Gefco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage* both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the invasion; entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen General. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troop of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveyed aboard his Halks or Ships of burden, and sent them back laden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Saleræ*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter, for the field, than the defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskillfulness of their Leader, that had thus hoistled them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode up to the gates, and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entered pell-mell into the Town; which presently they made their own: Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and sat down before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Camp, which must be well stored against the year following. Whilst thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*: and

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In shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better success, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a levy of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning unto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Camp the banks of an In-let, that had good harbour for his Navy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an arm of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottom of the Creek he moored his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of cattle and other booty *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Country, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Scecil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparel for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turn, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he sent home-wards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare: especially with captives to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*; either for that they wanted the severer institution, which the *Romans* used in the discipline of war, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by persuasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, that having wearied himself by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no less weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter

into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himself home into his Kingdom, and rest a Nester. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had been invited, to make a step thither and repose himself a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace; propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of Italy by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africa*, and so make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africa* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the first give ear: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the intercourse of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, that the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings of Mats and Reeds; others that came later, had thatched their lodgings with dry boughs and leaves: under which they lay carefully without their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he thought himself, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of some such stratagem, he foresaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time should serve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for himself, to make some sudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he sent many Embassadors, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concern the intended surprise. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised like slaves; that wandering (as it were) idle up and down the Camp, might observe the ways and entrances, with whatsoever else was needful. When he had learned as much as he desired: upon the sudden

sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer treaty, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Council of war; without whose approbation, all that himself could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his design in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensive: as having lately persuaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battle in those Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Council of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? Which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet should do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in concept) the loss of their hopes past, with that victory to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do somewhat against *Utica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same piece of ground, whereon he lay against *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Utica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behind him in his Camp. He caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an half: whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his Army; the other half he committed to *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to

have taken by casualty upon the *Numidians* that lay further off, whereas if it first appeared in the camp of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly, that *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three a clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himself, imputed unto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to do, (some starting half asleep; and others that had fallen up late at drinking, ran out of their Cabins to quench the fire.) But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedy to the mischance as it was (supposed). Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater; many leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the Country, did great execution upon them: having laid all the ways, by which he foresaw that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitiful mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where fearless of any danger toward themselves, they stood beholding the greatness of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell outright as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himself, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barthine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified: it would then have been said, that with less than one half of 30000 men, he might at

least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not been only careful how to save his own fearful head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have been true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have stricken to shew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearful thing it was, to hear the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruel flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none that hath been is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands, very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their several ways of flight. Besides these also there were some scattersers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the dark: but they were not many, as after shall appear. Surely it must needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the rest of this relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seem to have followed some less worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the sum. For he reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire: and above six thousand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is far short of fourscore and thirteen thousand, which were in these two Camps.

Asdrubal, putting himself into the next Town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, until the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Town; if the Townsmen would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrival of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the Victors favour by delivering him up: he shrunk away betimes and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first coming: and thereby preserved it self from all manner of

loss. The two next Towns adjoining would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were fore troubled, as they had good reason, when instead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hasty provision for the future: but how to do it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the loss of this Army, they might well defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, that they should bend all their care this way, levying in all haste another Army; and sending Embassadors to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*, who having gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdom. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length she won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time, that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africa*. Of these were made such brave reports, as if their courage, and the Arms which they used, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* believed these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one age, the whole country of *Spain* had been twice conquered; first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lye; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty days they made up an Army, consisting well-near of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards* and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called,

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The Great Fields; about five dayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to visit them: leaving behind him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both Armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and seek to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a far worse Commander, or else it was not in his power, to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth day the Armies met in battel: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masaniissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax* the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battel. The victory was gotten without many blows: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masaniissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even until they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficial to those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his own Kingdom: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsel about the prosecution of the war. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himself, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masaniissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lelius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his own Kingdom, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seems that *Masaniissa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own Kingdom, usurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no less concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Lelius* was sent away with *Masaniissa*:

and *Scipio* stayed behind, carrying the war from town to town. Many places yielded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come; wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them, for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to do in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their enemy, they had lost their Armies and many of their Towns: neither durst they make bold to trouble their own subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, and rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, that ease to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himself was busied in the Island Countrys. Some were of opinion, that it should be their principal care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the safety whereof they said all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtless) would present them. These counsels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless, it was considered, that thereby they should only protract the war; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Utica* might be taken, or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, that he should immediately come over into *Africa*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Council was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators took themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Town: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarke themselves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adjoining, he easily took; the garrisons forsaking it, and running away, as soon as he drew near. But whilst he

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was about there to incamp, and fortifie himself against the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and in great fear, left his own ships that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily laden with engines of battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he halted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, either before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way; and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battel, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea; it should little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he took his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four-fold bridge over the channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choise men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some other spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planks, using the masts and yards of his ships instead of rafters, to joyn all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it self not be torn asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do, but the *Roman* Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly overborn by the force of the Gallies; and were

one occasion of that small loss that followed. They that stood upon the Bridge, were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting these their friends, that were entangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw upon the masts & yards, which served as arches to joyn the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by slipping into the next rank of ships, that lay behind them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work; but having haled away six ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory; because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good success as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdom, without farther contention: the *Masseyli* his subjects, joyfully receiving him, and forsaking the usurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Ardubal* and *Sophonisba*, he prepared again for war. But beside the indignation of his beloved wife; the loss of the *Masseyli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lelius* and *Masanissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no less unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance, but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in possession, be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomited up her own guts, when it was only the garbage of some other fowl, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of the *Masseyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lelius* and *Masanissa* will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come

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so far. It concerned the *Romans* to dispose (if it might be) the King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battle is enough, to translate the Kingdom from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no less an Army, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long ago sent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered up in haste: and few of them had seen war before. Encamping near unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troops of horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foil at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were far less. But whilest he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some *Roman* Squadrons of Foot came against him through their own troops of horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battel standing now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his troops grew confident upon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Here withal the Legions came in fight; which terrified so the *Numidian* horse, that they began presently to disband. Fain would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast from his horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken: the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place,

and fled; and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Roman* hand. *Masanissa* told *Lelius*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* war, if presently they halted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdom; whither he himself desired to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lelius* agreed, *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so far, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour: that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yielded her self into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himself that very day; thereby to prevent *Lelius* and *Scipio* from determining other wife of her, since she was his wife. But *Lelius*, when he came thither, took the matter haughtily, so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being overintreated by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion; to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following shortly after himself with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needful in the Kingdom.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Ardubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship; with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministering to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him to do so; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himself, since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as he had done of *Syphax*. It was not long,

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ere *Masanissa* and *Lelius* came unto him: both of whom together helovely welcomed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blushed, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheless intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his that had the custody of his poison (which Princes used then to have in a readines, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live: and tempering a porion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; that gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yield thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her husband had no better token to send unto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, that the might have dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And herewithall she boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the præcontract between *Masanissa*, and *Sophonisba*. He saith, that after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lelius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yielding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perjury *Sophonisba* was: and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his return,

and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*; *Masanissa* said, she was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disposable, unto whom the might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Here-withall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him, add not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragical accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashness, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of gold, with other Royal ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more cheerful contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit: neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Nester* in these wars, and sustained himself with his troop of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own subjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished.

vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, & passable withall among the *Numidians*; as being (for the *Maselyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of King, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: & by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vernina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*; and promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithal; that they would call him King. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *Punitious* herein, and answered very bravely, That it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in process of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings that no way depended upon them, the salutation by that name, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desired Truce, and break it.

The *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallen their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortal enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the City, which were

their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted unto the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but killed the * feet of him, and of those that sat in Councel with him.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barchinies*: but rather, that they were *Hano*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity, unless they themselves had expected the like, wherein they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the City of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the War. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though he came into *Africa*, to make a conquest, and not peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The Conditions

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which he imposed upon them, were these; That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaul*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Island between *Italy* and *Africa*: That they should deliver up all their ships of war, save twenty; and that they should pay a great sum of money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three daies: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman Senate*.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lelius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open, and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their Gods. *Lelius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy success of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his Subjects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him, who by rendering them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman Senate* were not behind with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King again; released his *Numidians* that were captives; and sent him two purple Cassocts, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serve to testify their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lelius* gone from *Rome*, when the news came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lelius* being sent for, came back from *Osia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City was only to win time, and get respite for war; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out

of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africa*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great Names and Armies, upon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Luſſatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force: neither had there since been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like fort, without Commission, to pass the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their Message was none other than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jest of war, that had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that peace made by *Luſſatius*, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gain time, untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were sent home, in company of *Lelius*, without any conclusion at all of peace, and in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate received diversion from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace: approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto Conclusion. This may with good reason be believed, since it was not unknown that if the war continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertain issue of one battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should beaver to them, their forces in *Africa* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadors came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africa*, to victual the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul weather at Sea, and hardly escaping

wrack,

wrack, was dispersed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Folybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, laying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so, that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the *raſcality*, together with women and boys, to be meddling in uproars: the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no less violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvel, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoynd) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loss; and for that the Town was thereby relieved: but for that by this breach of Truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injury done; and to deter them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (say they) we hold it strange, that ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, and kissed our feet after an unusual manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfidiously broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels: should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in *Hannibal*, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiss, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of *Italy*, among the Bru-

tians; where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed that he were now in *Africa*, and ready to give us battel: yet should it well agree with your wisdom to doubt what might befall, remembering that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be believed, or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use, to move compassion? Surely ye have already wasted all your forces of persuasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, wherof at this present ye are capable. It is no marvel though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the general opinion of the City, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all justification of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the *Roman* Embassadors were very much delighted, in the rehearsal of that point which was yielded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrel. But the *Carthaginians* took this in so ill part, that hardly they could refrain from doing violence unto the men, who had used unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, in whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calls *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reverence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberal words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their safe convey home, though with little intent of good unto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men failed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off these Embassadors in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the River *Bagradas*. Their Convey having brought them on the way, as far as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, withed them a good voyage; and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in safety, since the *Roman* Camp was even in sight. The Embassadors took this in ill part; not as fearing any dan-

ger toward, but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell upon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose: which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinqueme*, that had more banks of Oars, than had any Gallies of *Asdrubal*, they thrust away, and made him over-throw himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well-near surprised them. But they discovered some Roman Companies on the shoar over against them, and therefore adventured to run their Vessel aground: whereby they saved their own lives, though a great part of their company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartened in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to study nothing else, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to understand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Affrick*, in whom they reposed no small confidence, but verily perfwaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

In what sort Hannibal spent the time after the Battle of Metaurus: The doings of Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago called out of Italy. How the Romans were diversely affected by Hannibals departure.

Ever since the loss of that battel at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remaining in the Country of the *Brutians*, waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The Roman Consuls that succeeded unto *Claudian* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Collegue of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*, being hindered by the Pestilence that was in his Army. *Scamprinius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and

Cn. Scerolius Capio, who followed *Scamprinius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Affick*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gauls* to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*, and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no less needful for *Scipio* to return home out of *Affick*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal* to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to employ one of their Consuls or Pro-consuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gauls*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side *Mago* would break out: Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Insulbrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the Roman Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battel, wherein though his vertue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such sort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor taking unto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were

scattered

scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidian* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troops that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shower of darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, *Mago* employed some of his *Gauls*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But the *Gauls* discharged their parts very ill. They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, he put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retreat, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his own men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, besides those that dyed of the Proconsul's Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout; before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sons of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himself (by easie journeys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not tarrying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Command-

ment, and imbarqued shortly his Army: but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to return into *Affick*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilest the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done: He told them, that this was plain dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid me come home, have long ago done their best to hale me out of *Italy*; though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to manage the War here. *Scipio* therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the beels: it is Hanno that hath wrought this noble feat; and overbore the house of the Barchines, for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of *Carthage*. He had before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubting that which after came to pass: wherein he imbarqued, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition: of whom, such as he could take, he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the shoar, accusing both gods and men; and cursing his own dunce, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloodyed as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*; in the first beginning of this War, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the news of *Hannibal*'s departure out of *Italy*: they would (if think) less earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanks-giving unto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for joy of such happy tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into

Affick.

Africk, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to perform abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought unto them a great mass of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* prisoners were excepted, the treasure was rendered back unto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those 12 Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the battle at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few days since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Adrubal* no speciality of so great worth, as might promise the like success against another manner of General, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a rasal multitude of half skulkons, that were good for nothing; being himself a fit Captain for such Souldiers. Likewise *Adrubal* the son of *Gisco* was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at saving himself by a swift retreat. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times

in *Roman* battle, and wearing the spoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them slain. Such talk used the people of *Rome*, saying, that *Scipio* was like to meet in battle with many that had slain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Consuls with their own hands: with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of several *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of walls at the siege of towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in war, and following the dreadful name of *Hannibal*.

S. XXI.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vain: loseth a battle at Nedagra, and persuades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

Hannibal disembarked his Army at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercury*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat far from the enemy; that he might furnish himself of these and the like needful helps against the day of battle. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the Inland Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to have in those dayes the best Horses of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easie for *Masaniissa*, by their countenance and help to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes, as hinder his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further adds, that *Mexetellus*, (the same who had made himself Protector over *Masaniissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assail the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniissa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than

than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilst they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by War. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could do out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Army; but since he was General of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: the violence done to his Embassadors: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masaniissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masaniissa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdom. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own Kingdom; with four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the

conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*, who brought them save into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion,

M. Bæbius one of the late Embassadors that had been in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; sending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coin, for the injury by them lately done.

Scipio was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do; they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the streets: hewing their bodies asunder: as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practice at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought unto *Scipio*: who instead of trusting them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, He gave them leave to depart; and sent them away safe unto their General. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage

rage of his enemy : with whom on the sudden he grew so desirous to have an interview, and personal conference ; and signified so much unto him by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well : and returned answer, that He would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day Masaniissa came with his Army : whom Scipio taking with him, removed unto a Town call'd Nedagera ; near unto which he sat down, in a place otherwise commodious, & close by a water that might opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent word unto the Carthaginian, That the time and place did fitly serve, if he had ought to say to him. Hannibal thereupon removed from Zama, and came within four miles of the enemy ; where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things else ; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water somewhat far off. Then was order taken for their meeting : and the two Generals each of them with a troop of Horse, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground ; which was before well searched for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off : and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then began the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliver his mind to this effect : That it had been better both for Carthage, and Rome, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Affrick and of Italy ; for that the Countreys of Sicil and Spain, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled : He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extrem dangers their own Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad ; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, He affirmed that his own years, and long tryal of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that Scipio, by want of the like experience, might rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are sub-

ject. Tet (said he) mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For that same Hannibal, who after my vittorie at Cannæ, won the greatest part of Italy, & deified with my self, what I should do with your City of Rome, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine Army to your walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage : but now, see the change ! I stand here intreating thee to grant us peace. This may serve as a document of Fortunes instability. I have fought with thy Father Scipio ; He was the first of the Roman Generals that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I should have such business, as now at the present, with his son. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, wherof she hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy self, who knows how soon ? Think upon M. Atilius : If he would have bearkened unto such persuasions, as I now use to thee, he might have returned home to Rome an happy man, and so maist thou do now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How fast thou & Canst thou be contented, that all Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, and whatsoever Islands else are situate between Italy and Affrick be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever, and left unto the Romans, to bear dominion therein ? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much : and the Romans may well be glad of such a bargain. As for us, our own quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must undergo for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee : stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune as it please the Gods. The issue of battel is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and fittel we shall each of us bring into the field ; but of the victory neither of us have assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace. And do not tell me that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudently of late in the like treaty : It is I Hannibal that now desire peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my Countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will always maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the Gods did not envy me, the war by me begun.

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicil and

in Spain which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former War : but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those arms ; which the gods by the final issue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he said, that he was not thereof ignorant ; and that without any note of insolence or overweening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plain that all these Countreys, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already now from the Romans ? If, said he, these conditions had been propounded whilst as yet ye detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their breack they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or savers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ranfome-free, all prisoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thousand talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hostages for assurance of fair dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embassadors ? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done ; then will I take advice with my counsel what answer to give you ; otherwise you may even prepare for war, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off : and returned each to his own Camp, with no other news than war ; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battel, wherein should be decided the quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field : a notable march, and such as hath very seldom been found : whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battel at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner : placing

first the Hastati, divided into their Maniples, or small Battallions, with a reasonable distance between them : Not far behind these followed the Principes, likewise divided ; and so after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary custome of the Romans : He placed not the Maniples of his Principes opposite unto the void spaces between the Hastati, that so the Hastati, as was usual, might fall back between the Principes ; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, wherof Hannibal had many. For of those beasts the danger was less whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battallions, they should not come upon the Principes in Front. Unto his Velites, or those of the light armature that were to begin the fight he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were between the Maniples ; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army ; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he desired to keep open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing, under C. Lelius. In the right wing was Masaniissa with his Numidians. He himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly ; using words, not many, but forcible. He bad them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into Affrick. He told them, that if this day were theirs the War was at an end ; and that their victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own standing Camp : neither was there any place in Affrick, that would give them shelter : if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory : unless they would live like wretched slaves under most mercilese Enemies. In such necessity he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and

take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourscore in Front of his Battle. Next behind these he made his Vant-guard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians, Gauls, Balears and Moors*. Then followed his Battle; which was of *Carthaginians and Africans*, more interested in the quarrel than were these Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong, behind these came his Rearward, consisting of those brave Souldiers which had served him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lelius*, in his own right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masaniissa*. He was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodness. For *Tychæus* and *Moxestulus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Masaniissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other, than such as could be levied in the haste of a few days; and the remainder of those, that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Verrina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in a few days after, with sixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse, the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* must be fain to comfort himself with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* Souldiers; whose virtue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their several conditions: promising unto the Mercenaries bountiful rewards; threatening the *Carthaginians* with inevitable servitude if they lost that day: but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against far greater numbers. He bad them to look upon the Enemies and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Army which they had slaughtered

at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, that it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to run away. He told them, that these Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Roman* Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battels, could no longer be trusted to bear Arms in their own Country. As for the rest, they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual fear of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he intreated these his old companions, upon whose virtue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets and other instruments of war, sounded to battel: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of these Elephants (as they were always an uncertain kind of help) those that stood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* horses; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masaniissa* espying this, gave charge upon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to rally themselves, drove them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoil of the *Roman* *Velites*, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point of their own battel, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithal they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse, which were in that wing: against whom they gave to *Lelius* the same advantage that *Masaniissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he used in like sort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quickness to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harm, than they took. But the *Roman* discipline after a while prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained Barbarians.

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Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellows & shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries, received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-leived *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired souldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battel was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withal forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to ask them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellows, to turn their arms with an heedless fury against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and slain, through their own indiscretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman* *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stir one foot, to help or save these Run-aways. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his battel, and save themselves in the open field. The ground over which, the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so slippery with blood, that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Army, which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the main battel of the *Hannibals*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them,

when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the days work till now, seemed to have been a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharp Conflict, that was maintained between these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also far the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time it was uncertain which part had the worse: unless it may seem, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink; so far as the return of *Masaniissa* and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have been most happy, and in a needful time. These upon a sudden charged the *Hannibals* in the Rear; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this battel there dyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand; besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polibius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livius* reports, by *Scipio* himself. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enjoined, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battel with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels. He saved himself with a few horses; and stayed not in his journey, till he came *Adrumetum*. Thence he was sent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been absent six and thirty years. At his coming into the Senate, he said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadors again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whose Arms they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he

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committed unto *Cn. Octavius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Laelius* away to *Rome* with news of the victory, set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing up with the Admiral Gally, began to use the pitiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*; where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in person he set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the news, that *Vermine* the son of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more horse than foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermine* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behind him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pitiful than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealings, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal* at such time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to pass over into the Isle of *Sicily* (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africa*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army.

there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africa*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate nor People would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might join with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hesperia*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyful news to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Centulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africa* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, until he had first his will. Much ado there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadors. He willed them to consider what they had deserved; and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal; in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Laws, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africa*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependence. Hereunto if they would yield, then required, He, that immediately they should deliver up to the Romans all prisoners, fugitives, and renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten; and all their Elephants. That they should make no war at all thenceforth out of *Africa*, neither yet within *Africa*, without licence of the Romans: That the Country's Towns, goods whatsoever, belonging any wife unto *Massinissa*, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should find corn for the Roman Army, and wages for their

Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, until the Peace were fully concluded; that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as *Scipio* would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.

With these conditions the Embassadors returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withal what favourable audience was given to this vain Orator, by the unquiet, yet unwelcome multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying: That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customs of the City: would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, until he was now a Man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves; had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadors. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three months, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadors any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadors to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen, through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in

company of *Scipio*: his Embassadors: who related unto the Senate and People these joyful news. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls, then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadors called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the Romans had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadors, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellows, and there levying men, made war upon the King, without any regard at all of the league, that was between him and the Romans. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countrymen, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in *Africa*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks*, which were confederate with *Rome*, enduring so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behind, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carried money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadors could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points he had broken the League, that was between him and the Romans: first, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into *Greece* and the Eastern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embassadors in their solicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entered into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* above the rest was much respected, as one,

one, whose good offices had kept the *Romans* from necessity of sending Embassadors to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the *Romans* side; saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City; that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsel. But if *Hanno*, and himself might have had their wills, the *Carthaginians*, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace, which they now desired. Herewithal he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no small argument of their valour; by which always they had been victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadors: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproof of Perjury, as they themselves might have laid upon the *Romans*; if their diligence and fortune had been such as the *Romans* was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would swear to keep the peace hereafter: *Asdrubal* made answer; *Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul, interposing the authority of his office, would have hindered the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Sovereign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, sent unto him from *Rome* of purpose, should make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon such Conditions as seemed best: which were none other, than the same which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embassadors humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visit their Countrymen, which were prisoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ransom and carry home with them some that were their especial friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadors would choose, should be sent over into *Africk*, and be freely restored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in

company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joya with *Scipio* in commission.

At their coming into *Africk*, the peace was given; and accepted, without any controversy or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latiners*, or other *Italians*. The *Latiners* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasury could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet since the pension was annual, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the sum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwise, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which, when he was checked by *Asdrubal* Hædus, and told, that it wot of all befecmed him to laugh, since he had been the cause why all others did weep; He answered, That laughter did not always proceed from joy; but sometimes from extremity of indignation: *Tet, said He, My laughter is more seasonable, and less absurd, than your tears. For ye should have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the use of arms, without the good leave of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears.* Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsel, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held; wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that

that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the desertings of this *Nimidian King*. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarked themselves for *Sicily*: where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by Land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no less glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entered the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the City in this Triumph, and dying soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before: it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, that it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities

of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had always made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age pass. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war past, whereof the *Romans* had been in a manner without hope that ever they should set *Italy* free. This made them look cheerfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: styling him by the name of that Province, which he had subdued. This honourable kind of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

Exce p. 2
Folgh. 16.



CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of *Perseus King* of *Macedon*; his first Acts and War with the *Romans*, by whom he was subdued.

§. I.

How the *Romans* grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The *Ætolians* over-run *Peloponnesus*. Philip and his Associates make War against the *Ætolians*. Alteration of the state in *Sparta*. The *Ætolians* invade *Greece* and *Macedon*, and are invaded at home by Philip.

Phil. n. vita
Sextus.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependence upon the will of man, we are less to wonder, if we find less variety: since it is no great portion of things which are obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be

If *Nabuchodonosor* with his royal Soldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them, to employ the travel and virtue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names against those people; that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kind it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Perfians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and kicked by the Ass. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misunderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the virtue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be soiled by any of less-noted excellence. Against the same issue, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had dashed his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*, though most of mark, and a better Soldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entered into the war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake; having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicily* and *Affrick*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus* had found their own virtue to be of richer metal, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*; than did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants, and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. * For since they had overcome the best Warrior in *Greece*, even him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedonia*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compass of 12 years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly: there was hereunto requisite no more: than to bring to their own devotion by some good means, the whole Country of

Greece: all the rest, this done, would follow it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after news in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet, and were become, though not otherwise very skillful Mariners: yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Tenta* made at the same time cruel war upon the *Greeks*: warring their Country, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrel, if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war, which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadors, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for the love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indifference of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business with them, now being the subject of our story, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a busy time in the world, when, within the space of 4. years, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countries known; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest kingdoms. This happened from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose room succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the Great. *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. years old, received the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, together with the Patronage of the *Acheans* and most of the *Greeks*, by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonus Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedaemon*, and the Countries about

Mount

Mount *Taurus*. For *Antiarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himself King over the *Lacedaemonians*, whose Common-weal, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headless; and *Acheus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third years of the one hundred and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and the rest; we shall speak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Acheans*, and many other his dependants. That Country, having freed it self by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no less obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have been to the *Spartan*; and therewithal it lay open unto the violence of the *Etolians*, who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Etolians* were no men to be idles nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messeniens* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no less unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoil of the Country; finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Acheans*, were called by the *Messeniens* to help: which they did the more willingly: because the *Etolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Etolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries, wherewith most ingratfully they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Acheans*. He was therefore so hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few days until the time of his own Office came; being chosen Pretor of the *Acheans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of

Army. He suffered them to pass quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Acheans*, they got hereby only the friendship of the *Messeniens*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Attolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* again: having no more to do, than to pass over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, wherethey might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no Ships of war unto the Coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek adventures again, and did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, and fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scaudiladas*, or *Scaudileus*, having gotten what they could elsewhere by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Etolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havoc in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satiate themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedaemonians*; who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Etolians*, in meer despite of the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*; by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedaemonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrival of *Philip*, they shew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from coming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civil discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant always to remain

* The King of *Syria* is pretended invincible Navy, being beaten out of the British Seas, invited us to those of *Syria*; and having broken the greatest Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Acheans*, *Boeotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have War decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whether it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Council unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were, to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*; and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the War against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Acheans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the War in their own Country, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithful meaning in that War, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon

a needles point, and desired to be held excused, until *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, until that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publick safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsels: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; and sought to joyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speak their minds: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended; fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as it were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness & lustres; which once he had in a manner performed. But since he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving virtue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far less by him respected, than were the *Acheans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among

among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himself the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, between those of the *Macedonian* party, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; until by massacre or banishment of all, or the chief, that spake against the *Ætolians*: the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Acheans*, who had spared the City, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so careless in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royal Families they found *Agæopolis*, the son of *Agæopolis*, the son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Agæopolis* was a young Boy, standing in need of a Guardian; and had an Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the son, how young soever, should have his fathers whole right and Title: the *Lacedæmonians*, whilst standing in need of a man, were so punctual in observation of the Law, that they made this child their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royal Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them; to examine the goodness of his Claim; but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdom, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent; and thereby made himself be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus* to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Country of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed War against the *Acheans*.

Thus the beginnings of the War fell out much otherwise, than the *Acheans* and their Confederates had expected, when

they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain answer: the *Messians* would not stir: all the burden must lye upon themselves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could assail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surprised the Town of *Agira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Acheans*; for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Syeion*, two of their principal Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Country. But as *Agira* was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost again, through greediness of spoil; whilst they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedlessly to ransack private houses, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; waiting all the Territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacy. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Acheans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymeans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, and to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* and the *Acheans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joined all their forces with him; and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming in; it is thought that he might have had an end of the War. But it happensoft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldom, that the impurity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King *Henry* the eighth led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperour to the siege of *Tourmay*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Termin* was lost, and that his Cavalry, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earl of *Essex* with seven hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambrachus*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such fort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not only to overrun *Thessaly*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Egean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statues that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own Country, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambrachus*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phetia*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Peanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harm. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Country of the *Eleans*,

whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achean* Embassadors; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Country. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdom, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey: as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismiss the *Achean* Embassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way home-wards: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Dofon* in the wars of *Cleomene*; and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their first request, to take part with *Philip's* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, whilst his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harms by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they required with all extremities of War, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of War, until another year, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a journey into *Peloponnesus*, with 5000. Foot, & about 400. Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be shut, that no word should be carried forth of his arrival. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achean* Souldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the Country, without somewhat more than two thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse;

Horse; little thinking to meet with opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Acheans* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; until they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellows, were by him surprized, and all made prisoners, or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Plophie*, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unreasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served: send it. The Town was preserved by the King from sack; and given to the *Acheans* of his meer motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lafon*, which yielded for very fear; hearing how easily he had taken *Plophie*. This Town also he gave to the *Acheans*. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even Houses were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done sacrifice to *Jupiter*, feasted his Captains, and refreshed his Army three dayes; He proceeded on to the spoil of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Ætolians*, in the spoils of their otherwise-deserving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he took, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand with the Towns, whereto a great multitude of the Country people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by sending Embassadors to yield before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, took courage to set themselves at liberty, by seeing the King so near: to whose Patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Ætolians* Captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the sharpness of winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Fain he would have fought with

the *Ætolians*: but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themselves within the Town of *Sanicum*; where they thought to have been safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yield the place; obtaining license to depart with their lives and arms. Having performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himself a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the winter.

Before the Kings arrival in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycorgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; and threatened to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home. This *Lycorgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with money, so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him: nor from those jealousies, with which Usurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royal blood, that thinking himself to have best right unto the Kingdom, purposed to make way thereunto by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirm himself, by propounding unto the multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens; according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He won to his party some two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at supper, & slew them all. Then went he to *Lycorgus* his house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds not being hereto predisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabouts they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Acheans* a banished man, and hated of his own people. As for *Lycorgus*, he returned home: & suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Agisipolis*, whereby he made himself Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort, as once he should have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than

than to adventure himself into judgment; he chose to flie for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His well-known vehemency in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakness of their own firmness against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himself: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was to be acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expel him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chased *Agæpolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens, in the war against *Philip*, he behaved himself as a provident man, and careful of his Country's good.

§. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill Counsellors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the Ætolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.

WHILEST the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his business for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatness, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Dofon* had left unto *Philip* such Counsellors, as to him did seem the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chief of these was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself a great Politician, thought that he should do a notable piece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Æcheans* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to pass; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Æcheans* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers

to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellows; that he laid by the heels, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to pass by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habit of blind obedience; and think nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Æcheans* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to suffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*: and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought to well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Æcheans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court: promising to become their especial friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Æcheans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Æcheans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Æcheans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more importance, the King by fair words and threatenings together, obtained so much, That *Epeiratus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles*'s new favourites, was chosen Prætor, instead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good

good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yielded it up for fear, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymeans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Country the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and join with him upon reasonable terms. This if they could be contented to do, he would *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Laws, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit, as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Country: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to believe such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutual diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marveling what should be the cause, that he heard no news from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counsellor, thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his son together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudicial to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message; nor the *Eleans* in heark-

ning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause, as it were, in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungrateful wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Æcheans*; and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own, or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to give credit, until he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Æchia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yes*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*: which, when he found no better than a meer device against his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unrefrugal temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly Ambition useth) so swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*: so failing of them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow, which drove away flies out of the chimney: but

but was carried (net and all) into the Air by the bird, that was too strong to be caught, and held by the subtle workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*; and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithful men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his own into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumination and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more fineness; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many virtues the King might ill spare from being always in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warm Sun*. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himself: and fought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prator of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he should have been furnished by the *Acheans*. This made the King understand his own error: which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He perfwaded the *Acheans* to rejoin their Parliament from *Egium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perfwading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travel of these worthy men, he easily obtained what he would of the *Acheans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great store of Corn; and further decreed, That so long as he himself in person followed the wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten talents a month. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the *Etolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things go forward so well without his help; even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into coun-

spiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himself and them by Oath, to cros and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that very want of ability to do any thing without them; should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wife men perfwaded themselves, that by looking big upon him; and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*. The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindful of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readines: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Etolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Acheans*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. He himself with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Isle of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Etolians*, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the Town of *Palaea*, that had been very servicable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates; and might be very useful to him, if he could get it. Whilst he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen ships of war from *Socradaias*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Town was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his best: and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slain, not of the worst Souldiers: but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treason of their Captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindered the victory. The King was angry with this,

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but there was no remedy: and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier unto the Towns-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed and uncertain what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Country. The *Messenians* alleged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Country: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Etolian* winds which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perfwaded; who considered that those winds, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsel, and prevailed: he shewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Etolians* over-run all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Army far off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said that the time now served well to carry the war into *Etolia*: since the Prator was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Acheans* were appointed to make head against them. According to this advice, the King set sail for *Etolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Etolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and joyed with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the inland Country: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to assure his Retreat; He passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Etolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great fastness, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow steep, and difficult ascent. There did the *Etolians* use to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the natural strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, and there was nothing else to do than to take spoil: wherof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and consum-

ing all that could not be carried away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Etolians*; in remembrance of their like courtship, shewed upon the Temples of *Dinn* and *Dodana*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionless) more for the Kings honour have been forgotten. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gourger* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Etolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he believed before, and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Illyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Etolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Country round about him, He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Etolians* made countenance of fight, refusing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast unto all his friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came because they could not chuse: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings business; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore: many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to enquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed: Which made him fend for *Leontius* and his fellows. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: in such manner, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved.

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ved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megalæus*, yea, and to cast him into prison? Why said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer; which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angry; feeling himself out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megalæus* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no less touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megalæus* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Bail for *Megalæus*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of business of this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*; he took in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*; whilst the King was absent. The *Acheans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill success, yet so, as they hindered them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came; he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: and was in a manner at the Gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well believe that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattle, slaves, and other Country spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodians* and *Cicians*, that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal first with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the same request, should not find him unreasonable. The *Ætolians* had sped ill that year: neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season they had been grievously afflicted, as before is

shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Country. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in arms against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keep the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seek their own peace, without regard to their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: and taking truce for thirty days with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his presence at a Diet of the Nation, that should be held at *Rhimum*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilst these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalæus* thought to have terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sort to no good effect. The Souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger fell it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea, the Souldiers themselves repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalæus* were afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self to their extrem danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason, requesting him speedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the business, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon*, and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in every business. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnifie the virtue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better

better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, that money and all things needful for the publick service, should be wanting. Yea, he enforced the King for very need, to sell his own Plate and household vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, he ruled wholly by you, and all shall be as you would wish*. Here to if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Embeza*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megalæus* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entering the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check at his made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such fort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megalæus* to look to himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targettiers*, to signify what was befall him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to trial before their return: as for the debt of *Megalæus*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the Souldiers made *Philip* more hasty than else he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megalæus* were intercepted; which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to

sink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falshood, not only of *Megalæus*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him so poor. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megalæus* that was fled to *Thales*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his son, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megalæus* also, neither daring to stand to trial, nor knowing whither to flee, was weary of his own life, and slew himself about the same time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalæus*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings *Targettiers*, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhimum*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the year following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yielding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the same *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Towns, from which the *Dardaniens*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdom: when he had thus provided for safety of his own; the *Ætolians*

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might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embassadors from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolemy King of Egypt, and from the City of Bizantium, recontaining the former solicitation about the peace. This fashion had been taken up in matters of Greece, ever since the Kings that reigned after Alexander, had taken upon them to fet the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of war, but presently there were found Intercessors, who pitying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad fought to bind unto them those people, that were howsoever weak in numbers, yet very good Souldiers. But hereby it came to pass, that the more froward folk, especially the *Ætoliens*, whose whole Nation was addicted to fallhood and robbery, durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well assured that if they had the worst, *The love of Greece* would be sufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in fear to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as soon as they might. Philip made such answer unto the Embassadors, as he had done the former year: That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætoliens*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signify plainly their determination, whereto himself would return such answer as he should think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily won by the War. But it happened in the midst of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Macedon, what a notable victory Hannibal had obtained against the Romans in the battel at *Thrasymene*. These letters he communicated unto Demetrius Phariens: who greatly encouraged him to take part with Hannibal: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætoliens*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Ninphæum*. There did Agelaus an *Ætolian* make

a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the Greeks, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about: finishing War between themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans or Carthaginians had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said they were good, that their Country should be at peace within itself: and that Philip, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in Italy.

Such advice could the *Ætoliens* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatening them at hand: but being loosed after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsel, that they invited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple. That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

S. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of Demetrius Phariens, enters into League with Hannibal against the Romans. The tenour of the League between Hannibal and Philip.

His being agreed upon: the Greeks betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and Philip to prepare for the business of Italy, about which he consulted with Demetrius Phariens. And thus passed the time away, till the great battel of Cannæ, after which he joyed in league with Hannibal, as hath been shewed before. Demetrius Phariens bore great malice unto the Romans, and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the Macedonians, who were in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, to take part with their enemies: it had otherwise been far more expedient for Philip, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, the weaker

weaker Prince, have both secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsel which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrel with the Romans, the trouble which they and the *Ætoliens* did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon such Conditions that might easily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punic War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the League between him and Carthage, which may seem not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the form it self then used: though it had been overlong to have been inserted into a more busie piece.

The Oath and Covenants between HANNIBAL General of the Carthaginians, and XENOPHANES, Embassador of PHILIP King of Macedon.

This is the League ratified by Oath, which Hannibal the General, and with him Mago, Myrral, and Barmocal, as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with Xenophanes the son of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the son of Demetrius hath sent unto us, for himself and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo, before the Gods of the Carthaginians, Hercules and Tolans: before Mars, Triton, Neptune: before the Gods accompanying Arts, the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth: before Rivers and Meadows, and Waters: before all the Gods that have power over Carthage: before all the Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece: before all the Gods that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League. Hannibal the General hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians, in his Army: Be it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath stand for friendship, and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant; that the Sifties of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the General, and those that We wish him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, using the same Laws, and of the *Uticens*, and as many Cities and Nations in obey the Carthaginians: and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Towns and

Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King Philip and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their Associates. In like manner, shall King Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Associates, be saved and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the *Uticens*, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter join with Us in Italy. We shall not take Counsel one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readiness and good will, without deceit or subtilty, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King Philip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendship. The War that We have with the Romans, have ye also with them, until the Gods shall give Us a new and happy end. We shall aid Us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Us their help in this War against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship, We shall make friendship in such wise, that ye shall be partakers of the same friendship. With Condition, That of Demetrius hath sent unto us, for himself and the Macedonians: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over the Corcyreans, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrhachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dalmatie, nor the Parthin, nor Atintania. They shall also render unto Demetrius Phariens all that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make War upon You or Us; We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendship. To this league, if We or Ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

§. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural vices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilst he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poisoneth Aratus: and grows hateful to the Achæans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himself as a virtuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, he might have offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this meddling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithal reputation to his Country. But in this business he was guided (as hath been said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who looking thoroughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the virtues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, bloody, and tyrannical: desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise listening to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in *Italy*, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks*, that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did only seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a foreign War) unto domesticall objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In process of no long

time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilst each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone, that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their Guardians were slain. But his falsehood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgraceful words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use: for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of *Peloponnesus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilst he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrails of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that

he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He thought perhaps; that the old man would have soothed him a little; were it only for desire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as *Aratus* stood doubtful what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: If thou be a Soothsayer, show me the way, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns. Thus he spake; resembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponnesus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Messenians*: But if, by seizing upon *Ithome*, he must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice, *Philip* yielded at the present: but not without some dislike thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*: whom he thought more froward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannical purposes; so likewise he perceived, that in referring to his house, he had been dishonest with his sons wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of *Cleodemus*, his own Country-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponnesus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refused to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him; That dishonest counsells are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirians* were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remain; whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he set upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apolonia*; having no good colour of these doings; but thinking himself strong enough to do what he listed, and not seeing

whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus instead of feeling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilst he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius the Roman* came into those parts; who not only maintained the *Epirians* against him, but procured the *Aetolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrences whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leisure served, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the *Messenians*; but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too far. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, he went to work by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to help him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon *Messene*, he lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the ministry of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, he poisoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that, he poisoned also the younger *Aratus*; hoping that these things would never have been known; because they were done secretly, and the poisoners themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto *Aratus* more than humane honours; as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated every year twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, since the help of the Devil is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The living memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but work

work, in the *Acheans* a marvellous dislike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed: neither were they in case to sussist, without his help that had committed it. The *Etolians* were a most outrageous people, great darters, and shameless robbers. With these the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were soon divulged, especially that main point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Etolians* should have the Country and Towns; but the *Romans* the spoil, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The *Acheans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make strait alliance with the *Etolians*, as knowing their uncivil disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greeks* account all other Nations except their own) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedaemonians* to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Etolians*, whose friendship they had embraced in the late war. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Acheans* his Confederates, sufficed to retain them: especially, at such time, as their own necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himself the *Dymeans* by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Etolians*; and redeeming their people whereof they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, whereof he was not ahamed, he took *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the second time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

S. V.

Of *Philopomen General of the Acheans: and Machanidas, Tyrant of Lacedaemon. A battel between them, wherein Machanidas is slain.*

It happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopomen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Acheans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careless of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopomen*, who being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to *Antigonus* at the battel of *Sellasia* against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had spent the most-part of his time in the Isle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the *Acheans* very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or General of the Nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his Country might be strong enough to defend it self, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the *Acheans* to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, household-stuff, and curious rare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and futable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were useful in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hasty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopomen* altered this: causing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order,

order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might use the service of many bands.

Eight moneths were spent of that year, in which he first was Prætor of the *Acheans*, when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon* caused him to make trial, how his Souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the City in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Acheans*, that were favourers of liberty; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the *Etolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedaemon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Acheans*, and *Macedonians*, were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Etolian* Faction. Very unwisely. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindered them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the Mastery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but always made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Acheans*, and thought his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the Country of the *Mantineans*: being not without hope to do as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopomen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantineia*; where was fought between them a great battel. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopomen* sent forth

his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply, till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Acheans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being to far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, as which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindered from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length, not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage, where, in usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyranny, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire some, what beneficial to themselves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to do manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the Victory, many companies (if not all) of foreign Auxiliaries are presently cast; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the War to an end. But the Victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he does wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries of the *Acheans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betook themselves to flight: and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopomen*, but ran away quite beyond the battel of the *Acheans*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopomen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the Victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chase unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battel his *Lacedaemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Acheans*, that were already disheartened

* Excerpt. Pol. l. ix. Plac. in site Philopomen.

by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, *Philopomen* advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better Souldiers than the *Acheans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battel; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Acheans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopomen* getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopomen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Maeharidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chase, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Acheans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopomen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Calcock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopomen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode, and falling upon him at length in the ditch itself, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battel on the *Lacedemonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achean* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.
Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Lineages. Of the Galatians.

BY this Victory the *Acheans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of War inferior to any, that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Etolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Acheans* would have done him service, they must by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyined with the *Romans* and *Etolians* in War against him.

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers virtue. His fortune began in *Ephesus* his Uncle: who being grieved, by reason of a mischance which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reported much confidence in Eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus* the first; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betook himself to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto *Seleucus* the first, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* battel. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slain *Lysimachus*, died shortly after himself, before he made use of *Philaretus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had

had two brethren: of which the elder is said to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before such time, they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philaretus* left his Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the dissention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sons of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battel with *Hierax*, near unto *Sardis*, and won the Victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word * *Victory* upon the hand of his Souldiers, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly foretelling that the gods would be assistant in that Battel.

After this Victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to *Seleucus*, who never durst attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now speak, that was son unto *Attalus* the youngest brother of *Philaretus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper forces he reclaimed his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Acheymus*, who setting up himself as King against *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tedossians*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves without invitation; and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his War against *Bizantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great Victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Hellepontus* where, in feating themselves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Never-

theless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of those that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the slothful reign of the *Persians*; or in the busy times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atissa*, sister unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, espying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civil wars among themselves; recovered his Dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of *Pontus* had also their beginning from the *Persian* Empire; and are said to have issued from the royal house of *Acheymenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themselves from *Pylemenes*, a King that assisted *Prismas* at the war of *Troy*. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reign in *Bithynia*, some few generations before that of the great *Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the *Macedonian* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. *Calanus*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of *Prusias*, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Chios taken by Philip, at the instance of *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions, Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and by the *Rhodians*.

Prusias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatness

he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entered into a strict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was devising with *Antiochus* about sharing between them two the Kingdom of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolemy Philopator*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a young child, his heir: the *Eythian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Asia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*; and bestow it upon him. *Prospia* had no right unto the Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it: but it was fitly feared for him, and therewithal rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of *Greece*. Embassadors came to him whilst he lay at the siege, from the *Rhodians*; and divers other States: intreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing less. At length he got the Town: where, even in presence of the Embassadors, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruel Prince. Especially his fact was detested of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement intercession for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertised by Embassadors of purpose sent unto them from *Philip*. That howsoever it were in his power to win the Town as soon as he listed, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embassadors said, that he would manifest unto the world what slanderous tongues they were, which noised abroad such reports, as went of his fallhood and oppression. Whilst the Embassadors were declaiming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had happened: shewing that *Philip* had sacked and destroyed the Town of *Cros*, and, after a cruel slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great despite, no less were the *Ætolians* inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captain to take charge of the Towns being warned before by his doings at *Lysimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little trust was to be repoted in the

faith of this King. But most of all others was *Attalus* moved with consideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition; and of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much; if he could make a strong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchasing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens virtue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the *Ætolians* he had chafe to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many & great, in their late war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea; and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*; and many other Princes and States, he easily drew into a straight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived against *Philip*.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all, in the ready assistance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deal with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unreasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; since his desire to fasten upon *Asia* was manifest, and his fallhood no less manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battel at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own Ship on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battel took harbour under a Promontory, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the shore: Yet so much as he had suffered far greater loss of Ships, and men, than had the enemy; and since he durst not in few days after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and won some Towns in *Caria*: whether only in a bravery, and to despight his opposites: or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest; it is uncertain. The stratagem, by which he won *Prinassus*, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his work; he nevertheless commanded the Pioneers to make a noise under ground; and secretly in the night time he raised great mounds about the entrance of the mine. to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went marvellously forward. At length he sent word to the Towns-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall stood only upon wooden

wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and entered by a Breach, they should expect no mercy: The *Prinassians* little thought, that he had fetched all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off; to raise up those heaps which they saw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himself in those parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian War, seek matter of quarrel against *Philip*. The Athenians upon slight cause, proclaim War against *Philip*; moved thereto by *Attalus*; whom they flatter. *Philip* wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Embassador. The furious resolution of the *Abydeni*.

THESE Asiatick matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make a noise in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads: if not with a desire of making war in *Macedon*, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to do. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*; which lay between them and the Lordship of *Asia*. These *Greeks* were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*; though length of time, and continual dealings in *Greece* ever since the reigns of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the *Naturals*: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forsooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been most beholding unto him, were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of *Greece* would not long detain the Roman Armies: especially since the divisions of the Country were such, that every petty Estate was apt to take Counsel apart for it self; without much regarding the generality. But the poor Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein

they had given by Loan to the Republick, all their money: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment all which was already made, being not in present money, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to rest a while; and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadors to solicit them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Islands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the Romans upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; especially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispole men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskillful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them: for he offered his help to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making war upon them; or in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly periwaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of Oath, whereby such Articles of peace can be held inviolable, save * by the water of *Sixis*, that is, by necessity: which while it binds one party, or

both unto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had a peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dried up: and then could they swear as *Mercury* did in the Comedy, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*, and the present war against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrel as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entering into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the days of Initiation (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers; and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet, as it had been for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their Countrymen at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to help them, they entered into *Attica*: who waited it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send Embassadors to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy success against *Philip*, and intreating him to visit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the *Roman* Embassadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodiens*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoicing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no less glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out

of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himself they omitted no point of observance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the City, they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself; saying, That with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed between him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonians*, whilst he with the *Rhodiens* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to do, he protested, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodiens* they also decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their virtue; and made all the *Rhodiens* free Citizens of *Athen*.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Aetolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellefont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellefont*, he laid siege unto *Abydos*; and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, than any great ability to defend it self against so mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodiens* sent thither only one *Quadrime* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The

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Roman Embassadors wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadors, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolemy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their Victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that War; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was that out of *Egypt* they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extrem Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: since it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, on his Council for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with corn: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementary: so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius* the youngest of them should step aside, and visit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydos*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, upon whom he made War, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydos*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* had made War upon him: and that he did only require them with the like. Do you also (said *Æmilius*) requite these poor *Abydens* with such terrible War, for any the like invasion by them first made upon you? The King was angry to hear himself thus taken short: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmilius*: It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and (above all) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdom, and Name of *Macedon* is in matter of War, no less noble

than the *Rottian*. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire, binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth; it was thought meet by the Governors and Ancients of the City to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which, whilst they were busy, the memory of their bath wrought so effectually in the younger sort, that, by exhortation of the Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Abydens* three days leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the Town, or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

§. IX.

The *Romans* decree War against *Philip*, and send one of their Consuls into *Greece*, as it were in defence of the *Athenians* their Confederates. How poor the *Athenians* were at this time both in quality and estate.

His calamity of the *Abydens*, was like need by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it nearly resembled, though *Rome* was not alike interested in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the City of *Athen*; which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five months, but in the short space of five days saying. Thus *P. Scipio* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdom, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* indeed to believe, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and im-

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immediately the same Consul hastened away towards Macedonia, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the Athenian Embassadors, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves; that any Greek Town, refusing to sue unto the Macedonian for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that miniftered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, that Philip was making ready for Italy: and since neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romans to give them protection: these busy-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors unto all parts of the World, even to Pholomy of Egypt, and to the Romans; as well as to Attalus and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of P. Sulpicius the Consul were such, as might have argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He failed not about Peloponnesus, but took the ready way to Macedonia, and landing about the River of Apfus, between Dyrrhacium and Apollonia, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the Athenian Embassadors were with him and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them C. Claudius with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater design. The Athenians were not indeed besieged: only some Romans from Chalcis, in the Isle of Euboea, and some bands of adventures out of Corinth used to take their Ships, and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of these two Towns. The robberies done by these

Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like Athenians, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the Athenians themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cilicia; to make War upon the great Persian King, and to hold so much of Greece in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three Ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis in Euboea taken and sacked by the Romans & their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempts to take Athens by surprise: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedaemon, and his wife. Philip offers to make War against Nabis for the Achaeans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Etolians into the War.

Philip returning home from Abydos, heard news of the Roman Consul his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment; or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: he received advertisement from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius with his Romans, finding no such work at Athens as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the War, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a Scar-crow, to save the Athenians grounds from spoil; and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The Town of Chalcis was very negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towns-men, who reposed themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof Claudian having

advertisement, failed thither by night, for fear of being detected: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless Athenians to their own defence) he set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all provisions for War, which were plentifully filled. Neither were he and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their Ships, and with enlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but to shew their despite and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they hastened away towards Athens: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias, about some 20. miles thence; whither then these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the Athenians, with their truly friends, busy at work in ransacking the Town, and loading themselves with spoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at Chalcis only a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away speedily toward Athens: thinking it not impossible to take his enemies in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deserted him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing this report, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadel to found the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours Philip was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busy preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they

kept of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to misse forth at a gate, whereto they saw Philip make approach. The King was glad of this, reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour; and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drove them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much endangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoining unto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of Attalus his men from Agina; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of fastening his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence, as Corinth, and hearing that the Achaeans held a Parliament at Argos, he came thither to them unexpected.

The Achaeans were devising upon War: which they intended to make against Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedaemon: who being started in the room of Machanidas, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor, a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one that in his natural condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife Apgea was very fitly matched with him, since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, then hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their jewels and apparel. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; and apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the

Liv. l. 32.

Excep. 8.
Polyb. l. 13.

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room where this counterfeit *Apaga* stood, and there use all his art of persuasion, to get what he desired, as it was by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apaga* (who fate by in a Chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that rose up and opened the arms, as it were for embracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and here with the gripped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabû* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætoli*ans, as *Machabidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopamen*'s virtue he stood in fear: and therefore durst not provoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worse Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopamen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabû* fall upon their Territory; and waisting all the fields, made them distrust their own safety in the Towns.

Against this Tyrant the *Acheans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them, and had set down what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themselves with the care of this business; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this War, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But then he told them, That whilst he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased to send a few men to *Corinth*, and some Companies into the Isle of *Eubœa*; that so he might securely pursue the War against *Nabû*. Immediately they found out his device, which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War against the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, upon which they had

agreed before, for preparing War against *Nabû*, he brake up the Assembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Nevertheless he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Phocius* one of his Captains, that with two thousand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Country. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of *Elenfus*, the haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own: or having long ago been Masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down: but caused his men to break the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to their reparation. His loss at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made provision, both against the *Roman* Consul that lay about *Apollonia*; and against the *Dardani*ans, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to grieve him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the *Ætoli*ans: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he sent an Embassy, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpitius the *Roman* Consul encamped upon the River of *Asopus*. Thence he sent forth *Apollonius* his Lieutenant, with part of the Army to waste the borders of *Macedon*. *Apollonius* took sundry Castles and Towns; using such extremity of sword and fire at *Antipatria*, the first good Town which he won by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoil, he was charged in the Rear, upon the passage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of these enemies, took prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their Camp. The success of this Expedition, though it

it were not great, yet served to draw into the *Roman* friendship those that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*; *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the son of *Longave*, Prince of the *Dardani*ans. They offered their assistance unto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That he would shortly make use of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entered into *Macedon*: but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Country lay between the *Ætoli*ans and *Thessaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætoli*ans, to stir them up against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Roman*, and *Athenian*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace between his Master and the *Ætoli*ans, so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore, had made shew, as if their War in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætoli*ans, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Ætoli*ans, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busy, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants; but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subject unto the *Rods* and *Axes* of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætoli*ans: who if they drew such matters into *Greece*, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went every year from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occasion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three years ago made the peace which still continued; although that the very same *Romans* were

then against it, who fought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were let on by them to speak next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embassador, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*; knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few days past, made War upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithal they made a pitifull rehearsal of their own calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feel the same that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* itself, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made War in the *Ætoli*ans behalf, and that the *Ætoli*ans had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætoli*ans must excuse themselves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being bulied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient; so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætoli*ans to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried unto the War by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer: though he told his Countrymen, That by reserving themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in general terms; That over-much haste was an enemy to good counsel: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a Decree, That the

Pretor might at any time call an Assembly of the State, and therein conclude upon this business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman Fleet.

Philip was glad to hear, that the Romans had sped no better in their solicitation of the Ætolians. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Straights of *Pelagoria* against the *Dardanians*; having with him some of the Kings Council, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the Kings son; how young soever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at least believe, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few years before this, was in like manner sent upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand; it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodian* and *Roman*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Deffessiti*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Myria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hemus* in the North, until they join in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Western parts of *Macedon*. Two or three days they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battle. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some party of horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven back

into their Camp. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his own forces: yet being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation; he made (threw) a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targetiers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and his Targetiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targetiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to try the fortune of a battle: which he therefore presented the second time: leading forth his Army; and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kind of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above four score years ere this, that *Pyrrius* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrius*) came into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so near the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed 8. miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground: and so the more boldly he suffered his Foragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this: but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: eventill their presumption, and his own

own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Foragers and their Camp. There he stayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Country, to fall upon the stragglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with news to the Camp. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there elapsed some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themselves, raised a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful: He himself with the Legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troop, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himself. They had the disadvantage; as coming slower, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows also might have been, if the King had well bethought himself, and given over to time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slain under him: and there had been cast away, if a loving subject of his he had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, thus running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashness; and the

Consul with as much dulness, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were waited, they must needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with either being slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Historian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much to blame in this days work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Camp; and could not be so afflicted with the loss of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himself, he was adverted, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Straights. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might let the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to clear himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But instead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the *Roman* shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This Victory (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves a pace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilst he himself went against the *Etolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Etolians*, who had reserved himself and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again: as also that *Plautus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no less busy on the sudden, than before he had been wife. He persuaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim War, joyed his forces with *Aminander* the *Albanians*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They took, and cruelly sacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Etolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retreat through his own mountainous Country.

About the same time the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Islands in the *Egean* Sea. They took likewise the Town of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Eubœa*: and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly been made with the *Etolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*: and the people, for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered: either by foul weather at Sea: or by want of daring, and of means.

s. XII.

Villius the Roman Consul wastes a year to no effect. War of the Gauls in Italy. An Ambassador of the Romans to Carthage, Masaniſſa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against him.

Thus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, took charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicil* and *Africk*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Cannæ*: as may seem by their complaint, of

having been long absent from *Italy*: whither faint they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his year is lost: whereof the mis is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Livie* himself, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author: we may reasonably believe, that *Villius* his year was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had been able to force: was taken by these *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted: but saved her self, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that stayed behind *Asdrubal*, or *Mago* in those parts: was now become Captain of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to understand, That if they were not weary of the peace, it behooved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made War in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the message might seem otherwise to have favoured a little of some fear): That of the fugitive slaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masaniſſa*, as also with *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*. Unto *Masaniſſa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signify what pleasure he might do them; by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their War against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said: That having been, and being still (as they took it) their Enemy, he ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The au-

authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such terms as they should think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his good. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniſſa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadors, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdom; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*, they laid siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furus* a Roman Prætor came upon them, fought a battel with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battel: and the fruit of the Victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of War among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellor whom they hated: as also to assure unto himself the *Acheans*, by rendering unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *suspicion* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to try a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

The Romans begin to make War by negotiation. T. Quintius makes a passage against Philip. He is easily wasted by Philip: the Romans, and Etolians. The Acheans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vain: Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

The *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battel to the enemy, as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborn it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learn of the subtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, many years after this unto private men, part of those moneys that had been borrowed in the second *Punic* War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprise, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul, unto *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other means could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Army; but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousy in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadors; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdom against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourtteously;

courteously, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to look unto that which most concerned him. Their answer was remarkable: They said, That it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend, though he were against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by *Embassadors*, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) do their best to persuade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soon appear.

L. Quintius having away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him, which consisted for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africa*. He found *Vilius* the old Consul, (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apus*, or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compals about, and seek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Dassaretians*; or else win, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mis-spent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentiful Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apus* running along through that valley, which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Marish* and unpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climb in the Mountains: but finding himself disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his ene-

my, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty dayes.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the War might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore to deal with some of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Consul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consul would have him to set all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late: but unto such, as had been long subject unto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, That as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seem convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not been interested in those quarrels. But herewithal *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had always been the invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would have to be set at liberty; the first that he named were the *Thessalians*: These had been subjects (though conditional) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soon as *Flamininus* had named the *Thessalians*; the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition He would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he flang away: refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this the Consul strove in vain two or three dayes together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an *Heard-man* sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*; who having long kept beasts in those Mountains, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide,

guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound: and being promised a greater reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journey, *L. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves unto flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perfwaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perfwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hindrance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and

withdraw himself home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Etolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their several Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they forebore not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *L. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few days since had made them to be very desirous, waisted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. *L. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it: so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at *Rhage*: brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his Ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by assault: many were yielded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the mean time *L. Quintius* the Consul's brother, being then Admiral for the *Romans* in this War, joynd with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Euboea*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arenal of the *Corinthians* on their Eastern Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Acheans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*: since it might come to pass, that *Corinth* itself, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very shortly should be rendered unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

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But there were other motives, inducing the *Achaens* to prefer the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it best counsel to rid their hands of him, whilst being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himself their absolute Lord: his poisoning of *Arazus* their old Governour: his false dealing with the *Messians*, *Epirats*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed: caused them long since to hold him as a necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since by the virtue of *Philopemen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength: so as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they only think how evil he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of *Philopemen*. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopemen* wrought so with the *Achaens*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian* *Cycliads*, a principal man among them: and lately their Prator, was expelled by them, for shewing himself passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Ariftemus* chosen Prator, who laboured to join them in society with the *Romans*.

These new were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Ahalu*, the *Rhodiens* and *Albaniens*; to treat with the *Acheans*, making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored unto them, if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Sicyon*; to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans* to joyn with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this buisness, admonishing the *Acheans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate request

of *Philips* Embassadors did no way advance their Masters cause. Rather it gave the *Acheans* to understand, That he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratifie them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great Council, who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memory of those old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly fold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thence-forward renounce, the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* they forthwith entred into society; with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, until the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound, rose up out of the Council, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thank, that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better held excused, for excusing how they might, our of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the *Citizens* discovered it self so plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. *Philocles* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to *Argos*; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he easily compelled the *Achaean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Cornith*, and some other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some

Some good end by Treaty, whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himself; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclusion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the *Melian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the Gulf of *Zizion*, in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Antimander the Athamian*; an Embassador of *Ataltes*; the Admiral *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Acheans*. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his fake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said none but the immortal Gods: yet misdoubting some treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he should set all Cities of *Greece* at liberty: deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Myria*: and whatsoever about *Greece* or *Alia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*; after his fathers death. *Ataltes* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and spoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodiens* would have again the Country of *Peres*, lying over against their Islands; as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers Towns about the *Hellepont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Acheans* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjustly, quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their consent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them, whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Theffaly*; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those Towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallies to be rowed nearer the shore. But they began to plice him afresh: telling him that he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend him-

self by force of Arms. He answered them (as he was much given to gybing) with sundry scoffs; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul understand that manner of companions these *Ætoliars* were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them to take spoil from spoil: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Ætolia* out of *Ætolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custom, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he said it was strange, that the *Ætoliars* should be so careless thereof, since divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Grecians*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make slaves of those *Ætoliars*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætoliars* well rattled up; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that general demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well seem that greatness of the *Romans*; though he would also consider, what might becom his own dignity. But that the *Ætoliars*, *Rhodiars*, and other petty Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he should be thereunto compelled: it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Acheans* he charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their own; wherein they had laden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheless, he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the *Roman* General; unto whom if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodiars*, his late War (he said) was only defensive; they having been the offenders: or if he gave them any occasion, it was only in helping *Phylax*, his son-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that spoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleasant walk

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thereabouts: what could he do more, than fend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to ask such recompence? Thus he jested the matter out: but offered nevertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Perrea* to the *Rhodian*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsel, wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsel (said *Titus*) you may even thank your self; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, until it was late at nights excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, wherein he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Etolians* of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in private with the *Roman* General. The sum of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achaens* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Etolians*, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying: That if the King were suffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred up. The noise that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon desired a third day of meetings, and protested, that if he could not persuade them, he would suffer himself to be persuaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions which he had already tendered; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him fend Embassadors to *Rome*, where he would refer himself to the courtship of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter,

a time unfit for service in the War; and since, without authority of the Senate, he should be unable to proceed resolutely either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to end their several Embassadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he persuaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alleged unto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of Victory, than of satisfaction. They manifested the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in undertaking to let *Greece* at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected: unless especial care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility; that the Senate agreed to have it even so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yield up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the King had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace: wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors have truly said, That neither the *Etolians*, *Achaens*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of these Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achaens* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolen it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away

away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condescended to give it back unto them, And this perhaps would have been alleged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might have had honour to conclude the War, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue General: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the return of the Embassadors into *Greece*, cared to give ear unto any talk of peace.

Philip seeing that his *Achaens* had forsaken him, and joyined with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many years past, since the *Lacedaemonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achaens* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though styling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achaens*: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philochus* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a straight alliance with the *Lacedaemonian*, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philochus* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philochus*, without more ado, to make over the Town which he was ready to receive. *Philochus* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forsaken the *Achaens*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himself master of all the gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went,

fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief Citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado. But if any stood long upon the matter: or played the thieves in purloining their own goods: they were put to the whip, and besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular laws: namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascal multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custom of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the news to *T. Quintius* and others to joyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he took the pains to cross over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Attalus* who was present with the Consul, made some cavil touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, six hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also he agreed with the *Achaens*, upon a Truce for four moneths, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them until the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIV.

The battel at Cynoscephale, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

Titus had in his Army about six and twenty thousand; and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Only *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in

Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares, near unto the City of *Phere*: where the want-currers on both sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof unto their several Captains. But neither of them were over-hasty to commit all to hazard upon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their several Camps, with little advantage unto either side. The Country about *Phere* was thick set with trees; and otherwise full of gardens and mid-walls; which made it improper for the service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove back into *Scotusa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully served with all necessities. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not far asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Atolians* had not been desperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Titus* himself was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose to put the fortune of a battle in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose: inasmuch as he embattled his men; and climbed up those hills, which, for that the knobs thereon had some resemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynoccephala*.

As soon as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his own light armature were buile in fight, almost at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use: the roughness of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, serving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless he found convenient room, wherein to marshall the one part of his Army; to follow with the rest, embattelling them as they might. Whilest he was doing this: He perceived that his Horsemen and light armature began to shrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He sets forward to help them: and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climb the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extremum difficult piece of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great square battel of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern Wars: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvel if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much un-venness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battel to march up the Hill against their ill-ordered troops: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons unuseful. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having six and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equal to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintus* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, mult, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well-near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polihus* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champian, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoin this close battel of the *Phalanx*; was not every-where to be found. Here at *Cynoccephala* *Philip* had so much room, as would only suffice for the one half of his men; the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the Dogs-heads. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mauling those Enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Mantles, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of

work; and mainly helpful to making of the Victory complete. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindmost ranks of the *Phalanx*, and all of them indeed save the first five, were accustom'd, when the battels came to joining, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round; yet is it to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form; as also at the same time he embattled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which-way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The King himself had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a troop of horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himself to flight. Neither said he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow) until he was gotten into his own Kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battel, about seven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slain; and five thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius falls out with the *Ætolians*; and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the *Greeks*. The *Romans* quarrel with Antiochus.

THE *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves, and desired to have it noised through all *Greece*, that the Victory at *Cynosephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by sacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battle, *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a City in *Thessaly*, which he presently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the Town of *Lencæ*, bordering upon *Arcanania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very soon after, all the *Arcananiæ*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themselves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the Victory at *Cynosephale*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Pærea*, a Region of the Continent over against the Island; whereof they had demanded restitution in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: inasmuch as they awaited not the good pleasure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the *Achaæans* and other their friends gave battle to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant. wherein they had the Victory, and

consequently recovered the whole Province. It angered *Philip* worse then all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdom; wasting and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all haste of 6000. Foot, and 500. horse: wherewith coming upon them, he drove them, with little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise he had success answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnaeus* and *Demosibenes* with *Cycliadas* the banished *Achaean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and some of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had Commission, to refer all unto *Titus* his own discretion; as *Philip* himself in few days after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the King himself might come and speak with the *Roman* General. In the mean season, many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters unto his Associates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the Kings arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every state in particular. The poor King *Antiochus* besought them all, and especially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, considering his weakness which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* forasmuch as he had thus assembled the Confederates to advise upon their own good,

good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpose, which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the War, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promises made by *Titus* himself unto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his Kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable customs which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seek the utter destruction of any King or Nation, at such time as they first made War with them, until by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And herof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he said) expedient, that the Kingdom of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other salvage Nations, which would soon overflow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this Kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yield unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure, to take Counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phœneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to say, that all was come to nothing: for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no less than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his babblings; saying, That himself would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* used friendly: and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a Council the day following: wherein the King yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions.

Phœneas the *Ætolian*, insulting over him, said It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him speak whether he would of no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himself, said it should be otherwise. These were *Thessalian* Towns, and should be all free; one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore should now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phœneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Towns that had sometimes belonged unto their Common-weal. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the Towns taken ought to be for their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing save the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former War: but it ceased to be of any validity, as soon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the Towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Ætolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reason to fear any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in the behalf of those *Thessalians*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for four Months.

The chief cause that moved *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonians*, besides that laudable custom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing near toward *Europe*. He had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the War should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the War. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassa-

dors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunity of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebel, as soon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People; by whose sovereign authority it was concluded, that peace should be granted to the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Consuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* should go through with the business of Peace. These would very fain have retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, until the estate of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Acheans*; and all the other *Greek* Towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored unto liberty.

Excerpt.
Polyb. Lib.
II. 9.

Lib. 133.

The Conditions of Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Isthmian Games*, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greek* Towns which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he should deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's. Likewise all his Ships of War, reserving to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every oar: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make War out of *Macedon*, without permission of the Senate. But I find not that he observed this Article; or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger son *Demetrius*, to remain as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the money, and his son, should be restored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whither this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot find: and it seemeth otherwise, so much as young *Demetrius*, who, together with those four hundred talents, was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the *Ro-*

mans, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* unto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to understand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did. What effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly material; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* joyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themselves aggrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Boeotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*, saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had born unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Army, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*: in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detested within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Herupon *Titus* requires of the *Boeotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadors to the *Acheans*, and *Athenians*, informing them what had happened: and requested them not to take it amiss, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to walling their Country; and besiegeth two such

such Towns of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Acheans* and *Athenians* (especially of the *Acheans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this War; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the *Boeotians*) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with 30. talents, and the punishments of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* War served as an introduction to the War to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progress of bad rumours, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse; *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by found of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Acheans* of *Phibiotis*, *Magnesiens*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrebiens*. The suddenness of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thanks; which they rendered now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-near smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their War against *Antiochus*, then could have been the possession of a few Towns, yea, or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Council, gave audience to *Hagesanax* and *Lysias*, King *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signify

unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the free Cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with War: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not pass over his Army into *Europe*; adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Boeotians*; whom they thought it no wisdom to offend overmuch, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phibiotis* they annexed unto the *Thessalians*; all save the Town of *Thebes* in *Phibiotis*, the same which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Council might favour them, yet was it not meet that they should have their wills, as it were in despite of *Titus*. So the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Heræa*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achean* Common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this War; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Atamanians*. The *Rhodiens* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Council, would have given the Towns of *Oreum* and *Ewretia*, in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to his son and successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubœans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestes*, a little Province of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, yet yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made it a free estate by it self.

These businesses being dispatched, it remained, that all care should be used, not how to avoid the War with King *Antiochus*, but

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how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent, both to *Antiochus* himself, to pick matter of quarrel; and about unto others, to predispose them unto the assisting of the *Romans*.

therein. What ground and matter of War against this King, the *Romans* now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

§. I.

What Kings of the races of *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* reigned in Asia and Egypt before *Antiochus the Great*.

Seleucus Nicator, the first of his race, King of *Asia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherously slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatal place of his death. But I never read that any mans life hath been preserved, or any mischief avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Priests; or by others, which deviled them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who surrendered unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenge by this his Successor. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words containing himself within *Asia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, that cause of his not prosecuting that revenge, whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had Wars with *Antigonus Gonatus*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorus* Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battel:

wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the Victory. He took in hand an enterprise against *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; but finding ill success in *Gerabard*, as the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one son, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of the Kingdom of the *Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, had this vain and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Misicians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless War with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierom* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own Sister *Arpnoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worst of all that race. It was he that built, and furnished with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to

adorn and to honour the more, he sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them, as his father held in slavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding unto the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* copy: which *Ptolomy* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jesus* the son of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrand* to have been one; who that he lived in this Age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by *Jansenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticus*. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the high Priest, was written (as *Josaphus* affirms) by *Ariseum* that was employed thereunto. Forty years *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former years: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own error. He was the first of the Kings derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entered into League with the *Romans*: as also his off-spring was the last among those Royal Families, which by them was rooted up.

* See, de
Gent. Dis.
lib. 1. c. 42.

(i) *Jos.
an. lib.
1. c. 42.
cap. 1.
concerning
that book
which goes
under the
name of
Ariseum
many
learned
men, and
among the
rest, *Lodovicus Ptolomæus*, hold
fiction that it is
counterfeited,
and the inven-
tion of
some late
Author.
Surely if it
were to be
supposed
that in the
time of *Protes* it may be now much more justly suspected: since a new
Edition of it is come forth, purged from fables, (as the Papists term this
Book), wherein they have changed what they please) and let forth by *Mile-*
denarius at *Colas*, An. Dom. 1578.*

Antiochus Theos had another wife called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, then if he had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three years after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time the poisoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son,

murdered *Berenice*, together with a son that she had born to *Antiochus*. *Justin* reports, that *Berenice* saved her self, together with the young Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Evergetes* King of *Egypt*, came to rescue her with an Army, though too late, for she was slain before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father, that had fifteen years been King, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have been much endangered, if *Ptolomy Evergetes*, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own Country, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear arms against *Ptolomy*, in defence of their own King: but rather they sided with the *Egyptians*; who took *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestic troubles which recalled *Evergetes* home into *Egypt*; went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make War upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when it had been much better, by well deserving to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himself any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself, and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himself, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him (such a spirit; as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the *Egyptians*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, that it had been at Sea. He was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late Shipwreck. Halting therefore back to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels;

heels; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax* wholy then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteen years old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty Army of the *Gauls*; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertised; and having no desire to put himself in danger more then he needed; took Truce with *Seleucus* for ten years. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished again; and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battel. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crown was purchased; and felled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to hear of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then he. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reign: the perfidious Barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royal house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to do what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himself with money, as if he had been their lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so contented: but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the mean while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Army: and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvel, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the *Gauls*, his own Souldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battel, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and

Antiochus Hierax (or the Hawk) which surname was given him, because he fought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gauls*. Having fetcht a great compass through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Ariamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in-outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolomy*; his own conscience telling him, what evil he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. *Ptolomy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his Wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Asaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom: wherein his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Asaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Cerannus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Cerannus reigned only three years: in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apatrinus* a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

§. II.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great *Antiochus* his reign. Of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, and *Philopater*, Kings of *Egypt*. War between *Antiochus* and *Philopater*. The rebellion of *Molo*: an expedition of *Antiochus* against him. The recontinuance of *Antiochus* his *Egyptian* War: with the passages between the two Kings: the Victory of *Ptolomy*, and peace concluded. Of *Achæus*, and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall. *Antiochus* his expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in *India*, after the death of the Great *Alexander*.

Antiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which lasted six and thirty years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all virtue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himself; the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reign, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died, and left his heir *Ptolomy Philopater*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembered. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* and the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatus*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom of *Cyrene* by taking to wife *Bernice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the last good King of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jews*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Josephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and customs that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Celestria*, with *Palestina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians*; either as having fallen to the share of

Ptolomy the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the battel at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucids*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecy before cited; which is expounded by *s. Hierome*. Thus *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned six and twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Syrach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Syrachides* there saith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the years of *Jesus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jews* did otherwise reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War against the *Egyptians*; for the recovery of *Celestria* and the Countries adjoining. This Counsel was very unseasonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out in rebellion, and fought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wife, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithful; whilst he in person made War upon one that was like himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatus* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel; whilst in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Celestria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and to over the Defarts into the Valley of *Malsia*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*, found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that served under *Ptolomy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenatus*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenatus, whilst he was yet on his journey, and

and drew near to the River of *Tygris*, received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy; That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wills drawn by their Commander to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt left his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenetas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp; and with all the flower of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenetas* could not be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Medias*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrustful the faith of his own Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy: the great folly of *Xenetas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenetas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilst they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of *Tygris*, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this Victory, the Rebel marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country down to the red

Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hasted unto *Susa*; where at his first coming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Masjias*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took Counsel what to do in this needfull case: and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Celestria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This Counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*: who could not endure to hear good Counsel given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any odds which he had of the Rebel in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers; and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by some error, took alarm at his return: and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battle to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the enemy which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the Victory: but *Molo* thwarted the work, by killing himself, as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own swords.

After this Victory, came joyfull news, that the Queen *Ladice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. But now in the Eastern parts of his Kingdom, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only

only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the King were taken out of the World by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his Kingdom situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* believed this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him, whilst he was in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: yea, his wife and children, laying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achews* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achews*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traitorous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him

with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission; *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Celestria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolomy Evergetes* having lately won it, might if it had pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolomais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their virtue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the fame greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus the Etolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Celestria* in the behalf of *Ptolomy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith and diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolomais*. Whilst he was devising about this Treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolomais* by one of *Ptolomies* Captains, that was more faithful than himself. But *Antiochus* halting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolomais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Country, as emboldened him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* itself. *Agathocles* and *Solibus* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomy* himself being loath to have his pleasures interrupted, with business of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to press *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours

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to

to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Atolians*; according to the usual courtesy of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrel.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein these two Counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemy*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discomfited unto him all after one manner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Apathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself, at the long siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himself and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on, granted to the *Egyptian* a Truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself; and to bring *Achens* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, he used himself, as presuming that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the Towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave Audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himself, well to dispute about the justice of his quarrel which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by general consent of the Confederates, after the battle at *Issus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolemy* the

Son of *Lagi*, had won *Celestria*, and the Provinces adjoining for himself: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their dispute, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Also *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achens* comprehended in the league between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, that one King should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Sovereign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolemy*, with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by these Captains of *Ptolemy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drove them: and proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolemy* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians*, or the *Asiatiques* were the better Soldiers, (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemy*, with *Arfnoe* his Sister and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of his Ancestors; as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Africa*. Wherefore by the advantage of those beasts, He drove the Enemies before him, in that part of the battle wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolemy* had the better men by whose valour he brake the Groins of his enemies battle, and won the victory: whilst

whilst *Antiochus* was heedlessly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in fear, lest *Ptolemy* and *Achens*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemy* to vex himself thus with the tedious business of War. So *Ptolemy* having staid three months in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects and all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

Achens was not comprised in the league between these two Kings: or if he had been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, he had also good success against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*: that was an able man of War, and commanded a strong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and carried beyond himself by apprehending the advantage of some opportunity: but Cousin-german to the King, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Misbridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her Sister the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added Majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battle at *Raphia*: and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrel between sons-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honour-

able. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not only slothful, but hindered by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferior to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks*: which had hitherto kept them in straight subjection. Thus brake out a War between the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemy* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling: or, as others thought, in succouring *Achens*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of War against *Achens*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up *Achens* into the City of *Sardis*, where he held him about two years besieged. The City was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first years siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Castle it self was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the Town-wall adjoining to the Castle, in that part which was called the *Same*, was in like manner situate upon steep Rocks, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deep bottom, wheremto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprize. The success was agreeable to that which

Lagoras had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and whilst a general assault was made, entered the Town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Perians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardis*; when *Craus* thought himself secure on that side. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a lot of many ages past: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held still the Castle: which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well fortified with all necessities, and manned with a sufficient number of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Bactrians*, and *Partians*, with the *Hyracians*, had erected Kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still incroached. But he thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* break loose again. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole study, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appear in the Country under *Taurus*, he would soon have an Army at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the Country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rocks, whereon the Castle of *Sardis* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolemy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the business: and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a trusty messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to convey in to the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote unto him in private Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were that he should be confident

in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of those *Cretians*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of *Sardis*. Nevertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, that *Bolis* himself should come (speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretians*, and (as all their Countrymen, some few excepted, have been, and still are,) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* observes it, rightly Critical: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how to get most with least ado and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all, they would equally share between their ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no less glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Castle, and convey *Achæus* thence: He first went with *Cambylus* to speak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberal promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto *Ptolemy*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Castle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discouraged so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrust: either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolemy*, and did not thrust himself into this business; but was invited

than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times; that were always Lyan, evil brasts, and slow bellies. (a) Pol. lib. 1. c.

Among these few do not except one, calling himself *Edemus*, *John* a *Cretian*, who in one of his late shameful Libels, wherein he traduced our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inserting my name twice belied me, in calling me a *Partian*, and one that hath been dangerous to my Sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of *Treason*, and *Arrest* of *Liberty*, of which I may not say I am the commendation of *Cretians* no less voluminous

by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Country-man of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, and the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom, when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he played the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumpetition. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft: and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide: the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure: Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Eudice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his special friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Cretan* tongue; speaking & answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) though he were of *Crete*, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another; yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasy, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were

all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand that he was the man: and so by their unreasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle; holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sat up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The flight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did astonish the King that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping: Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two treacherous knaves against one Traitor, doth rarely succeed well according to that *Spanish* Proverb, *Aun traydor dros alleuor*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyracians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued until the Reign of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustful insolvency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*, did stir up *Antiochus*, a nobleman of the Country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyracians*; fought profperously with those that disturbed him in his

his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in batel, whom he royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful King: and by good government of his Country, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucide* beyond *Euphrate*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in plain field; but kept themselves in woods or places of strength, and defended the Straights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well fortified, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behind, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armies: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his Phalans; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Arfaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects; yet feared to encounter so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad ways and Defarts would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: He caused the Wells and Springs in the Wilderネス, through which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himself out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Country: wherein without some Victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arfaces* was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he won *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other losses, caused *Arfaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a batel.

The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arfaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiss, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but having gotten the Kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it himself. With *Euthydemus* he fought a batel by the River *Arctus*, where he had the Victory. But the Victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Army. His horse was slain under him; and he himself received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himself back unto the furthestmost parts of his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Country of his was unjustly usurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had won it from the children of the Usurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wild Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithal permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdom, causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himself by oath, to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagastus*, King of the *Indians*, the society that had been between their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War against

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against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Country. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was overbush'd in a great Civil War: then did one *Sandroctottus*, an *Indian*, stir up his Country men to rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself (having an Army of six hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had been *Alexanders*. In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicanor* could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he hesitate, or humble himself at the coming of *Seleucus*; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* Kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian* King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great Kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the Western countries. The posterity of *Sandroctottus* is thought to have retained that Kingdom unto the days of *Augustus Cæsar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with presents, and an Epistle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry Authors, the mention of some which held that Kingdom, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagastus* carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Asia*, but on the hither side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his own greatness within few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the *Romans*: whose Greatness was the same in deed, that his was only in seeming.

The long reign of *Ptolomy Philopater* in *Egypt*: with the Tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead. *Antiochus* prepares to war on the young child *Ptolomy* Epiphanes, the son of *Philopater*. His resolution in preparing for divers wars: at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the *Romans*, who make friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His designs against the Hellespont; which the *Romans* made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

His expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himself a while; and study which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolomy Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomy* surnamed *Philopater*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to have had that surname given him in meer derision; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly past, his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastliness of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battles at *Raphiah*, He gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathocles*. At her instigation He murdered his own wife and sister; which had adventured her self with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant-ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agathocles*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the Country, till *Philopater* died; who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, begotten on *Arione* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, nor all

all born in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolemy the first, and would not be accounted Egyptians; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister Agathocles, with the young King in her arms; began a solemn Oration. He told them, That the deceased Father of this their King, had committed the child into the arms of his sister; but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the Kingdom did now rely. He besought them therefore that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their King against the Treason of one Tlepolemus an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to let the Diadem upon his own head, being a meer stranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witness, that should justify his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting tears: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how Agathocles there, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He hailed out of the Temple the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus; and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilst they were committed in the old Kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds, wherein they had conceived extrem hate, against these three pernicious Misgovernours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which in way of requital, Tlepolemus was likely to do unto the City. For he was thought a man most unfit for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Soldier, and well beloved of the Army. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of viuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which Agathocles used, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number,

whom he suspected of conspiracy against him; and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor Souldier was carried into an inner room of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of Agathocles, a sad report of Tlepolemus being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the room; leaving Moeragenes the Souldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveyed himself out of the Palace, and got unto the Macedonians of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Privileges, as are the Turkish Janizaries. Being allured therefore that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. So the old Bawd Oenantha fled into a Temple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Court, until the King was taken from them, and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. Agathocles himself was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the Office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was drag'd naked up and down the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice: biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt, served well to stir up King Antiochus; who had very good leave, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young Ptolemy. Philip of Macedonia had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it hapned well, that Ptolemy Philopater in the Punic War, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the Romans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved help against these two Kings: who though they secretly malign'd one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this Orphan; whose Father had been confederate with

them

them both. So * M. Lepidus was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the King of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian; he was very soon found busied with War at his own Doors. Also Scopas the Aetolian, being a Pensioner to the Egyptians, was sent into Greece to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I do not find: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the War with Philip, as hath been shewed before. As for Scopas; he shortly after went up into Syria with his Army; where, winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the Jews, who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto Antiochus, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, and despair'd of receiving help from Egypt. But it was not long ere all these Victories of Scopas came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to Eusebius) the same year that Philip was beaten at Cynosephala; Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battel, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the Jews, with great willingness, returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of Egypt, this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in Marriage unto Ptolemy: either hoping, as may seem, that the Country would willingly submit itself unto him, if this young Child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of Asia, whilst Philip was held overlaboured by the Romans. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between Attalus, Philip, and the Greeks, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being such as hath been declared, seemed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Jews, among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting Egypt alone, he was about to make invasion upon Attalus his Kingdom; yet suffered himself easily to be perwaded by the Roman Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the Romans; he sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect Amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-passed,

That these his Embassadors were lovingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King Antiochus. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own interest. They had not yet made an end with Philip: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great Wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time Antiochus fights with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto Ptolemy; yet withall he sends an Army Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he offered one of his Daughters to Ptolemy, and another to Eumenes the Son of Attalus, newly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their friendships at one and the same time, when he sought to make of each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once, being carried with an inexplicable desire of Repugnancies, which is a disease of great and over-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an Army to Sardes by Land, under two of his Sons: willing them there to stay for him; whilst he himself, with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other Vessels, intended to pass along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable act of the Rhodians, that, whilst the War of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this Great Antiochus. They sent unto him a proud Embassage; whereby they gave him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certain Promontory in Cilicia, they would meet with him, and fight with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him; but because he should not joyn with Philip their enemy, and help him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the King: yet he tempered himself, and without any shew of indignation, gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Embassadors; partly unto their whole City, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them; and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their Confederates. As touching

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the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good Friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his Embassadors.

The Rhodians appear to have been a cunning People, and such as could fore-see what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian War was ended at the Battel of Cynoscephale. They knew that Antiochus his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, unless the Towns on the South Coast of Asia, belonging to Ptolemy their Friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the Race of the Ptolemies. They therefore in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could unto all the Subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did King Eumenes, the Son of Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the War that followed, between Antiochus and the Romans. For when King Antiochus made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his Daughters upon him in marriage: He excused himself, and would not have her. Attalus and Philoteles, his Brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the Romans would surely make war upon Antiochus; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, that by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to joyn with the Romans, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to Antiochus, as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

Antiochus himself wintred about Ephesus; where he took such order as he thought convenient for reducing of Smyrna and Lampascus to obedience; that had usurped their Liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed unto the Hellespont; where, having won some Towns that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Europe side; and in short space mastered the Chersonesus. Thence went he to Lysimachia: which the Thracians had gotten and destroyed, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, to employ it in the Roman War. The Aetolians

objected as a crime unto Philip, in the conference between T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lysimachia, by thrusting thereinto a Garrison. Hereupon Philip made answer, That his Garrison did not oppress the Town, but save it from the Barbarians: who took and sack'd it, as soon as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good and substantial, though it were not acceptable as such; might appear by the miserable case, in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his coming thither. For the Town was utterly rased by the Barbarians, and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as also to redeem those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promises, new Inhabitants, and to replenish the City with wonted frequency. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the neighbour Thracians: he took a Journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. These pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient situation, and former glory of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and establish the Dominion in those parts which his forefather Seleucus Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his Kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay; and as after that Victory against Lysimachus, the death of King Seleucus followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdom founded by Seleucus ensue very speedily after the reconquest of the same Country, which was the last of Seleucus his Purchases.

§. I V.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their War with Philip: after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his Enemies, and by the Romans is his flight unto the King Antiochus. The Aetolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The War of the Romans and Achaeans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedaemon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

For the Romans, though they were unable to smother their desire of war with

with Antiochus, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war; so long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about Lysimachia. It was not long, since King Attalus, a friend and a helper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antiochus, than Embassadors to speak for him, because the one of these Kings was held no less a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices, than very friendly. Antiochus at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invasion from the Kingdom of Pergamus: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was wisest as yet they were buffed with Philip, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients unto the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning. For T. Quintius, with his ten Counsellors sent from Rome, required (as hath been shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsellors were able to inform T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of Antiochus, he was the more inclinable unto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of Greece: for the execution of their late Decree. That two of them should visit King Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome unmindful of the business; wherein left T. Quintius, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; L. Cornelius was sent from Rome, of purpose to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and Ptolemy. What other private instructions Cornelius had, we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassy. For coming to Seleucia: and there understanding that P. Silius and L. Terentius, having been sent

by Titus, were at Lysimachia; He hastened thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten Counsellors) from Beryllus, to be present at the Conference. Hagesianus and Lysias were also there; the same; who had lately brought from Titus those peremptory Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Master. After a few days Antiochus returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these Romans, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome: which was, That Antiochus had reason to deliver back unto Ptolemy those Towns of his; whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly; That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto Philip; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let Antiochus enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into Europe; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the Romans? To this the King made answer, That he wondered why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon the matters of Asia: whereas he prayed them to let him alone: even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in Italy what they thought good. As for his coming over into Europe: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely the war against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging in Thrace, and Chersonesus. Now concerning his title unto that country, He derived it from Seleucus: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversy between him and the other Kings, had been still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindered by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them

from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this City upon one of his Sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free Cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himself, and to join ere long with *Pholomy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refuse it, would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few days, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Gale-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their Swords: nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, That *Pholomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus* to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassador both to *Antiochus* and to *Pholomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his Son *Selenus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this mat-

ter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Pholomy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwreck, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintered: secure as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at least: wife not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had been sent unto the *Alcedonian*, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire Society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*: lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Arms again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks*, were solicited; and particularly the *Ætolians*, That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward answer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had been during the War. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withal the *Romans*, as men to them beholding: not only for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs: and then should all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chafe out of their City this honourable man, whom they so greedily hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against them in the Civil administration: and given them

an overthrow, or two, in the long *Robe*. The Judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any of them, should have them all to be his enemies: which being once known, He was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the City, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By virtue of which Office, though he was superior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual Magistrate, as at the years end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Questors, or Officers of the Treasury, to come and speak with him: the proud Questor set lightly thereby, and would not come: For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Purfivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publick assembly of the people. There he not only shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of this Questor had been; but how unsufferable the infolency of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been passed, before he passed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publick Treasury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needful charges. *Hannibal* considering this, began to examine the publicke Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasury, by waies and means whatsoever: and in what sort it was thence

laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhault the Treasury: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the moneys to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needful burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, That these Robbers of the common Treasury were compelled to reitore, with shame; what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own Estate. But as the virtue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely: as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once; even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in arms. Questors, on the other side, if oppressing the City by injustice; and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But having no other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; That secret messages past between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to *Carthage*; with what else like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate; but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither pulcric notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Carthaginians*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppress by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were

not all so great minded as *Scipio* : they withheld for some such advantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Cornelius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* : whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming : and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good eys upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough : against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight : but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed *Horses* to be in a readiness at a certain place : whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needful ; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade *Asiatick* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Country, more than his own. Passing over to the Isle of *Cercina* ; He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively : and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said He went Embassador to *Tyre* : and that he intended there in the Island to make a Sacrifice ; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was howbeit : and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore ; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be used instead of Tents. They did so ; and feasted with him till it was late at night : at which time he left them there asleep : and putting to Sea ; held on his course to *Tyre*. At that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make halt to send any news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador : neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina* ; being buffed a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversely construed. Some guessed

aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen ; and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evil grace) as a troubler of the Peace ; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of the Senate : mistaking the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally : as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch* ; and, finding the King departed, visited his Son in *Daphne* : who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephebus*, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad in that he had gotten *Hannibal* : so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry : otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. For it would not prove like ease unto this great Commander to make stout Soldiers of base *Asiatics* ; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations ; that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people : yet was it therein withal considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the virtue of *Hannibal* ; now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions, wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory : or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less careful to avoid the war ; then should it further serve, to justify the *Romans* in their quarrel. And it seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as it said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept ; it was not probable,

bable, that he had any meaning to take *Ares*, unless by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Aetolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this Great King ; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them ; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsellors, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing : but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves, otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome*, was, of War with *Antiochus* ; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Aetolians* were wont to upbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had lain heavier Fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear ; but yet brighter and fairer than those of the *Macedonian* : likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the Legs of the *Greeks* their chain, & tie it about their Necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him : all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within itself. As for *Antiochus*, He made it his daily suit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon *Greece*, as soon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus* : by benefit of which Towns he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suitable unto the doings of *Quintius*, were the reports of the ten Embassadors, that had been sent over to assist him : when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionless fall upon *Greece* : wherein he should find not only the *Aetolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, ready to give him

entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected Enemies : especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance : whilst *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the City among the Vulgar ; but found such credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand : *P. Cornelius Scipio the African*, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be General in the War, against the King and his *Hannibal*. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarryance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment : whereof also he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be sorry : though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entered into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had War with *Philip* : and had further been contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Acheans* : neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this War. He was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Acheans* : as one, that besides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme whereon to discourse before the Embassadors of all the Confederate Cities, which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them that in the War with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other Interest, than only the making perfect of their Honour, in setting all *Greece* at Liberty : which Noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the Noble City of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken : or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans* : who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves.

themselves. The *Athenian* Ambassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their Virtues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their proposition: wherein unrequited they freely made offer to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement request of their poor Associates they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pity it was to hear such notable Virtue and high Deserts still spoken of by some: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm these their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulness would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Etolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Etolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the Liberty general: from which Honour they were now so far fallen, that they became Parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the *Acheans*, Clients that had been a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, until they ran away from his adversity. These, he said, had gotten *Corinth*, and mult now have War be made for their fakes, to the end that they might also be Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Etolians*, that had first made War with *Philip*, and always been Friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, antiently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been always wont to profess, That *Greece* could never be at Liberty, whilst those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of War with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*, which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Etolians* themselves did promise, and would undertake, That they would either cause him to yield to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely,

withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Arms, to submit himself to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common Liberty wrought so much with these *Etolians*; as did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in possession of the *Etolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole Assembly, especially the *Acheans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Etolian* thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Etolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsellors which had been sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his Assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedemonian* War, it was very soon ended. For *Titus* used the help of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* Forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navy, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the Service: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in seeking Revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Acheans*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Etolians*, rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their help was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the

the *Acheans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Etolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wife, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedemonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Walls: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the War should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Country; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumitted slaves, malefactors and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course, to arrest before hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could

it else do than terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it: self unto some poor wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flee to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He returned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a rally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at first; but were at length repelled with loss. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battail. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege unto *Gythium*, the only or principal Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Town equal in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, flew the Traitor; after whose death, he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gythium*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place, yet upon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the Sou-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his Wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government, with a thousand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*: it being (as may seem) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve *Gythium*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to think upon finishing the War, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Ambassador to *Titus*: requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonable for himself: proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the sum was, That whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of older date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon the inferred, That neither for his keeping the Town of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them

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alleged,

alleged, they ought to make war upon him, since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their own need of him, from entering into that League with him: which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintus* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with tyranny: and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should be alleged. Whereunto he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to join with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with home he had long held war: it may seem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this Tyrant: and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that *Aristianus*, the Prætor of the *Acheans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans* (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong: framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his own estate: and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard: alleging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-hoods, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*: and requested them, to deliver unto him in writing their other commands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in League all

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending, *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Isle of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Island or elsewhere; nor to build any Town or Castle upon his own Lands: not to keep any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the Tyrant's own Son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleasing to the *Acheans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister unto the *Ætolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countreys or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himself unmercifully dealt withall, by the self-same *Romans*, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful war, before the love and

affinity

affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But finally had dealt with the *Macedonian*: and finally was dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himself. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (Of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Aggepolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their City and Estates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands; and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himself; and was ready upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard news that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This excited them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to help the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *Titus* unto *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had laid hold without slaying for him; and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Neuman* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Council of *Achaia*; whereby the *Acheans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business or more wherewith to set on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send ano-

ther Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The unsincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of conquering the *Ætolians*, and of thoroughly persuading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Country was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel; touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Acheans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Gbalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known, what years the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the *Greeks* testify their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been fold into their Country by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* Crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Country before his departure was urged, lest therein behind him the memory of his virtue and benefits, untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had until that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of the pomp continued: as being set out with the spoils of a Country, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All sorts of

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Arms,

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of Brass or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first daies Pageant. The second day, was brought in all the treasure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mass unwrought; some in divers sorts of Coins; and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice, the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the Son of King *Philip*, and *Armenus* the Son of *Nabiz*, were principal. After him followed his Army, and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassadors, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had been his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondered. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usual to demand and make restitutions of things and places claimed, gotten or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superiour to the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans*

(should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, He would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to except: Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* disliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to obtain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampisacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, bind them in honour to make War with a King that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, whereon he had of late been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour the *Romans* took upon them as if their cause were far the superior. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those Towns which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since those Towns were of *Greekish* blood and language; and fell, in that regard under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of no many Subjects on the higher side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relied upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his Subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing

pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be intreated, and were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, and others that had been already with the King at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether the demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years; or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Portius Cato. Injuries done by Mafaniffa to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.

THE *Enphrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Cisalpine* Gauls, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continual war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of the Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath already been shewed; by this their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the Gauls or *Ligurians* did stir alone: but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possession in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*: it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punic* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrey, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*: that always made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in

laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had: but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoil their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to train up the *Roman* Soldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the Gauls, their neighbours and companions: partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obdurate continuance in the War which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, by custom, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such virtue in Leagues; or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage; or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custom for us and them, to fight one against the other*.

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Countrey was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Countrey they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make War, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Ox-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Ox-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading

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treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldom did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay farthest, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiorities, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall alunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrows: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholerick *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Country, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits which they raised upon the whole Country; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kind. But contrariwise, the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sure friends the *Latines*, had little business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withall too great for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold in obedience perforce; and such heedful Captains as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did, and thereby held the Country; though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same general ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the

Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behind him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many Victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Country; which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battel with the *Roman* Proconsul, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consul the year following, and sent into that Province; found at his coming little less to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one mind: some were faithful to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefest of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Country, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebel. He therefore disarmed them; which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects: He called unto him the principal among them: and commanding unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss. He prayed them to devise what course might be taken for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave express charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw down the walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he carried the war about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*; and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countrymen:

Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest. That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publick Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of war, which might well be termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Laws, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publick. Many books he wrote; whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* Antiquities, and of Husbandry. In matter of Husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the antient laudable Customs of the City: Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the vertue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men; that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, He was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly, that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himself or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence; and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Utican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purposes dashed, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such no-

bility and greatness as this his Ancestor; had continually vexed;

The *Spanish* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battel: another took fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thepe departed, untill the *Namantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masaniissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syris*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged, and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Masaniissa* himself, now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled out of his Kingdom, denied leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to pass through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniissa* had wherewith to justify his

his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadours, what faithless people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that should persuade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebel; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had always, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that wherein their City stood: or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africa*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, *Masinissa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Country sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly: they sent over three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controversy: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadours followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masinissa* with a strong Army should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition: but were prepared by little and little, unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis; to War upon the Romans, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis beseegeth Gytheum, and wasting some part of Achæa. The exact skill of Philopœmen in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace of the Romans, joins with the Ætolians. The Ætolians surprize Demetrius; and by killing Nabis, their Confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopœmen his persuasions annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonians*. This might well have sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* a sorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only persuade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to join all together in a new Confederacy: whose joyned forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodiens*, and King *Emmetus*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well becoming them, for they were great darers. They sent Em-

bassadours

bassadours to all these Kings, with persuasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irrefutable, and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet shewed himself of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege unto *Gytheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the Affairs of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask Counsel of the *Romans*; and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending Embassadours, and were advised by *Quintius*, to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* Forces, that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by waiving their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then the Prætor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gytheum* by Sea; fearing lest the Town, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopœmen* was so bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admiral, that had fourcore years agoe been counted a gallant Vessel in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her Wings, than with her Talons. For his Admiral Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admiral, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant with-

drew part of his Army from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans*, if they should invade his Country. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the Sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gytheum* with any part of his Forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long troop, reaching some five miles; having their Horie, and the greater part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of *Philopœmen*, when he walked, or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the Country about him; and to discourse what might befall an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountered by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? What piece of Ground it were meet for him to seize upon? And in what manner he might best do it? In what fort he should order his men? Where bestow his Carriages, and under what Guard? In what fort encamp himself? And which way march the day following. By such continual meditation he was grown so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers: At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His baggage with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rock; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The Ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was first to minister the like occasion of skirmish. *Philopœmen* understood this; and laid an

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ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, That the *Acheans* had a purpose to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withal encourage the People to take Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some Companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopæmen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Camp, and gave chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopæmen* conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day, he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopæmen's* Camp great store of lights; thought that all had been at rest: and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty days together after this, did *Philopæmen* waste the Country round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embassadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be solicited by the *Ætoliens*. Very fair countenance they also made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, what soever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his Son: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receive other favours at their hands; and regain possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for War against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilst their Embassadors that were with him in *Asia*, denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yield unto one of the Conditions, by them so

often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage between *Ptolemy* and his Daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings Son, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King from giving audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode at *Epheesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livy* rather think) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus* upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his virtue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captains that had lived, *Hannibal* judged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrhus* the second: and the third he challenged unto himself. But *Scipio*, who thought his own riddle better than that it ought to be so forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldst thou have said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the first place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my self. Now whether this were so or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to use his counsel. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had caused him to swear at the Altars, when he was a little Boy, that he never should befriend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain surmises: but to know thus much, that so long as he thought upon War with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* do him all good service: whereas contrariwise, if he intended to make peace, then should it behoove him to use the counsel of some other man.

The *Ætoliens*, and their Friends, were less busied all this while, in making their party strong against the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in mustering up their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting

vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the Victory against *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*. But in vain. He understood the *Romans* and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own Forces to the uttermost: as knowing that all the burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready Answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panatholium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Campaign-field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Ætoliens*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming

*the *Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their Right in the Senate, or (if their Right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the World in uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words; that by sending to *Rome*, they

might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their Right, or else by way of Favour. For with such Terms had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the Great should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies depending between the *Romans* and the *Ætoliens*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the River of *Tiberis*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætoliens* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the War they referred unto the more private Council of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a General Assembly. The *Apoclet* (so were the privy Council of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work, as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a Plot how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entering some of them as friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again recalled: His *Ætolian* Companions that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereto they let in a Troop which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well: Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently

domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetoric they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force. For the Towns-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dashed. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good Friend was Lord of the Town, styling himself King, but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-near lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopomen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent Messengers, one after another, to the *Ætoli*ans; requesting them, That as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to lend him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Ætoli*ans were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed; they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and by so doing to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamennus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Counsel of the *Apolet*i, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make War with the *Acheans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamennus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamennus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to find other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this Great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætoli*ans, he said

that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the Forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had been long pent up in the City; and train them without the Walls: as if shortly he should employ them in work of Conquest, rather than Defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamennus*, and no more than three or four Horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamennus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Ætoli*ans, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirty Horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoined them at their setting forth; telling them, That they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamennus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Ætoli*ans never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where in stead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamennus* with his *Ætoli*ans, hastened into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his Followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the Town was shortly in Arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royal Stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his Children, whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætoli*ans that were idly stragling about; and put them all to the Sword. *Alexamennus* with not many of his Company, were slain in keep-

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keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopomen* came thither: who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them as *Alexamennus* should have done, after he had slain the Tyrant: easily persuaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Acheans*. Thus by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætoli*ans: and the small, but effectual, travel of *Philopomen*, the *Acheans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto been governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the Member of a Commonwealth, whereof the Name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, persuaded by *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, comes over into *Greece* ill attended. *Sundry passages between Him, the Ætoli*ans, *Chalcidians*, and others. *He wins Chalcis*, and thereby the whole Isle of *Eubœa*. *The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the Ætoli*ans, with the civil Answer of *Titus* to their discourse, before the *Acheans*. That it concerned the *Greeks* to have desired Peace between the *Romans* and *Antiochus*, as the best assurance of their own Liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of *Aminander*; and an idle vanity by which King *Phillip* was lost. *Hannibal* gives good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in Theft. *The King retires to Chalcis*, where he marrieth a young Wife, and reveals away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming of the *Roman Consul*, all forsake *Antiochus*. He with two thousand *Ætoli*ans keeps the Straights of *Thermopylae*. He is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leaving all *Greece* unto the *Victors*.

Antiochus was troubled much in *Asia*, with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him: and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece*: where he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the Country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in arms:

That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose: and that the *Ætoli*ans, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that which was true, made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whist therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, there to molest the *Romans*, and to give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his Countreymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the Kings Service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said that the King should as greatly feel the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality: whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion that such a renowned Warriour should be always near unto the Kings Person, to give advice: which being followed, as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the sovereign Command, even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Virtue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilion*; thence to do sacrifice to *Athena* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*; the same whom the *Ætoli*ans had lately waited on home, when by that pretext

pretext they won *Demetrius*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, That the *Magnetics* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horses and six Elephants. The *Etolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree whereby they invited him into their Country. He knew before that they would do so; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met with him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Etolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will: in that he said not to make all things ready, but hastened unto their aid, even whilst the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be longer, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-Coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any Charge, Travel, or Danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their Authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Etolians* therein the Chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all Provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessities, that they would help him with Corn and other Victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yield unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their Forces. Here we may observe how vain a thing it is for

an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a business of dangerous importance upon the promised assurance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Council; the *Etolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their Friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Etolians*. He was chosen General of all their Forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Council of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Etolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these he hastened away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Etolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the Chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Etolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained; until by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several estate had where to find redress, of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoise, yea, to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to join with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or He should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redress at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy.

confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks*: forasmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own Laws, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered why the King should thus trouble himself to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he and the *Etolians* requested their friendship; they beought both him and the *Etolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the succour could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Euboea* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Island shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Soldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little Town of *Boeotia*, lying over against the Island; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any danger; as being in such a place, and no War hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their carelessness, and used them with all extremity of War. Very few of them escaped; fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make War upon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves until he should come among them: knowing that either if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir: or if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyed with him in true meaning, save the *Eleans*, that always favoured the *Etolians*, and now feared the *Achaens*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Achaens* to his party. Never-

theless he assayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envy which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopemen's* virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Etolians* sent Embassadors to the Council at *Agium*, that pured not brave words, if the *Achaens* would have been so taken. The Kings Embassador told of great Armies and Fleets that were coming; reckoning up the *Dahians*, *Medians*, *Elimians*, and *Gaducians*: names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphilians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdoms of *Asia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late War made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achaens*, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Etolian* Embassador, and further added, That in the Battel at *Cynosephale*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had been there destroyed, had they not been protected by virtue of the *Etolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Council, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Achaens*, That neither the Kings Embassador, nor the *Etolians*, did so greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Etolians* together. For even such brags as here they made before the *Achaens*, who knew them to be Lyars, had the *Etolians* also made unto King *Antiochus*: Proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Country of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassador told even now; of *Dahians*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimians*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bondslaves, and good for little else. These divers names

names of rascal People, were he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis*, (no such Vaunter as were these *Embassadors*) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, wherewith he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame Swine, drifft after several fashions, with variety of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pomp: it was good to make judgement of the Great King by his present doing. He had notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him; for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg Victuals of the *Etolians*: and take up money at usury to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* again. These were the fruits of lies: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Etolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditor much persuasion is needless. The *Acheans* did not love so well the *Etolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Enbea*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War against him, and against the *Etolians*.

How the hatred between these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story fore-going. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Etolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of Greece, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an Army thither again. And in this respect ought the *Greeks* to have sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampsaes* might recover their Liberty, (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, until now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of Land, might be kept from overflowing the Bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiatics*, who originally were *Greeks*; than the general applause, where-

with all the Nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyntly to assist the *Romans* with their whole Forces both by Land and Sea, whensoever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stir against them: then had not only this quarrel been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Acheans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of Greece, that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thessalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Boeotians* willingly received him, as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. *Aminander* the *Atthamanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Etolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the Daughter of an *Acadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these Brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor Court of *Atthamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high Parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto good title as he. But for the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by persuasions of himself or of his Sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his Subjects: or whether

whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynosephale*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended merely unto his despiight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gavethem to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein (soever they should be pleased to use him).

The *Etolians*, *Magnetians*, *Enbeans*, *Boeotians*, and *Atthamanians*, having now all joyned with him: *Antiochus* took counsel of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his persuasions: or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge: as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into Greece. For the *Magnetians*, *Boeotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor estates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest for the present: and would afterwards, when they law it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoofeul to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to re coytle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily persuaded to join with them, the benent likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For,

said He, These *Etolians* here present; and namely, this *Thoas* being lately *Embassador* from them into Asia, among other motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that *Philip* was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the *Romans*: likened that King to some wild beast, that was chained or locked up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and satisfy his angry stomach, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoove us to look unto him; that he may not seek to please his good masters the *Romans*, by offending us. Now *Jun* *Seleucus* is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Army: if *Philip* will not hearken to your *Embassage*; let *Seleucus* be in readiness to fall upon *Macedon*, and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*, and the present war in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarked against the *Romans*, I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the *Romans* by this time should have heard other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Enbea* was become ours. Italy and Gaul should have been on fire with war; and little to their comfort, they should have understood, that *Hannibal* was again come into Italy. Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army either (but in any case let ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of vittuals: for, as the case now stands, we have here too few hands and too many mouths) Wherefore let the one half be employed against Italy; whilst you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the *Ionian* Sea, may both take order for the affairs of Greece, and therewithal make countenance; as if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the *Romans*, I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this Counsel which I give, I promise you my faithful and diligent service for the execution: but what Counselsoever you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into Asia; to make all things ready there. In the mean while

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they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa* that was chief of the Country, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a Roman Proprietor, did ſend help thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of Macedonia profeſſed himſelf enemy unto *Antiochus*, whereby the fame of the ſuccour coming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountain tops afar off; thought that a great Army of Romans and Macedonians had been coming upon him. Therefore excuſing himſelf by the time of the year; He brake up his ſiege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and Captains followed his examples; & the ſouldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in ſuch wiſe, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what looſe manner of diſcipline his army had paſſed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the Roman Conſul, ſhall meet him very ſhortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looſeneſs of nuptial Revels, by ſetting them to harder exerciſe.

M. Acilius was choſen Conſul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The war againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe, He was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica*, his Colleague: unto whom ſhall a charge, of far leſs credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had been long ſince, in time of the *Punic War*, Crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome*: when the Senate for very fear and ſuperſtition, durſt not have ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertain on old ſtone, which the Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Virtue or good opinion, gave ſuch advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province: or arrogate more unto himſelf; than his lot ſhould afford him. This impartial diſtribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord.

P. Scipio was therefore appointed to make war againſt the *Bojians*; wherein he purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſervice, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into Greece, with ten thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, not withſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of Macedonia; had lately ſent Embaſſadors to Rome, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his forces into *Italia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this War. *Ptolomy* ſent alſo gold and ſilver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too young and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly reſuſed. Unto *Philip* Embaſſadors, anſwer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would think themſelves beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that he ſhould give to *Acilius* the Conſul. *M. Ananiſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtrive, which of them ſhould be moſt forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promiſed a great quantity of grain; which they would ſend partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And herein *M. Ananiſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as alſo in that he offered to lend the Conſul five hundred horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* undertook to ſet out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-money which was behind, and ought to be diſcharged by many yearly penſions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet: nor would let them redeem themſelves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition that they ſhould be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſty and ridiculous iſſue of this War, that began with ſuch noiſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the Roman and the *Aſiatic* Souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few Towns of *Acarnania*, after the ſame manner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by fair words, and treaſon of the rulers; partly by terrour, that was like to prove their exuſe when they ſhould again forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Babius* having recovered many places; & the Roman Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; he was glad

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to withdraw himſelf. *Aminander* fled out of his *Albania*: which the Macedonian took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the Romans. *Philip* the brother of *Aminander*'s wife, was taken by the Conſul; made a mocking-ſtock, and ſent away priſoner to Rome. The *Theſſalians* uſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yielding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themſelves: the Garrifons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and took pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himſelf to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toyl during one half of a winter, and ſpent the other half in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, he found all the promiſes of the *Ætolians* meerly verbal: and himſelf reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreſeen all this long before. Nevertheless, he ſent word to the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their own need to be no leſs than his. But the *Ætolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelves were ſhamefull diſappointed by *Antiochus*; who having promiſed ſo do great wonders, was in all this while ſecured by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill up the ſame ten thouſand which he firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thoon* and his fellows had done their beſt in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither hiſ own men came over to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of Greece would appear in this time of danger: He ſeized upon the Straights of *Thermopyla*; as meaning to defend them againſt the Romans, until more help ſhould come. Of the Straights of *Thermopyla*, there hath been ſpoken enough * before, upon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceived, how the Romans, that landed about *Apolonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſaly*, were unable to paſs that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of Greece; unleſs they could win this difficult entrance.

But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handful of men, defended this paſſage two or three daies together, againſt a world of men coming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelf in Greece: did commit himſelf unto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whileſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus: but at leaſt wiſe now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, leſt the Romans, finding any by-path, ſhould come down upon him. By this opportunity, he got of them two thouſand, that undertook to make good the few paſſages: by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The Roman Conſul in like ſort prepared to force the Straights; without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickneſs from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himſelf encouraged his Army; not only by telling them with what bafe conditioned enemies they had to deal: but what rich Kingdoms *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battel. All that night *Cato* had a ſore journey, for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, ſave only that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no ſkilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up ſteepy Rocks, and crooked waies: He commanded them to repoſe themſelves; whilſt he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the diſcovery, accompanied with no more than one of like metal to himſelf. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the beſt way leading unto the Enemies. So either he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward break of day. It was a place not haunted, becauſe in time of peace, there was a fair way thorow the Straights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopyla* been ſo often the Seat of War, as might cauſe any travellers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt; yet did it lead

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him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there until day-light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and some of the *Ætoli*ans very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and would them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætoli*ans were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the *Ætoli*ans, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it, in a manner, a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp itself, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights, was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and poured down a shower of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought, at first, that the *Ætoli*ans had been coming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* Arms and Ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the Camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies loss drove *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and entreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few daies all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætoli*ans only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any respite. At his return from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyne with him against *Antiochus*: over whom, since the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good success; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip* *Lamia*;

at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Myne, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither, and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopyle*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himself: until such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The loss of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætoli*ans, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safety: sinceit would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætoli*ans being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicanor*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of money, that might serve to defray the charges of the War: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoon*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him; who willingly staid, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætoli*ans lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other business in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good offices past, was quite obliterated by the

the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing unto the faith, signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as *yielding to discretion. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business, private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicaearchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menesibrotus* the *Epirot*, *Antimander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countrymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whil实现 he was yet speaking; *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the *Greeks*, who had yielded themselves unto his faith; not unto slavery. What? said the Consul, Do ye stand to plead Custome with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain. With that, chains were brought; and an Iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himself; and said, That neither he, nor yet the *Apocletti* or ordinary Council for the Nation, were able to fulfill these Injunctions; without approbation of the general Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten daies respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

This forceance of War, during ten, and other ten daies together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further

need of him in the continuance of this War; He was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilst the Consul was busied with the *Ætoli*ans: taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhabia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætoli*ans hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicanor* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with money and hopeful promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea*, and *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicanor* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the Assembly of the *Ætoli*ans, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good: but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his servants to entreat *Nicanor* friendly: and he himself being then at supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the *Ætoli*ans did now reap the fruits of their own madness; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they never made any trial: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicanor* to signify unto his Countrymen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicanor* was always after dutifully affected to the Crown of *Macedon*: so as in the war

war of *Perseus* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*; and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: he forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whether he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser by rising from before it without Victory. So he staid there well-near all the following time of his Consulship; whilst the *Macedonian* King and the *Æthians*, made far better use of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong City of *Demetrium*, and with an hasty course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Æthians* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Æthian* Prætor wasted their Country, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandment their gates should be opened; but that unto the *Æthians* it was not their meaning to yield. A message from *Titus* to the *Æthian* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Army, and finish the War: as also the peremptory Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Æthians*, and become part of their Commonwealth. Such was now the Majesty of a *Roman* Ambassador. *Titus* did favour the *Æthians*; yet could not like it well, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they oad their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Isle of *Zacynthus*; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who fent a Governour thither. But when *Aminander* in this present war, was

driven out of his own Kingdom by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Island to the *Æthians*; whom he found ready Chapman. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the *Æthians* referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell: and that, holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in *Peloponnesus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Consul had lain two months, that might have been far better spent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philips* thriving so fast: he perswaded the Consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long truce, that they might send Embassadors to *Rome*; and submitted themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Ætolians* have made such earnest suit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had been sure to carry it in any short space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flower of the Nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Condition, than one of these two; That either they should wholly submit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any; further than as the *Romans* should give approbation. They had not so much money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves away unto discretion; which, what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, and how far forth they should yield unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilst the *Ætolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to do in *Greece*, and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the traitable *Æthians*.

Æthians. He would have had them to restore the banished *Lacedemonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the *Æthians* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedemonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Æthians*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should have their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The *Roman* Admiral *C. Livius*, much about the same time, fought a battel at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admiral to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty sail of *Rhodiens* came after the battel, when they were following the Chase. The Kings Fleet was the better of sail, but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soon as he betook himself to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians* were glad to excuse themselves by fear; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrary side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now send to congratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored unto him *Demetrium* his younger Son; whom some few years they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Tolomy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he desired the Senate not to foretell time; but to send an Army, as soon as might be, into *Asia*: promising, that his assistance, wherein soever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This *Tolomy* was the Son-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had been in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of *Greece* into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but

the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battel for his Kingdom.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him *Publius* the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into *Greece*. He grants long Truce to the *Ætolians*, that so he might at leisure pass into *Asia*. Much trouble some business by Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon *Eumenes* his Kingdom; with the siege of *Pergamus*, raised by an handful of the *Æthians*. *L. Scipio* the Consul comes into *Asia*: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battel of *Magnesia*: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished, yieldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* eyed their victory. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, after a most jumpitious triumph over *Antiochus*, is surnamed *The Asiaticus*, as his brother was siled *The African*.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African, was chosen Consul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the African laid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war against *Antiochus*, He himself would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the Controversie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppose than *Scipio*: that had been victorious against that same great Worthy? But indeed a worse man might have served well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute command, nor scarce any trutt of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation; where his wisdom was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy

thy of remembrance, as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilest he lived in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Army in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had been served by such brave men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, Both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sunshine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing him self with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most covetous men in all the world: meaning that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly *Astatiques*, was no better than a spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to guess. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haste away from *Rome* as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly preft to the war, about five thousand Voluntarys, that had served under *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinquerems*, Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Emilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admiral the same year for that voyage. At their coming into *Greece*, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphyssa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* assert that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at *Nanpaëus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unregarded the last year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphyssa*: which he had almost gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horses, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyssa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*: entreating him to stand their friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perswade the *Ætolians*,

that they should faithfully, and with true meaning, defend it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consul made still the same answer, with which they had been chafed from *Rome*. The Conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from war: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a years truce: after which, the winter was liketo afford them another half years leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time lost, which withheld the War from passing over into *Asia*.

The business of *Ætolia* being thus laid aside, and the old Consul *Glabrio* sent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Thessaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Hellefont*. Yet they considered, that hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would he be unfaithfull though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some tryal; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post unto him, and observe his doings as he should take him on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking when the Messenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the Rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With these good news *Gracchus* returned back in haste unto the *Scipio's*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in readines, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Hellefont*: where they stayed a good while, until their Navy was in readines to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admiral of *Antiochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King, and desirous of revenge upon his Country-

Country men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do somewhat upon those that were to early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and sent word, as in great secrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admiral, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requital thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed: and the *Rhodian* Admiral grew so careless, expecting still when he should receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas* that he himself was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and for fear of being discovered, resting one day in harbour by the way, came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Polyxenidas* the *Rhodian* Admiral seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance to bestow his men on the two headlands or points of the Haven; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies in another part of the Island: which falling upon the back of *Fausistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies took him out of all order, and sunk or boarded all his Navy, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Crescent upon two poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who having not bethought himself what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate Gallies; for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some loss by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery presented battel to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes

of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindered by storms at Sea; and another while by strong resistance made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdom. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elaea* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his Son *Selenus* to besiege the royal City of *Pergamus*, did with the rest of his Army spoil the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand foot, and an hundred horse of the *Acheans*: old souldiers all, and trained up under *Philopappus*, whose Scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their commander was. This *Diophanes* beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to disdain that such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Selenus* his Army which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst fall forth upon them, grew so careless: as otherwise than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an enemies Country. *Diophanes* therefore spake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achean* would needs have his will: & issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers; they wondered at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness, and laughed to see with what a handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they well might: and he himself, with the hundred horse, brake out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horses ready saddled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make resistance: so as he drave them all out of their Camp; & chased them as far as he might safely adventure with great slaughter of them, and no loss to his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the walls of the Town, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very joyfull; and highly magnified the virtue of their *Acheans*. Yet

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would they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to help the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Selencus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before : and against him went forth *Diophanes* the second time ; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many hours, looking who should begin : *Selencus* in fair order as he came, withdrew himself toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whilst the enemy was in sight : but as soon as the ground between them hindered the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in the Rere ; so as he brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldness of the *Acheans*, and the baseness of his own men, caused *Selencus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of these *Asiatiques*, *Philopamen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had been in a time of great security : a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tripling in their victualling houses ; which *Philopamen* said that he would have done, had he been General of the *Acheans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business : and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at *Pergamus* : into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himself with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to *Elea* : whether he heard that *Antyllus* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring succour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace : about which to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Antyllus*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul : this Treaty brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused *Selencus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King : and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty Sail, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce : for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could

do to *Apollonius* ; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polexenus* the Kings Admiral. The battle was fought by *Myonesus* a Promontory in *Asia* : where *Polexenus* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies ; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea : we may note the vanity of those brags, where with *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies ; the *Rhodians* two and twenty : the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned ; the *Rhodian* more light-timbered and thin planked, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their Prow they ran upon the enemy : who declining them for fear, laid open his side : and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoisted sail : and, having a fair wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them : whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three ships : but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in *Europe*, he presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia* : which might easily have been kept even till the end of Winter following ; & having reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto terms of great extremity. He also gave over the siege of *Colophon* : and laying aside all thought save only of defence, drew together all his Army ; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellefpont*, but had yielded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was also then in a readiness to transport him over into *Asia* : where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease ; even as if the Country had

had been his already. The first news that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Ambassador that came to sue for peace. This Ambassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now persuade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputes heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampiscus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*, and was further purposed not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampiscus* and *Smyrna* : what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with War ? If it was their desire that any other Towns upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands : the King would not refuse to gratify them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*, so as the bounds dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewise bear half the Charges wherewith they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers which to the Ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the Charges of the War, since it began through his own fault : and that he should not only depart out of those few Towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionias* ; but quite out of *Asia* the less, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Ambassador therefore saw that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private : and to him he promised a great quantity of Gold, together with the free restitution of his Son, who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of Gold : nor otherwise to the Restitution of his Son, than upon condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publick business : He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the War to take hold on his own Kingdom ; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your

King in my name, That I would advise him to refuse no Condition wherby he may have Peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no less than if he had been already subdued : little reason there was, that he should fear to come to battle, wherein he could lose, as he thought ; no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threescore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse ; besides two and fifty Indian Elephants ; and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he was affected : He made so little show of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elea*, He sent thither unto him his Son without ransom : as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected that herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay : better it was to do such a courtesy before the battle, as would afterwards have been little worth ; than to stay until the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the Recovery of his Son ; so that the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He laid only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight until he shall hear that I am in the Camp*. What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his Counsel : and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygia* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Sipylus* : where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sat down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome : of whom at first they slew some ; and were anon, with some loss, driven back over the River. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would pass the water. The third day the *Romans* made the

the adventure : wherein they found no disturbance ; nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot : whom the ordinary *Corps de garde* repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies ; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fifth day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battle ; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, far from any Country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties : unless they would stain their honour by returning far back, to Winter in a more convenient place ; and so defer the War until the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was thoroughly periwaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the general Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay : as if rather there were so many Beasts to be laughed at, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the Fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to trial. So when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their Battels : He also did the like ; and advanced so far, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army consisted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine* : in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as usually, were in the points ; the *Romans*, in the mean Battel. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hastati* had the leading ; after them followed the *Principes*, at such distance as was usual ; and last of all, the *Triarii*. Now beside these ; there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries* ; partly *Acheans*, and partly such as belonged to *Emenes* : which were placed in an equal Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Thracians*) were almost three thousand Horse : of which, *Emenes* had brought thither eight hundred ; the rest being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River : yet four troops of Horse

were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand *Voluntaries*, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Consul had with him sixteen *African* Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere : so far as much as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they only would have served to discourage his men ; as being sure to be beaten : the *Indian* being far the greater and more courageous Beasts : whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten Battalions : every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly Beasts, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their Backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred Horse of the *Gallo-Greeks* : then three thousand Barb'd Horse, and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Country, and accompanied by some others. All which Troops of Horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoining unto these, were sixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment ; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Silver Shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander* : then, twelve hundred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hundred Archers of *Assia* ; with four thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Circassians*, and *Elymeans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barb'd Horse : as also two thousand Horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations : and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troop* ; being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all these Horse were the

the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon fate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphilians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyrtians*, *Elymeans*, and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himself commanded in the right wing : *Seleucus* in the left : and three of his principal Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first onset was given by the *Dromedaries* and armed Chariots : of which the one, being like to terrify the Horse ; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot ; *Emenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shoutings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field ; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left Wing : Whereas they found no resistance ; some being out of order ; others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seem credible : that the *Phalangiers*, with such variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance ; but all of them fled, in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own Battel : and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse, gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Emilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows : and what by persuasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right

Wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious : whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach ; He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tardiance. The Camp was defended a little while : and with no great valour ; though by a great multitude that were led into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this Battel fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse ; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans* there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse : of *Emenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardis*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night ; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the

custody of *Sardis*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithful. But the *Towns-men* and *Souldiers* were so dismayed with the greatness of the Overthrow ; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the *Towns* in those parts ; without expecting summons yielded up themselves by Embassadours : whom they sent to the *Romans*, whil实现 they were on the way. Neither were many days spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassador was in the Camp : having none other Errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his Brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required red no more than they had lately done : which was, That he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their Charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents : five hundred in hand ; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* should have confirmed the peace ; and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred Talents for *Emenes* ; and some store of Corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thon* the *Etolian*, with some others, who had stirred up the King to this War, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might so easily have perceived that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands ; as no great Art was needful to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full Commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the Ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fabius*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The *Etolians* desired peace, but could not obtain it : because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed ; That one of the Consuls should make War upon the *Etolians* ; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now, though shortly there came news that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in Battel, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands : yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care, *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this, came the Embassadors of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians; and some others; yea, by King Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no dispute: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his own deserts, and comparing himself with Masaniissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the Numidian, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masaniissa was only such in title; and since, both he and his Father had always been their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their courties; and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needful, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving Liberty to many of the Greek Towns that were on Asia side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reason that they should be Gainers by his overthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this: They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the Graecian Liberty; and to call to mind, that no small part of Greece it self had been subject unto Philip, and served him in his War: which was not alleged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King Antiochus, was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well-pleased.

Such end had the War against King Antiochus: after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the Pomp whereof exceeded in Riches, not only that of Titus Quintus Flamininus; but of any ten that Rome had beheld until that day. Now so far as much as the surname of the African had been given unto Scipio, it was thought convenient by some to reward L. Scipio with the title of *The Asiaticus*: which the fortune of his Victory had not less deserved; though the Virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The Etolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls, Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Books of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.

MARC, Fulvius, and Cn. Manlius had the same charge divided between them, which L. Cornelius Scipio, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had granted so long a Truce to the Etolians. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it self to the Roman Majesty, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the Greeks. The best was, that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the Etolians. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadors were utterly denied peace at Rome: and they had provided the last Remedy; which was to entreat the Rhodians and Athenians to become Intercessors for them. Nether were they so dejected with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devile, even upon helping themselves by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor King Aminander lived in exile among them, whilst Philip of Macedon kept, for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athabaniens (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own Prince) having been long accustomed to serve a Mountain Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the Captains of Philip his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Etolians, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty Adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready

assistance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country, to his use. The fame of this godd success at the first; with divers Letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenant of Philip unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the Town of Theium a few daies; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to provide for the force. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence, and could only tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. Philip had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behind him, and so came to Athabenum, a little Athabaniens Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take a place lying over Argitheia, that was chief of the Country. Zeno did as he was appointed; yet neither he, nor the King had the boldness to defend upon Argitheia; for that they might perceive the Athabaniens, all along the hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when Aminander came in fight with his thousand Etolians. The Macedonians were called back from Argitheia, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athabaniens and Etolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plain flight, with great loss of men and arms, few of those escaping, that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, until Philip his return.

The Etolians having found the business of Athabania so easie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the Amphibolians and Aperantiens. These had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently revolted, and became Etolians again. The Dolopians lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Macedonians, and so did still purpose to continue. These took Arms at first; but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the Etolian quarrel, and seeing their own King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these Victories the joy was the less; for that news came of Antiochus his last overthrow, and of M. Fulvius the new Consul his

haunting with an Army into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate not to take it in despite, that he had recovered his own from Philip with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the Romans were much offended to hear of Philip his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprovers. Fulvius went in hand with the business about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly City, that had been the chief seat of Pyrrhus his Kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Etolians: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Etolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at Sea, and ready to be driven from their new Conquest, by Perseus the Son of Philip, who invaded the Countreies of the Amphibolians and Dolopians. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadors came, who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the Assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend half his time about one City, and so he given to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the Etolians, and bade them seek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdoms their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, to offer him his service as a Mediatour, to put him self into Ambracia, and try what good his persuasions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same Embassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, accompanied those of the Etolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession, for that Philip had made a very grievous complaint about the loss of those Countreies, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; thought it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Etolians were

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe diverse Articles, which made them the less free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called their Masters into the Country. The Isle of *Cephalonia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Acheans*), by stiffly pressing their own right; that so they might have possession along the Coast of *Greece*, whilst they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their Controversies, when they should arise. And thereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consul, had at the same time War in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the confirmation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration that happened in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even laden with booty, when, having fetched a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such trial, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsel thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Country, and with all that they could carry or drive, to betake

themselves unto the high Mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These Mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the natural strength being helped by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dilodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*; neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, often than those of a fit size. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Arms, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the Mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their Wives, Children, and goods, became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other Mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* Arms. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the League of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the

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matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellepont*, laden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home rich in money alone, or cattle, or things of needful use, which the *Roman* Souldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous Houhold-stuff, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians, for banquets; and in a word, with the seeds of that Luxury which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellepont* and the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdom, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*; promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*.

Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the War began: He thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus*, and *Lyfimaechia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome*, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipios*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by Letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the Wars in *Spain* and *Africa*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due

respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamum*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself: yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness, the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the *Thracians* were by him set on to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many lives; as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought until it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous; before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdom they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Commander. Touching the rest of their accusation, it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One Clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with *Antiochus*; They said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over Taurus, and adventuring upon the Calamity threatened by Sibyl's Verdict, unto those that should pass the Fatal Bounds*. What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyl's* Prophecy threatened the *Roman* Captain or Army, that should

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pais over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the first that marched with an Army beyond those limits: though the Victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his Race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we find not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any loss, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tully* noeth, *joined at random in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemy* to his Kingdom by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that Prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* Predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the Books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Enchirius*: when that learned and excellent work of *Master Casaubon* upon the Annals of *Cardinal Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those Prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein *Christ* so plainly was shewed, but even the Books of *Hermes*, which have born such reputation, were no better than counterfeit devils pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever desired them) by the indiscreet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with foreign proofs. And in the same Rank I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Enchirius* from no mean Authors. Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publick, should

have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am persuaded, that this Inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amiss in place of *Simoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the Goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebel, had many Ages before been consecrated *Simoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sango*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to pass, that the words should be misread, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sango*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *En. Antiochus*, it may be numbered among a few of the richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those moneys which the Commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second *Punic War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipios* were called one after another, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the People; men, only by this accusation, known to Posterity, *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with Bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes,

Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great Train of his Friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the People, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great Battel with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punic War* by a signal Victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the Capitol, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods; by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the Commonwealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, That if ever since the seventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, even the Officers of the court followed *Scipio* leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them excepting their own slaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, until for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial: he willingly relinquished the City and his unthankful *Romans*, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopomen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he outlived the Tribuneship of his Accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. However it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio* the *Astique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching money received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an

Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed Author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect Vertue, temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconscionable, in seeking to increase his own wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself and the whole City; whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had been at *Thermopyle*, was his Competitor for the Censurship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some Vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipios*, grew partly, (besides his general spite at the Nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some check that was given unto himself, in the *African* Voyage by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad Husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue Reports against his General; whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false Tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipios*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non-payment his body should have been laid up in prison: but from this rigor of the Law, he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which

was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; than fell his Accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better Estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the Civil War of the *Tongue* in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much remarkable until now, since the *Punic* War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient Employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that Great Worthy, to whose Virtue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extrem danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain them selves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their Adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition first with Clubs and Stones, afterward with Swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets, unto battle in the open field. *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare Virtue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly named, *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two Sons, whilst they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends: by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that*

the Commonwealth receive no detriment. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus*, a popular man; whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of arms returned into the City, and murdered all the Principal Senators: whereupon began the Civil Wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obtain the like Sovereign Power, when by the like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoice, of his having put in execution such Authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in passing their Laws, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Sovereign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by Voices in the House, did compel *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by Arms: wherewith prevailing against his Adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor People, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principal Citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of One: suffering this change in three Generations, after this beginning of their insolent Rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat Greatness, nor believed of her self, as if she had, whilst a King fate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the Reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second Macedonian War.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were Associates of the Romans, when the War with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achæans, The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at Rome, by his Son Demetrius: of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

After the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonwealth of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates as formerly had been, before the arrival of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publick Declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute Vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Sovereign Power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and War, To beat Money, and To reserve (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or the last Appeal, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeal, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitrament, or direction, if either King or Commonwealth declined, He or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Laws, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither the Laws were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankful for their deliverance from a Yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as be-

ing more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, and being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of War and Peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to hold his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdom bordered upon the Nations by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Musanis*, and to his House, until *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion settled in *Africa*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Capadocia*, and others, holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. But such Magnanimity was none otherwise contrived by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies thorough his Country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with Victuals and other things needful, to transport them over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his Neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

Thence

* Hist. of
Hugues
Maur. P.
m. 1655.

These Towns of *Enus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachia* his Kingdom: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Translypmania*: In which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of Gold have been found in the age of our Grand-fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his Estate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of War, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right *Ptolemy Ceran-nus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdom of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that Crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of Land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius* and his Successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their Liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wild *Thracians*, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the ways, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdom; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Country, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate: yet forasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Here-to he made a good answer. That his Garrison did only live in from the *Thracians*: who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Enus* and *Maronea*: That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdom. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: in the present question, the

Romans were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former war: and since they, by their *Victory*, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Enus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive by the demeanour of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversy. Nevertheless he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his Right unto these Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the War against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruins, *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at least to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their Liberty, he took counsel of his own passion; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of War. This was done: but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors who had better notice than could have been feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an account. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that

that they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who survived, were either his own friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more severe, and more thoroughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himself of the Crime objected, he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, That *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him, since it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; He took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the Doctrine which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All Ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt Scholars in this Lesson to the more ancient: as the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, here in *England* can bear good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust Law that himself had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger Son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate: giving him Instructions how to make answer to all Complaints, and withall to deliver his own Grievances in such wise, that if ought were amiss, yet might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The sum of his Embassy was, To pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himself was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate, as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat; were it only, in that regard would be born unto his person.

Whilst this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense; and whilst he, by his readines to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the *Roman* Arms: the same Embassadors, that had been Judges between him and his Neighbours, made their progress thorow the rest of *Greece*; and took notice of the Conjuracies, which they found between some Eftates in the Country. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Acheans*. It was objected unto the *Acheans*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the Walls of the City: as also further, in changing the Laws, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas* the Prætor of the *Acheans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder; whereof shamefully they laid the blame upon others: the *Acheans* having not only called those unto judgment, that were supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*: and these Plaintiffs having slain them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kind of fortifications: as the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had woful experience) of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls, and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his Ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawless Will. As for the *Acheans*; they communicated their own Laws, which they held for the best, or else would soon change them, and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Laws, or any tolerable form of policy. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embassadors, That he and his Countrymen held it strange, being friends and faithful Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions, as vassals and slaves unto the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at Liberty: Why might not the

Acheans

Acheans as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busy themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? For if the *Romans* would stand upon their Greatness; and intimate, as they begun, that the Liberty of their Friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratify it: then must the *Acheans* have recourse unto those Agreements that were confirmed by Oath, and which, without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortal gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking stare upon him; he pronounced, more like a Matter than a Judge, that if the *Acheans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Acheans*, which groaned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all judgements of death or banishment, that had been laid by the *Acheans* upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of dispensation, whether, or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achean* Common-wealth: or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Estate by itself. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *sparta* to the Council of *Achaia*, they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Commonweals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wife and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made mere Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so

prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought Revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who, though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans*, by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Country would be his, whensoever he should take Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, coming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired Ratification of Peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being counfounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read (such brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodness in the Defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his Son, together with some insolence of his Son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and bred in him a jealousy of his too forward Son. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*; some bringing one Commandment, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his Father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the Elder Son of the King, should not succeed unto his Father, but that the Diadem should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself: who suspected

suspected his younger Son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of *Philopœmen*, *Hannibal*, and *Scipio*. That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrel in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Acheans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversy that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achean* Common-wealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again the Estate of their own; severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly affected in the business, were careful to seek occasions of reducing things to such pass, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achean* League. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Acheans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal Gentlemen of the *Acheans*; especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*; whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilst his horse-men were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to

their aid, compelled *Philopœmen* horse-men to turn back; *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his horse-men to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom, the reputation and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrify from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horse, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these news to *Messene*, was so far from being believed, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet him, and behold the spectacle (seeming so incredible!) They caused him to be brought into the Theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his virtue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace, or injury done to him, unrevengeed. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him with a cup of poison, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horse-men were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well: and so with a cheerful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakened with long sickness, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The *Acheans*, when they missed him

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in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withal, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who coming thither, and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yield. Then *Democrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder: were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopemen* that were carryed home in solemn pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a Roman Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldom absent. He would have intermeddled in this business of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spiteful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily descend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratify the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a troop of souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret fallies under ground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him; as to save himself from their torture and mercilefs hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When

therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that fear which hath so many years possessed them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius, over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered among the rest of his herical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battle at their own door, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poison; whereas these of a later race, have employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore been one of their Consuls, to practise with Prusias, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest. He then cursing the person of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his fidelity, drank off the poyson and dyed.*

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopemen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African (these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper virtue, wanting publick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the common misery of his Country and Common-weal.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousy of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weals, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great Captains, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousy of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter, of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Nomachus* the Marshal of France confess, That, were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were

were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardice of the Nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we find many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Ennius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the Greeks we read of not many that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacy that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captain *Joab*. With this fear *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperor invited *Etius*: who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attilia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battle for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside run-aways, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperor by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Etius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Etius*) murdered the Emperor; which he never durst attempt, *Etius* living. And, besides the loss of that Emperor, it is true, That with *Etius*, the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured: The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse had *Bellisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were for difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torn out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blind begger. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then, to wit, That the Common-weal cannot be accounted free; which standeth in awe of any one man: And hence have the *Turks* drawn another Principle, and indeed, a Turkish one. That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomet*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa*

Anstapha; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their Vissers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drove the French out of Naples; and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered Mexico, were crowned with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earls of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear Garlands on. And that the great Captains of all Nations have been paid with this Copper Coin; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withal in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants, which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traitorously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of war: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtues; is far more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and, with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face; and after them *Mauritius* himself. This bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Herachius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperor *Justin*, cut off his Nose and Ears, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justin* having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Justin*, murdered both the Emperor and his Son. *Anastaphus*, the vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastaphus*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out

of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endless and a needless work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captains to make themselves Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Arms, is to take what may be gotten by the Spoil of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by *Solomon*, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poor and wiseman therein, and he delivered the City by his wisdom: but none remembered this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiser sort of them think to favour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are often times couzened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it; and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition; that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipios* being so lately recited.

In my late Sovereigns time, although for the wars, which, for her own safety, she was constrained to undertake, her Majesty had no less cause to use the service of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had: yet according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And, that her Majesty had many

advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her dayes never received dishonour by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her self chosen and employed.

For as all her old Captains by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Willford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Constable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkley*, *Bingham*, and others: so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; those (I say) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* *L. Willoughby* of *Erby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Majesty in the advancement of her men of War did sooner believe other men than her self, a disease unto which many wife Princes, besides her self, have been subject; I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Advers are so unprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nearest the person of Princes (which Martial-men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify a profession far more Noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use than themselves.

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieving by Pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more Martial men than all the Kings of *England* have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a Coronet to the *L. Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588, as at *Calix*, the Islands, and in our own Sea; having first commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His Majesty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* & *Earley* into Earldoms; and created *Sid-*

ney *Viscount*, *Knoller*, *Ruffel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, *Barons*, for their governments and services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

§. III.

Philip, making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His negotiation with the Bassarne. His cruelty. He suspecteth his Son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Quintius Martius the Roman Ambassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the utmost of his diligence in looking into the Estate of *Macedon*. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoever they enjoyed him: yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meer necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King, did wholly tend unto Rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the *Romans*, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdom into their own hands; which safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case: as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the *Romans*, he compelled to forsake their dwelling, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he devised upon alluring the *Bassarne*, a strong and hardy Na-

tion, that dwelt beyond the River of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardaniens*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service against the *Romans*; being not only stout fighting men, but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the *Dardaniens*; a people alwayes troublesome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whenever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to persuade those *Bassarne*, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, unto a more desperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriatick* Sea, into *Italy* itself. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others through whose Country they were to pass, would accompany them against the *Romans*, were it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bassarne* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardaniens*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with the help of the wild Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; since he was not like to find assistance from any civil Nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect: so as the *Bassarne* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the mean time he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exercise of them in some small Expedition against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst effected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, and in his own house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wills to forsake their ancient dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations; as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it self within words: he having

ving done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived : which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evil therefore would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow ; but imputed all to traitorous malice ; and accordingly fought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to dye : among whom were some eminent men ; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe, until he should have massacred all the children of those Parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical then perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger Son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and loyalty of *Demetrius* : like as we find in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the Fathers head. If any custom of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unlighty contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk ; *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and upbraiding them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. His, and his daily conversation with their Embassadors as often as they came, gave his Father cause to think, that he was an fit partaker of any Counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder Son *Perseus* : who fearing so much lest his brother should be between him and the succession, conversed wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his Father. *Perseus* was about thirty years old ; of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *De-*

metrius was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspicions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder Son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus. They cleft in twain a Bitch ; and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to pass : This done, the Arms of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first original, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two Sons : after him came his own band, and they of his Guard ; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, that Army was divided into two parts : which under the Kings two Sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight ; using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accoutumed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory : for which happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over-carnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a tokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, until *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad preface : but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort : who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him ; as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies to the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indifferently, that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what cheer he kept.

kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man : yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espial kept, that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus* : who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himself excluded, and feared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the Father of them both. Much there was alleged, and, in effect, the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans* ; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him ; because he bore a due respect unto his Father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him : as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a Letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himself : whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome* ; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsel was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should wait upon his brother to *Rome* ; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this young Traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them, and had conceived of them : bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he said that it grew, if not

by his own virtue, at least wise from their opinion thereof : so as by any impious practices, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a Father, though a jealous Father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error ; whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus* : using solitary conference with his younger Son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, *Philocrates* and *Apelles* ; men whom he thought no way interested in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a Letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince ; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect : for that *Titus* himself would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perfwade the King to think his Son a dangerous Traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custody, made shew as if he had pirated the estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to fly secretly to *Rome*, where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could find at home, of bettering such claims as he had in reversion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas* ; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the escape, and in the mean while

white revealed the whole matter to the King: So *Philip* resolv'd to put his Son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily; for fear lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didar* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed minister of his Kings unadvised fence, first gave poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own blood: The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred, had almost been cut off the lines of *Ptolemy* and *Selenus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their Kingdoms thereby grievously distemper'd. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had rais'd it self to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meer slavery: whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children; as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherish'd him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature; and therefore unfit to be a good persuader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poyson. After the death of his Son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them

in a more equal ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no less to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspicious imagination; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Cousen of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hateful to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philochares* and *Apelles* (the Embassadors which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flamininus*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the business: made diligent enquiry after the truth. In thus doing he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of business. No marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent.

innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philochares* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when *Xychus* confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to fly the Country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdom towards *Thrace*, whilst his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious Son, took a resolution, to alienate the Kingdom from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: always full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself with continual wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thank his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it ease for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the loss of a King, whereof he little cared to partum the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was fore-signified unto *Perseus*, by *Caligenes* the Physician, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the sudden, and took possession of the Kingdom: which in fine he no less providently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. I V.

How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of *Perseus* in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the *Romans*: and how they suffered *Malanilla* cruelly to oppress the *Carthaginians*. They quarrelled with *Perseus*. They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of *Callicrates*, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to *Rome*, than in

former times. Further quarrels to *Perseus*. He seeks friendship of the *Acheans*, and is misflood by *Callicrates*. The *Romans* discover their intent of warring upon him.

Immediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnity of the Country. This Compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withal, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dashed and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford to good markets unto these strangers; as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having lost their rich hopes repos'd in *Philip*, grew careful of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extrem bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I do not find. It seems that by the careles use of some victories, they drew loss upon themselves: and finally took that occasion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil himself in a war so dangerous; as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he sat personally to hear their causes in judgement (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of justice to be no better than feined) as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles, magnificently by him

set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first work, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessively bountiful, that it may seem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became so griping and senacious. His fear was indeed the mairing passion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in wars against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Istria*; subdued the rebellious *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever since the victory) a heavy hand: and suffered *Masaniissa* to take from them what he listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vassals to *Rome*, were afraid, though in despite of their own, to take arms: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Masaniissa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and so did he use them again and again: with presence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Galax* the Father of *Masaniissa* had won some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* won from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to their right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonista*, and of *Asdrubal* his father-in-law. This did *Masaniissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whose judgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masaniissa* came upon them again, and took from them above seventy Towns and Castles, without any colour of

right. Hereof by their Embassadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make war out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniissa*, invading their Country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to bear defensive arms against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer justice; or be suffered to defend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how far forth *Masaniissa* should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the *Barchinians*; of their irresolution in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slain, taken and sold as bond-slaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all Cities of *Africa* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masaniissa*; once their mercenary, and now their master or rather their tormentor, out of whose cruel hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have been their own. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battle at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that

that was it was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Common-wealth; and employed their labours for the publick, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extrem want, to set out an Army into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These were no *Carthaginian* virtues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easy punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the Son of *Masaniissa* was then in *Rome*, and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions; how to deal in that business. Only it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Council divers nights, in the Temple of *Esculapius*: whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masaniissa* his sake, they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable, but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians*, those Lands, which by the covenants of the League were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and

willed him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Masaniissa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masaniissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masaniissa*, in way of thankfulness; though it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africa* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Basarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours; than with those wrongs, which (they said) he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends. Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seems that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed far, unless either they had been extremely provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masaniissa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting.

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawful both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also have reduced the *Greeks*; and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into League with them upon equal terms: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whenever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers; and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenian* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Similarly at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharp correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman Senate*, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the League between them; but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition. That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with victuals or arms. Here-with not content, the *Fathers*, as weari- ed with dealing in the affairs of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmoni- ans*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them.

This was presently after the death of *Philopomen*: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress: were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this

notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Acheans* had utterly subdued the *Messenians* far sooner than was expected; and when as not only no Town rebelled from the *Acheans*, but many entered into their Corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the City.) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a Sovereign power, in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make war; whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meer strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and people of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman Arts*, howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent City in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remaining free from all trouble, until the war of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as *Gratulators* of the *Roman* victories, and *Pardon-cravers* for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands from consuming by piece-meal: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perseus*, nor the *Romans* were ignorant,

norant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his near neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopomen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection, wherinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publick to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care to chuse among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soon be at an end; when honesty, and love of the Common-wealth, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors; whom all men knew to be little better than spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom every City in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the same business: chose one *Callistates*, among others, to go in that Embassy. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal-publick. For this *Callistates* was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his

Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore instead of well discharging his credence, and alleging what was meetest in justification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppress both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them to look unto the settling of their authority, among his froward Countrymen: if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custome, to stand upon points of confederacy, and laws: as if these were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Acheans*, both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged or hindered from obeying the Decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion might have their wills: who ceased not to affirm, That no Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the observance of Confederacy or Statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, the sound of liberty used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore, strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the advancement of those, that fought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* Majesty. More wisely, though with editious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or desert, only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their party strong; resolved to follow this good counsel, in every point; yea to depresse all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth

more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedæmon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, they advised all men to be such, and so affected, as he was, in their several common-weals. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence used in the Senate. Only he reported his Embassy, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such Arts he obtained to be made *Prætor* of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousness unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now, as the *Romans* by threatening-terms wan many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to allure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeste than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonians*, and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not sufferable, that a King, no better than their Vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of the trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make War upon him. *Perseus* having finished his business among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wife, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself; so such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or Letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his Father, might be buried with his Father; since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved

himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence: this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Acheans*: which his Father had so lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonians* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cause to abhor him, yet in the publick administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolve to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiation, and hold intelligence with any, in a Country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends, but the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivil; if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Acheans* reaped no good fruit. For, although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the Kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bond-men, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their Masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* took hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacifie those, whose enemy faith he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home again: and wrote unto the *Acheans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants, so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his Letters kindly accepted by the greater part being openly rehearsed by the *Prætor*, before the Council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*.

Herewithall

S. V.

Herewithall he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* beforehand acquainted with the War, that was coming upon *Perseus* from *Rome*. He told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same War; how *Demetrius* had been made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, he rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarnæ*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the *Prætors* brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow.

For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the estate: and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadors: This being why might not the *Acheans*, as well as the *Ætoliens*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*; and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-tisly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a Letter without an Embassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* hereunto not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof-sufficient (to one that could understand) of the cognition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of War was given.

How Eumenes King of Pergamus was befriended with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian Embassadors. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus his device to poison some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree War against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

Eumenes King of Pergamus had been troubled about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Antiochides*, his neighbours. He had taken the right course, in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings, *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himself; and brought his Enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affairs of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withal notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonians*; it itched him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his Father and him) began to wax every where stale; whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels, was so violent, that he proceeded in a manner, in open War. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge.

The *Lycians* could not be laved by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree

decree of the *Acheans*, as too unmeasured, misbecoming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-ferveiceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vain to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all too vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to persuade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompensed with some piece of the Kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where, though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty; and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bulgarians* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in business of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse of his own, money in a readiness to entertain ten thousand Mercenaries in ten years, Arms to furnish a number thrice as great: The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Soldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*, the Son and successor of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his Daughter *Laudice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Praxas* of *Bythinia*, by

earnest suit, had gotten to wife the Sister of *Perseus*; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his Son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his Kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify unto the most; saying, That he thought it his duty to forewarn them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making War upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, so far much as they loved not to make War without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautify their intentment. Now thought were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadors, or upon tales derived by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done, were so notorious; and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own Kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate; when they could not but understand that his errand was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, of some

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about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the Fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pomp conveyed by Sea unto *Perseus*, his Bride *Laudice*; which friendly Office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despitiously accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were setting themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any People or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassadors whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the Victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masaniassa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome*, for increasing the number of their Subjects, had cause to find themselves aggrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their Subjects might easily be made their Fellows, whenever it should please the Senate: though it were so that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The Fathers could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassy they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to find cause of anger: for whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacify them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his,

that might favour of hostility; but that, if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of War, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make War upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout Ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their own Companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveyed away to the little Isle of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his Death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took, or would have taken to wife (supposing

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it be like a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the Widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbered among the rare Examples of brotherly love. That when the King turned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than, *That he should forbear to marry with the Queen, until he were well assured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same Brother, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the King his Brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to him. By such concord of Brethren was the Kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived, and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his Ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a Roman Ambassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to Rome, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius* a Citizen of *Brundisium*; who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaded with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Ambassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port for Ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a fair house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Ambassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Ambassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings Secret. The sum of all was, That he must needs do turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King

should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this Employment: for fear lest the virtue of this Medicine should be tried upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see again: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the Rightfulness of making War upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easie) than any that we find by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private Offences, it gave him no privilege: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make War upon *Eumenes* their Confederate; that is, if he might not send men to waste the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Towns: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the League to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the Sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed War against him; and sent Ambassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have been so confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not War, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought, by show of courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He caused the Ambassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their Errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference

rence in the Isle of *Samothrace*, with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they prominently required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, well-beloved, & well-besided. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage, calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to defend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livy* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* Confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an Article of the Peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not bear Defensive Arms, without their permission; then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controul, to make war in *Thrace*, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own Rebels? or to repay an *Allyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the League as unjust, he mistimed occasion unto the Ambassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their

message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the War, he should courageously have managed it, and have sala to work immediately, whilst the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost the opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

§. V I.

The Romans sollicite the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against Perseus. How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timorousness of Perseus. Martius a Roman Ambassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Thessaly. The forces of Licinius the Roman Consul: and what Assistants the Romans had in this War. Of Tempe in Thessaly; & what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear. Perseus braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his Victory; & for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus having the worst in a Skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying about Tempe. The Boeotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the War against Perseus. They vex the Greeks their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes Provision, having heard their Complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

SO long had the *Romans* been seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* War, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the War: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their Cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the Action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strengths were such as would prevail in the end; they hastily embraced the fair occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the *Greeks*, or

other Eastern People should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the diffidence between the several Estates; howsoever the generality of them were inclin'd the same way. Nevertheless Embassadors were sent to deal with them all; and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yielded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in Wars pretending the Liberty of *Greece*. The Embassadors used as gentle words for fashion sake, as if they had Rood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with such *Roman* courtiesie: and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the *Romans*: the *Acheans* and *Rhodiens*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruine. The vulgar sort was everywhere addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Historians was one: who though He* judged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wished he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that so the *Greeks* might recover perfect Liberty: for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Acheans*, and other Estates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a War, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few Companies brought over-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy fair, and sue for peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would

serve to terrifie him: and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* Power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his army; taking by force or composition some few Towns, and soliciting all to joyn with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he fought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the *Roman* Embassadors. *Q. Martius*, the chief of those Embassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the *Romans*, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entreated and obtained a meeting at the River *Pemus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him; yet the Embassadors, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in a readines, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; he suffered a most convenient season of winning upon the Enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with some victory: publishing a copy of the Disputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to understand how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodiens*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not only to let them know how much he was superior in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poor helps. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity; his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertain unto the *Greeks*; who deceived

ceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in a time of necessity, that was partly their own: had not been his Office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the War, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodiens*, among whom he had many stout Partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Beotians* also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a sort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission under a general form; but caused their several Towns to make covenant apart, each for itself; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Commonwealths, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated into one, under the City of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Beotians* from *Thebes* their Head, was more than *Agellians* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedaemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of *Epaminondas*, and a few brave Citizens, than was the society with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedaemonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the Senate, with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Matter was deluded: but neither excuse nor intreaty would serve their turn: the Senate being resolved before-hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty days respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the usual place of giving audience to open Enemies, or to such Commanders as might not, by reason of some custom entre the City) and had only the short warning

of eleven days, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courtiesie serve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Consul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soon as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which though it were enough to have roused *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with (some part of his Kingdom, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the War had not begun until now, to do what should have been done long afore. He caused all his Forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendezvous at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readiness, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hundred Beasts, to I know not what *Mimerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his Guard, set forward to *Citium*. His Army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse were strangers, of sundry Nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest of his own *Macedonians*. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their Ancestors, the insolency of the *Romans*, the goodness of his Cause, the greatness of his Provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all Cities of *Macedon* there came likewise Messengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their several Abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with Carts, for his Engines and Munition.

Out of his own Kingdom he issued forth into *Thessaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to pass thowr that Country, in their Journey towards him. Some Towns of *Thessaly* opened their Gates unto him, with-

* Pol. Lic.
75, 76, 77.

* Pol. Lic.
77.

out making offer to defend themselves; some balked, thinking them too strong or well-mannered; and some he won by force. Of these last was Nyle; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the Afailants. It was taken by reason of a fall; which the Towns-men rashly made, and being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entered pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of War was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So *Patia* and *Comus* (Towns of much importance, especially *Comus*, which stood in the Straights of *Offa*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicrium*, a Town seated on the foot of Mount *Offa*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of Auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Theffaly*, with four thousand foot, and a thousand Horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the several Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masaniissa* sent thither his Son *Misaganes*, with a thousand Foot, as many Horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, by reason of his Affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young Son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the Romans. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* (though *Ptolemy* was then young, and under Tutors) had business of their own; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian: yet each of them promised help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the Roman Admirals' Brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty Ships, riding in the Haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kind sort; making them to believe, That for none other end than to serve the

Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this Fleet. But whatsoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of this War; by offering, rather than giving his help to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the Sea, *Licinius* came into *Theffaly*: so tyred with a painful journey, through the Mountainous Country of *Albania*, which stood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plains, the Romans must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by the River *Pemus*; where he encamped, attending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolved to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himself in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The Land of *Theffaly*, in which these two Armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when they were little hope of expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautiful Valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This Valley of it self was not great; but adding to it those huge Mountains *Offa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poësie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Theffaly*. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedonia; unless they would make an hungry journey thorow the Country of the *Dassaretians*, as in the former war with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perseus* therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by mispending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the Romans often to the worse; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionless he might have done far greater things, had he seized upon the Straights of *Aons*, which his Father once kept, and defended all the Country behind the Mountains of *Pindus*.

Surely

Surely, not without extreme difficulty, must the Romans have either travelled by Land, with all their Carriages and Impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or else have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way into Macedonia, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once deviled, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present War. It may perhaps be said, that the Greeks, and others, whom the King must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theffalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his Father in the former War. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Abamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with *Perseus*. The *Boeotians*, how politically soever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the Macedonian quarrel: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodiens*, *Illyrians*, yea, and *Eumenes* himself, after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if instead of discouraging his Friends, by suing basely for peace, he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers; yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and among them *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the Romans perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the Liberty by them given, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this War, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearful company running before their Enemies, till some River stay their flight; are there compelled by meer desperation to do such acts, as done, while the battle lasted, would have won the Victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that War, whereof he should have fought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the Mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such misery, as

was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that he kept his footing in *Theffaly*, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the History of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the sum.

The Consul having no desire to fight, until such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his Trenches, and lay still encamped by the River of *Pemus*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which persuaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrawise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the Romans into the field; by waisting the Land of the *Phereans* their Confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their Trenches: out of which, if they issued, it was likely that his advantage in *Horie* would make the Victory his own. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his Horse, and with them some light-armed foot, to entertain skirmish. The Captain, and some other of these were slain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius* nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazard battle. Thus, day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battle: which they still refused. Hereby his boldness much increased; and much more his reputation: to the grief of those, who being so far come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The Town of *Sycorium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelve miles from the Romans: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning, but he was fain to bring water along with him in Carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging seven miles nearer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour, filled the Camp with Tumult: in so much as though he brought with him only his Horse and light Armature, that were unfit to assail the Trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his Brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of Horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light Armature to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with

with his Legions in readines. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the Victory in a manner intire (though the *Thessalians* made a good traitor) with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear, lest he should assault their Camp; and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unsafe for: he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base. To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, That either he should get honest conditions of Peace, or at leastwise many Companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: And in suing for it, even when he had the victory; what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, That neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of the Considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* Horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty Horse, and forty foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear: it being much doubted that the enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to profess, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the Loss past, than by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater Calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Ætolians* were sorely blamed for this loss: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their virtue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks*

might learn by Examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own Liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former days error; which how great it was, he not until then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his Victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light Armature alone being sufficient to have routed them whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore Office or Command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the Glory of his Action; dividing the spoils among his Followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour found. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in a mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yield unto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the War might be taken end. It were needless here again to shew the folly of this course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a Truce, whilst Embassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions, & ratify the League. And of such a true grant by *Marius*, he had lately found no small commodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yield both his Kingdom and Person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in Adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having receiv'd an answer so peremptory he

he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himself back to *Synnum*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagenes* the Son of *Malanissa*, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the King and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harvest: about which business they ranged over all the fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the foragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withheld it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great battle, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few daies, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loss he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, save only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight unto *Gonnus*; hoping to have taken it, and so to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Therrebians* and others; from whom he won some Towns, and among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consul took, may seem not to have belonged unto the *Thessalians*; unless, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got some part of *Thessaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the Histories of them are greatly defective. One may think it strange, that the *Ætolians*, whom a *Roman* Ambassador could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navy on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thobians*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Marius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty Towns, which by that same distraction of the *Ætolians*, be-

came within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had been. The causes hereof were to have been sought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admiral: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebel in like sort, if by extreme oppression he could have driven them so far. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul indiligent in the same kind. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I find no where mentioned. Only this is said in general; That in the War which he made, he cruelly and covetously demeaned himself.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hofilius* the Consul, and *Horrensus* the Admiral, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hofilius* shewed more of his industry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the War against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* War upon his Kingdom, after that the Consul had fought passage in vain over certain mountains, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Ilyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Army of four thousand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uscana*, a border town of *Ilyria*, by Treason; came thither in such careless order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of Treason, with purpose only to train him into danger; sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so far, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this Town of *Uscana*, shortly after became *Roman*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soon recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotyra* a *Libanian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painful journey into *Ætolia*; where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest City in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Romans* faction, yet in his return home, he took in *Aperantia*; and shortly heard good news, that *Ap. Claudius* was again thoroughly beaten by *Clepus*, one of his Lieutenants. Such success had the *Macedonian* War under *Hofilius*. The same Consul offended much

the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadors made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadors travelling thorow all the *Citis of Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopomen*; and together with him, his son *Polibius*, who soon after was General of the *Achaean* Horse; but more notable by that excellent History which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been; That these were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but such as obtained from raising troubles, more for lack of opportunity, than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Etolians*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Council that approved the motion: as also among the *Acarnanians*, there were that intreated to have *Roman* Garrisons bestowed in their Towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accused not only (such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good Patriots; making it no less than a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery, rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in the presence of the Embassadors. Thus was all full of accusations, and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselves, as men that could believe none ill: though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedi-

ence to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burden for the present war, unless it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meet. Of this Decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that standing on privileges hereof, refused to fulfill every commandment, were numbered among the Patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worse, than to have been Traitors. The Senate was driven to set down this order, by reason of many and vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*: in that they loved not to have their subjects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend:

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a Town of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemen targets, and a crown of gold, to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratifie the *Romans* with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular, and being notable to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamefull flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a Town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess; and receiving (without scorn of the Givers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of such a rascall City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

§. VII.

Q. Martius the Roman Consul, with extrem difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The Town of Diium quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent Embassador to Martius from the Achaeans. Polybius his honest wisdom beneficial to the Achaeans. King Eumenes grows averse from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus, and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria; whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans. Perseus loath a mighty succour of the Bastarnae, by his wretched parsimony.

AFTER two years of the Macedonian war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all those Countreys, and bring them to what pass the *Romans* desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wife for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius*, and *Hosilius* the Consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many Towns even of the best effected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* side; and the Army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himself (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licensing the Souldiers to depart. *Quintus Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded unto *Hosilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the war on foot, which along time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the straights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains

which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or heed of any custody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a false retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot, to discover the ways. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground; and sent back word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrival; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards; yet a shame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with *Papilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*; whilst he, with the rest, fetched a compass about, and sought out waies that never had been trodden. Herein he found extreme difficulty: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled by labour of hand; to make paths where none were; yea, where Nature might seem to have intended, that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part to rowl themselves down; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rocks, that stood one over another; so upright; and cumbersome to get down: that their Elephants were afraid of that giddy project, and casting their governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore

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gone,

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more desired by the souldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kind of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliff; the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seem continent with the ground: so to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock, to the next down-fall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these, the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how thoroughly provided the Romans used to be in their journeys, of things needful in all occasions: as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies journeys were like unto the first: save that custome, and the nearness to their waies end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans coming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage, three daies together, he lying so nigh, that he might well have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsel, late bearkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the Ro-

mans were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it; the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit: for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley itself, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the Sea: of which mile, the River *Hellon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half, the rest being (such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keep: where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley; drew near to the very banks of *Penens*, a goodly and deep River which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the Roman Army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel: but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been inforced to return the same way that he came, if the King had made good the straight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the Romans did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Thyria*, whence that Kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they desired to win. But the cowardize of *Perseus* did commend the counsel by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*, than he feared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all, without battel. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away

away in haste; and straightwaies abandoned the Town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a straight commandment to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenal there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the Sea: as if the Romans were like presently to be Masters of these two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it as hastily as well he could: though soon after, his Master grew sorry for the loss; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Niceas*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of his service, was this, *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this halty direction: caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which had fetched his treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were paid their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witnesses of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might believe him to be the Author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had stopped the Consul on the top of the Mountain) and *Astlepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, That they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged; then might they have sped as did *Niceas* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King had so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the Roman Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a daies journey, and gotten one Town that yielded, he was compelled by

meer lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Thessaly*. His Fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behind, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those waies only might Corn be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this Corn, which was most desirously expected, he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his Carcs, with all, or the most of his store, were lost among the Mountains: for otherwise it had been madness to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the Enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himself, understood his own errors; fought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the Town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hands, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him such a noble victory, as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of *Hieracka*, standing on the River of *Penens*, five mile from *Dium*, was taken by force. Of rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our rumbles. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent, or hope was nothing like so great: his chief care,

care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admiral to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the work. As for the Town itself, there was danger in coming near it, either by Land or Sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Admiral setting sail from thence, ran along by *Ania*, and *Antigonia*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joined with him, bringing twenty ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this access of strength, the Admiral was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the Town: which, while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, What became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank? By this occasion, it was learned, that there were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope of making way into the Town, by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meet: giving an alarm to the other side of the Town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilst the *Romans* were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the Town perceived what was done; and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall of whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the Town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entering the Town by Sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Embrano*, a Macedonian Captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the Land about it from spoil, or, at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Embrano* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Helibea*; whither the Consul

(that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terror of his appearing suddenly upon their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or, at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this war. For *Martius* persuaded the *Rhodians* by *Agapellus* their Embassadour, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other business of less importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polibius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withal, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeited. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesy, both of him and of the Admiral, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius the Illyrian*, did set out their business at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good Fleet, which the *Macedonians* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, where, in he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we find intimated though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *App. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new Army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at

Polib. l. 2. cap. 80.

at least that the *Romans*, with greater loss than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Towns which they besieged.

Now, although it were so, that *Martius*, in very few of his actions, behaved himself like a man of war: yet in exercise of *Cunning*, which one hath most aptly termed, *A crooked or sinister kind of wisdom*, he dealt as a craftsman, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty; since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheless out of envy, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and busy-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the success of his doings against *Hojitius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theffaly*. *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it expedient for their Nations to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree, which passed: That the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Theffaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all dangers. So the Army was levied: and *Polibius*, with others, sent Embassadours unto *Martius*, to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polibius* found the Consul busy in finding passage thorow *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army, and awaited the Consul's leisure, till they came to *Heraclea*; where, finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, whereinsoever it should be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polibius* dispatched home his companions, to signify thus much: tarrying himself behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Acheans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labirinthian* head of *Martius*, could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polibius*, to whom he declared, That *Appius* had no need of such aid, and therefore would him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Acheans* be put to such needless charges. Away went *Polibius*; musing, and unable to resolve,

whether it were for love to the *Acheans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this business; or rather for envy, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polibius* was to deliver his opinion in the Council touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his party. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alleging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unless, by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Acheans* were favers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polibius* himself ran into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in fear lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodgings; or whether the regard of money were able to overway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, That *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Martius*: but coming to have joyed with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consul, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behind him certain horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behind with the Consul, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterward by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meer desire of gain.

And it might well be, that covetousness drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. However it befell, *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be founded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an Embassy. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, was : That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free City : that the *Romans* had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another ; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus* ; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes* ; and now *Perseus* assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia* which lay next at hand ; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the *Romans* to surcease from their War upon *Macedon* ; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way : and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht ; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no less wary, than *Perseus* was afraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a Neuter therein : and that for some greater quantity of money (how much I find not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace : and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the money ; especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost ; but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace* : whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own : and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour

deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed : so that needs he would have part of his wages in *press*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time ; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before ; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken ; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality ; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius* : who desired the *Rhodian*s, to take upon them, as Arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodian*s thinking that *Marius* the Consul was no less desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace ; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise : so as this vain glory of the *Rhodian*s was thoroughly chastised ; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War : but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantarchus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay ; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantarchus* : who delivered it to the young King, as Earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed ; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*, but carried by *Macedonian*s, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands upon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which

Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella* ; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

2104. 44.
2105. 45.
2106. 46.
2107. 47.
2108. 48.

There came about the same time through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus*, a petty King, ten thousand horse, and ten thousand foot of the *Gauls*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdom, *Perseus* sent one to them ; desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratify with goodly rewards ; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give their Soldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain ? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsel : if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ* : who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdom. Five thousand horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to use ; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdom, they might be let out, by the way of *Perrebia*, into *Thessaly* : where, wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want ; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alleged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the Kings mind. He did his errand : upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than

shifting excuses, the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Damblin*, wasting the neighbour-parts of *Thrace* ; yet (suffering this crafty messenger to escape unburnt ; which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a careful Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the sum. But of this painful Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmilius Paulus* the new Consul : who in fifteen daies after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a King so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul. His journey. He forceth *Perseus* to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. *Æmilius* his superstition. The battel of *Pydæa*. *Perseus* his flight. He forsakes his King ; dom : which hastily yields to *Æmilius*. *Perseus* at *Samothrace*. He yields himself to the *Roman* Admiral, and is sent prisoner to *Æmilius*.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmilius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow-Consul ; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province ; until by Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* Forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the Consul, but unto the Navy, and likewise to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus* ; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmilius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the people, as was the custom, spake with much gravity and authority. Here-quested those that thought themselves wise enough to manage this War, either to

2109. 49.
2110. 50.
2111. 51.
2112. 52.

accompany

accompany him into Macedonia, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his Father *L. Æmilius*, who died valiantly in the battle of *Cannæ*, might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wife and resolute Consul.

All his business within the City being dispatched, *Æmilius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon and happily, was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Coreira* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forward to the Camp, and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finished the War.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*: having spared no labour of men and of women to fortify the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was fordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into Macedonia. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Seashore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmilius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Marius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of *Horaclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the Roman Camp had such means to lye close to the Macedonian; as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found

out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. *Marius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Osia* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman Camp: teaching the Souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their General. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprize; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own Sons by nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son of *Scipio the African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darkness took away their aim, they were like to make bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet: where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noised, that they were to run along the coasts of Macedonia by sea, and waste the Country. All the way they were passing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Consul made shew of a meaning to divert upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprize, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmilius* employed none save his *Vetters*, of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at far distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the Romans, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain.

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Yet *Æmilius* persisted as he had begun: and recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the Macedonians, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as *Æmilius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* lookt only unto that which was before his eyes: until his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the Camp, that the Romans were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the King himself no less (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had the custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good success in their journey. It may well be, that they slept until the Romans came somewhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrows and slings could do little service, were beaten at hand-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedonia: which had been effected by *Marius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again through his not prosecuting so rich opportunity.

Perseus was in an extremum doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of battle: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures always are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that fate that *Æmilius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature, there he abode the coming of the enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soon as the Romans had sight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was to

notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give battle immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmilius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore would him to have patience. The Romans were tired with their journey; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save on the bare ground whereon they trod. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himself unto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battle, gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched behind the Army; whereunto, at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the Romans and the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own General too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the Phalanx: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) *C. Sulpicius Galba*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been *Prætor*, foretold unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same night: willing the Souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses to beat Pans of Brass, and Basons, as we do in following a swarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigy betokening their loss: since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstitious

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tivates the wisdom of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Amilius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof; yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, & congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpitius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet it is like, that he, being a Senator, and one of the Council for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Amilius*: but with condition. That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authentic) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battle; *Amilius* was thoroughly persuaded, that the King meant to abide it; for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the Romans faces: which would be much to their hindrance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Amilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that, which where to neither of the Generals had over earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which

two or three of the Roman Souldiers followed into the River, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank: whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellows death, and followed those that had slain him over the River. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careless of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battle, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure battle, since he had bethought himself of such a stratagem, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better then hypocritical. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battle, he found it no better than lost: and he in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded are, That the Roman Elephan, could do no manner of good: That the Macedonian *Phalanx* did so stoutly press on, and beat off all which came before it, as *Amilius* was thereat much astonished, that the *Religiosi* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-born; many of them slain, and the Squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the Romans; and which the Consul beholding, is said to have rent his Coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battle, was the same which doubtless the Con-

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ful expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty or almost the impossibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilst some of the Romans small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming to pass, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long Pikes of the Macedonians were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the Roman Targettires; according to the direction given by *Amilius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battle become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battle of *Cynoscephale*: yea this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break off itself; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoscephale*.

Perseus, when he saw his battle begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran again towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battle, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a Wood, where they fell to railing at the Horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself; and therefore turned out of the common way being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himself: therefore causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages

and household-servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battle, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults: But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delfi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he consumed them of some part thereof; making them as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battle he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Town-men to fidelity, with tears: and his own speech being hindered by tears, he appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their Town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in Garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no mind to tarry: but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the River *Strymon*; passed over the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe; by privileges of the Religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell into the power of *Amilius*, within so few daies after his victory. *Pydna*, which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the Souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battle into that Town; and prepared for strangers the confused rabble of so many strangers: hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Marius*, with *Pantiscus*, who had been sent Embassador to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yielding themselves, and the Town of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the battle. With

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the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two daies: the loss of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pedna*, stand any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Country: but opened their gates upon such terms, that the sack of it was granted to the *Roman Army*. *Emilius* sent abroad into the Country, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents: the fame, whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he shall have more.

It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own Letters to the Consul confirming the report. He sent these Letters by persons of such mean condition, that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire favour: which, though he begged in terms ill befitting a King, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other Letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this Conference, he was marvellously earnest, that he might be allowed still to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these: That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the War, he was deborted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdom of *Macedon*, for such a paltry Island; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Emmenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and, without more ado, to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so

far against his mind, that the Conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Crispianus*, the *Roman* Admiral with his Fleet: who assaies, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy privilege of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Emmenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence born to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the Minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the Author? *Perseus* therefore willet *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans* hand; who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* seems to like well: and either kills himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poison wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandment. The death of this man, who had stuck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perilous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the privilege of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainstay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity, he purpoeth to make an escape, and fly, with his Treasures, unto *Cypris*, his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroander*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was persuaded to waste the

King

King thence. With all secrecy the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himself, with his wife and children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only *Philip* his elder Son, who was only by adoption his Son, being his brother by nature) with much ado got out at a window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroander* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Oavianus* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their Master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yield themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to *Oavianus*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his Son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendred himself, and made the *Roman* Victory complete. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this War to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdom by Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Emilius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. *Emilius* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a mind, made war upon the *Romans*. Here to good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he

answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Emilius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian War*, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Genius King of the Illyrians taken by the Romans.

About the same time, and with like celebrity, *Anicius* the *Roman* Praetor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like success against King *Genius* the *Illyrian*. *Genius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drove him into *Scorda*. This Town ^{now Siga} was very defensible by nature, besides the ^{now Siga} help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem impossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late Victory; and therefore presented his Army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate, than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazed to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three daies, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison, where they were all alive. Having obtained three daies respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scorda*, as it were to consult the more privately; though in

deed

deed, to hearken whether the report were true, the hisbrother *Caracanthus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scorda*. He sent messengers craving access unto the Prator; before whom, having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently given up. So this War ended in thirty daies: the people of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, until *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

6. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon after their Victory over *Perseus*.

NOW began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look Tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tydings of these Victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, That they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; so far as much as it was thought, that this war was no less grievous to the Romans themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the Romans did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning Apparel, as humble Suppliants, they went about the City, beseeching all men, especially the great Ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of War from *Rome* being known

at *Rhodes*, all that had been any whit averse from the Romans in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that flew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and less would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing War against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodian*s: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the Romans: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater severity, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. *Amilius* himself made progress thorow the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrius* were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* Souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redress was such, as required not the pains of supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the Romans the liberty of their Country, he esteemed like a King, with excessive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in tendering provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such case; and some, to visit the affairs of Greece. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Amilius*, and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened

After the
great and
salutary
counsels at
Callistius.

by half. As for the rest, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captive into *Italy* with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Laws of the Country were abrogated: and new given by *Amilius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not subject to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no better name than meer tyranny: yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confederation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent Letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects; yet wanted there not colour, for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable tyranny. With the *Achaens* these Embassadors were to deal more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callistratus*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the Romans; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served nity 10

rank the *Achaens* with the rest. And hereto *Callistratus* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Achaens*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake, as *Callistratus* had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with many and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cried out the whole assembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them: Then said the *Roman* boldly, That all their Prators, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. It was true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, than should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said, That even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivity of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that virtue, and regard of the publick liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their coming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achaens*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honesty had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worst among them) to inform the Senate: that these men were neither condemned by the *Achaens*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these men should return into *Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation

solicitation of the *Acheans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at last; until after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and virtuous man *Polybius* the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of *Jayle*, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Amphilus* with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; he sent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they should fall to sack, every one the Town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were three score and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that Nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had even in this War done good service to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the less marvellous that God was pleased to make *Amphilus* childless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great it over otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedo-*

nians. How terrible they were to other Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof, before we speak, we must say somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himself, and of his affairs about which these Embassadours came.

S. XI.

The War of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

Antiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Jusline*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three Sons, *Seleucus*, *Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one Daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his Sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Eusebius*, *Aprian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Josephus* give him but seven years. A Prince, who, as he was slothful by nature, so the great loss which his Father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgment, *Et habit in loco ejus vilissimus & indignus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) shall start up, a vile person, unworthy the honour of a King. Under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: What time as the holy City was inhabited with all peace, because of the godliness of *Onias* the Priest, it came to pass, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasure of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successeur *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the Books of the *Maccabees* take beginning.

ning. Which Books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story; nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successeur of this *Seleucus*, from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabees* (who died in the hundred three score and seventeen year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first Book treateth. The Author of the second Book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a Proem, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jeson* the brother of *Onias*; who, after the death of *Mac. 12.* *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successeur, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Juslineus*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arim* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadours to the *Jews*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successeur of *Judas*, remembering in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arim* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* adds, that the name of the *Lacedaemonian* Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second Son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his Kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers Son.

Ptolomy Philometor, his Nephew, by his Sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolomy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip of Macedon*, and the Great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdom between them, whilst he was a child. But they found such other business ere long with the

Romans, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomy*, the Provinces of *Celestria*, *Phoenice*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was General of the *Egyptian* Forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater security. He left behind him two Sons, this *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*; with a Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her Daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolomy Philometor, so called (that is, the Lover of his Mother) by a bitter nickname, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his Kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Athenis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that Kingdom. He sent *Apollonius* the Son of *Athenobus* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to persuade the Governours of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principal places of that Kingdom, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he along the coast of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jeson* the Priest, (a Chaplain fit for such a Patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the Treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Celestria* and *Phoenicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from Heaven; the said *Apollonius* being struck by the Angel of God, and recovering again at the Prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrify

terrible others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Selenus*, this *Jafon*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himself, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore Talents of silver, with other rents and sums of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jafon*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Acheans*, when as that mischievous *Calliocrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It was thus:

*One fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolf than other Wolves does bite more fore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more swift does fly:
So one most mischievous of men before,
Calliocrates, false knave as knave might be,
Met with Menelidas more false than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jafon*: who within three years after was betrayed, and over-bidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred Talents more obtained the Priesthood for himself: *Jafon* thereupon being forced to fly from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himself among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem*, *Antiochus* marched into *Phenicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*, with which, and with a mighty Army of Land-forces, He went about to reign over *Egypt*, that he might have the dominion of two Realms, and entered *Egypt* with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navy, and moved War against *Ptolemæus* King of *Egypt*; but *Ptolemæus* was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and took away the spoils of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful Provinces, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Father*. Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* so great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolemy*, between *Pelusion*, and the Hill *Cassius*, after which he entered and sacked the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria*

excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, he turned again, and went up towards *Israel* and *Jerusalem* with a mighty people, and entered proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the Golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Showbread, and the pouring Vessels, and the Bells, and the Golden Basins, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the Golden Apparel. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian War, that *Antiochus* took in hand this Egyptian business. At what time he first laid claim to *Celestria*, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his Father had made; and stiffly averring, that this Province had not been confined over to the *Egyptians*, or given in dowry with *Cleopatra*. Basse it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a fair way to get all *Egypt*. The *Acheans*, *Rhodiens*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by several Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolemies*, then should the War be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine War, than by the terror of his arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his Forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolemies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruined by his invasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other business at *Jerusalem*, or elsewhere. So after the sack of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Tberians* and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochia*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence, he left

Mal. l. i.
1. i.

Cap. 5.
1. 2.

Psalm. Lx.
1. 1, 2.

one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jafon* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come; committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certain Vessels of Gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Solstratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jafon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himself into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compass it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banqueting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust, and other such voluptuousness. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himself to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim privilege from the Holiness of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far less, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearful shift which *Onias* (though a virtuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the Book seems to do. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poor old man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when he came to *Onias*, he counselled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and persuaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so he slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousness. Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, He took away *Andronicus* his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the same place where he had committed the wickedness against *Onias*, he was slain as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Justice. But pre-

sently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolemy*, a Traitor to *Ptolemy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, he slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the *Scythians*, they should have been heard as innocent. By reason of such his unsteadiness, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, instead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble, or Illustrious.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there seen throughout all the City of *Jerusalem*, forty daies long, horsemen running in the air with robes of gold, and as bands of spear-men, and as troops of horsemen set in array, encountering and courting one against another. Of these prodigious signs, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, a Star in the form of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the City, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epiphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Fliny* tells us, that the Armies were seen fighting in the Air from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood in stead of water, in or near the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*, with great laughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperor *Nero*, the off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her arms a white Hen, holding a Lawrel branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrel branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultry; and from the little branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Lawrel; so that afterwards, in

Matron. vi.
p. de
Prodig. l. 8.
Vipera de
Piscis &
fere infest.
inte.

An. Suet. Galba.

D d d d d

one

all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsar* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolemy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal City, rather by persuasion, than by arms. *Phylcon* had not yet forgotten the terror of the former siege: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philemeter*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philemeter*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelufum*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt* to his own use. This consideration wrought also with *Phylcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* his sister the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philemeter* his Nephew,

and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadors; yet he now prepared to make a sharp war upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*; and drew his land Army into *Calofyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolemy*. Their errand was partly to yield thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philemeter* in his Kingdom, partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signify what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolemy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelufum*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Isle of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entered *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easy journeys.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a Civil war: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdom of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loth to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of help against their Uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence

of their Kingdom. *Rome* had been sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the War of *Hannibal*; when *Italy*, lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the *Egyptians* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatness, whereto the *Achaans* attained. And by the like help had *Rhodes* been defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the *Ptolemies* had done for sundry people abroad; ill followed, or seconded, by others as bad in requital: but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for aid; especially to the *Rhodians* and *Achaans*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans*, *Phylcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a year since: but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achaans* they desired in particular, that *Lycurtus* the brave Warriour might be sent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his Son *Polybius*, General of the Horse. Hereunto the *Achaans* readily condescended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous Art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the *Romans*, or much rather envying those Noble Captains whose service the Kings desired; withstood the common voice: which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business, as might make them the less able to yield unto the *Romans* what help soever should be required in the *Macedonian* War. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martinus* the late Consul had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand foot, and two hundred horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to perform any service to the *Romans*; so far as much as the *Achaans* could without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred

from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the Assembly was held, a Messenger with Letters from *Martinus*: whereby the *Achaans* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achaans* should do any good in the same kind. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gain-say the *Roman* Counsel; which had the force of an Injunction. So the Kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome; and then might the Embassadors, sent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadors of *Phylcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having stayed more than a whole year in the City, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The Embassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philemeter*, no less than his Brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemy*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Euleus*, or *Lenæus* ^{Polyb. lib. 24.} (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus* for *Calofyria*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassage was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by attornment with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in no need of such

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protection,

protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his Kingdom and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, upon the floor. Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their King and Country stood; they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the Romans. They said that the people of Rome had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as, if they pleaded but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and withdraw his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Pholomy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repair to Rome, with shameful dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extrem dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them. The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *G. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the War between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Pholomy*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both understand, that, unless they surceased, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate

and people of Rome, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embassadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lefne*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his Journey, when the Roman Embassadors met him. After greetings and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of Paper; willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the business, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandment, after he had stayed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the Romans.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * *Da-* *Da. vii.* *niel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embassadors, they stayed a while, and settled the Kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they left, as it had been; in the power of the Egyptian, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the Egyptian ships.

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings.

Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Mafaniffa, and Coys. The end of Perseus and his Children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the Work.

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the Romans were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had been well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the *Acheans* and *Aetolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of Greece, that were of far less power than King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from Rome, in such sort, as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to Rome his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo Greeks*, which molested him. Very welcomewas *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who had him be confident, and request of the Senate his Brothers Kingdom for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of *Stratus* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to Rome of purpose to keep his Brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the Romans in the late War.

* *Liv. 45.* * where withall, he forgot not to make of his Brother as good mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Enus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone: Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only

granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custom to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in Italy, they gave order for the liberty of *Enus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectual their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into Italy, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconsistency: and to entertain him as a friend, was more then their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to Rome; and by virtue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had been at Rome somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or desire. For, entering into the Senate, he lay down his knees the threshold, calling the Fathers his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manifested, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of Rome. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe, though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his Son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to

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have some Towns added to his Kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Egypt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider, what effectual protection the Romans gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their Patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, Masinissa held his credit with the Romans, good. His quarrels were endless with the Carthaginians: which made the friendship of the Romans to him the more assured. In all Controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Country of Emporia, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the Romans (though at first they could find no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the Numidian, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had Rome good leisure to devise upon the ruin of Carthage: after which, the race of Masinissa himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to Rome one of his Sons, to congratulate the Victory over Persus; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto Jupiter in the Capitol. His good will was lovingly accepted; his Son rewarded, and he entreated to stay at home.

Coyls the Thracian sent Embassadors to excuse himself touching the aid by him given to Persus, for that the Macedonian had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his Son, which was taken with the children of Persus, might be set at liberty, for convenient ransom. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to Persus, by giving hostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given back to him ransom-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the Romans in time following. His Kingdom lay between Macedon, and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings, Persus and Gentius, they were led thorow Rome, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of Emilius and Anicius. Persus

had often made suit to Emilius, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornful answer. That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have fought his death in Macedon, than to have been beholding to the courtesy of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman clemency, whereof Emilius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow-King, had been led in chains thorow the streets, before the Chariots of their Triumphant Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the Capitol, there to do sacrifice, he should command the Captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto Persus: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversely reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his Sons, two dyed; it is uncertain how. The youngest called Alexander (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his Father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In such poverty ended the Royal house of Macedon: and it ended on the sudden; though some eight score years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If Persus had known it before, that his own Son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonness of Sovereignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most under-trodden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappiness; in stead of that blessed Counsel, do

as you would be done unto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, I will be like to the most High: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly.

— *Et qui nolant occidere quenquam Possit volunt.*

Even they that have no murderous will, Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Sovereign Authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own Sons or Nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? The untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the Turkish Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are two good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the heir of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traitorously, and barbarously King Edward the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, Heir apparent to the Crown of England: which, had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us

understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That *"God is the fount"* ^{The true Law of} *and sharpest Schoolmaster that can be devised* ^{for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without contentment to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.}

Now concerning the Triumph of L. Emilius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of T. Quintius Flaminius, ^{Chap. 7. sect. 4.} though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest, and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carried by Paulus into the Roman Treasury, that from thenceforth, until the Civil Wars which followed upon the death of Julius Cæsar, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindered by the Souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the people and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortation. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of this Victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining Sons, that were not given in Adoption: of which, the one dyed five days before the Triumph, the other three days after it. This loss he bore wisely: and told the people, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his Victory was requited with his own private calamity, in stead of the publick.

About the same time, Octavius the Admiral, who had brought Persus out of Samothrace: and Anicius the Prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken King Gentius prisoner; made their several Triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to lay unto Rome, *Sume Superbiam, Take upon thee the Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the World; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the World. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have been the subject of those ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and with all of so many tragical Potts, as in the persons of powerful Princes, and other mighty men have complained against Infidelity, Time, Destiny, and most of all against the Variable success of worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the World have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and soweth in the wind; than by the affection of bearing rule which draweth after it so much vexation, and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so it is to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stoll out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the World, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty: by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the World of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Since the fall of the *Roman Empire* (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no State fearful in the

East, but that of the *Turk*: nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings far over his Nest, but the *Spaniard*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moors* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many Kingdoms which they possess in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so instead of so many Millions as have been spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defensive War, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the Truth and sincere Profession thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the Succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said; That the Kings and Princes of the World have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwaies transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; but they follow the counsel of death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the World, without speaking a word; which God, with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth refuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. I have considered (saith *Salomon*) all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit: but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charls* the fifth, made him enjoy his Son *Philip* to restore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command

mand that justice should be done upon the Murderers of the *Protestants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, That they are but subjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repeat; yea, even to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none have dared, thou hast

done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the, far stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, calls it self, *The first part of the General History of the World*, implying a second and third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, persuading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Perfa est in lucum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium*.

F I N I S.

TO THE READER.

THE use of Chronological Tables is need-
ful to all Historians, that reach to any
length of time; and most of all, to those
that are most general: since they cannot,
like Annals, yearly set down all occurrences not
coherent. This here followeth, may serve as an In-
dex to the present part of this work, pointing un-
to the several matters, that having fallen out at
one time, are far disjoyned in the relation. Cer-
tainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any
can be. For howsoever the years of the first Pa-
triarchs may seem to have been well-near com-
plete, yet in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and
Israel, we find many frictions, and the last year,
or years of one King reckoned also as the fore-
most of another. The same is most likely to have
fallen out in many other, though not so precisely
recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and
imperfect forms of the year, which were in use a-
mong sundry Nations, causing the * Summer
months, in process of some ages, to fall into the
winter, and so breeding extream confusion in
the reckoning of their timer. Neither is it a
small part of trouble, to choose out of so ma-
ny, and so utterly disagreeing computations,
as have already gotten Authority, what may
probably be held for truth. All this, and
a great deal more, is to be alledged, in excuse
of such errors, as a more intente and perfect
Calculator shall happen to find herein. It may
serve to free the Book, and likewise the Rea-
der (if but of mean judgement,) from any
notorious Anachronicism; which ought to
suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in
that regard; not only from some errors of
the Press, in the numbring of years, but for
some haste mis-reckonings of mine own, which
I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that
the Printing of this Table shall not want care-
ful diligence. The Reader, if he be not of-
fended with this, shall find reason to be
pleased with this, as tending wholly to his
own ease.

The titles over the Columns, have reference
to that which follows under them, as will readi-
ly be Conceiv'd. Where two titles, or more,
are over the head, as [^{wherein}] there do the
numbers underneath proportionably answer, the
higher to the higher, the lower to the lower.
For example, The walls of Jerusalem were fi-
nished in the 319. Year from the building of
Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In

like manner it is to be understood. That Jeho-
saphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Ju-
lian Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in
the 99. year of the Temple. This needs not
more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those
that are acquainted with works of this kind. To
avoid prolixity, I have forbore to insert those
years, which I find not signed with some regar-
dable accident, as with the birth or death of
some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings
reign; some change of Government; some
battel fought, or the like. So of the 13. years
wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the
Latines, I note only the first; that is, omitting
all between the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Ca-
petus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius
Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram
first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I
thought it vain to have filled up a Page with
12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2. 3.
4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to
the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jeho-
saphat. In sitting down the Kings, there is
noted over the head of every one, what place
he held in order of succession: as whether he
were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth
in rank of those that reigned in his Countrey,
without notable interruption: Before the name,
is the first year of his reign; at the end or
foot of the name (as the space giver leave)
is the whole number of years in which he
reigned; in the spaces following underneath,
are those years of his, which were concurrent
with the beginning of some other King, or with
the year of any remarkable accident. Where two
numbers, or more, are found before one Kings
name; there it is to be understood, that the
same year belonged not only to the King then
beginning, but unto some one or more of his
foregoers: as the first year of Jehoram King of
Israel, was the same with the second of his brother
Azariah, and the 22. of his father Ahab.
Somewhere two or three names are found in one
space, as in the 3077. year of the World, Zimri,
Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one
of them reigned in some part of the same year,
which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the
first of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns
of the Egyptian Kings, are set down the years
of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet
to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the
moneth, upon which Nabonassar's year began
which

* See Lib. 2.
cap. 3.
lib. 6.

The Julian Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the years of the World, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger : by being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980. years which refulsift the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the years of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year, or if no fraction remain, it sheweth the last year of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battel of Cannæ, the Prime or golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun 18. and consequently the Dominical letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sun. This Julian Period, after the present account, alwaies exceeds the year of the world by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redowning, it is a better Character of a year, than any other. As from the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind : it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World,
Patriarchs, &c.

[illegible]

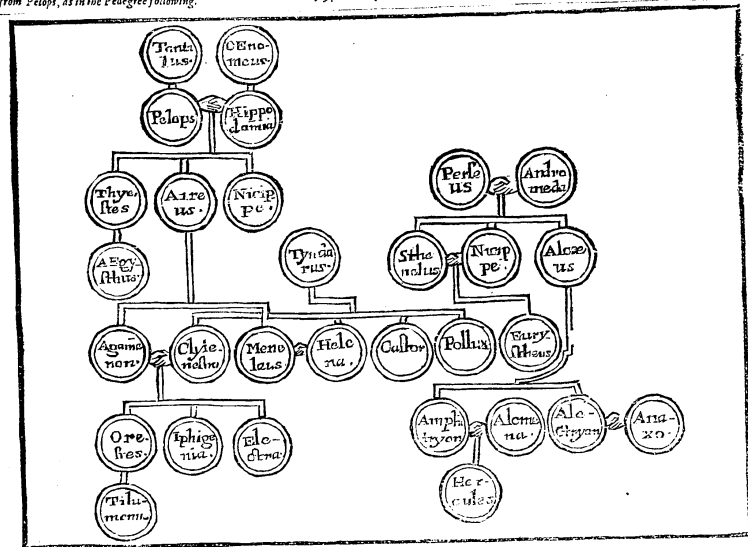
	Julian World promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Ari- us, 30	91	22	
Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old com- pleat, 101. current.	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1 Isaac 180
The last year of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Ara- lius, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. E- gir, 54	22
Sarah the wife of Abraham died this year.	2817 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to Wife, when he was 40. years old compleat.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian World promise	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Ar- gives.
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Theu- machus 48	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147 us. 30	8 1. Bale- us, 30	161	6 1. In- chus, 50	
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	10	15
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepherds, begin- ning this year, lasted 103. years.	2891 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Arma- nides, 38	191	36	31
	2770 1209 126			101	41	11	201	1 1. Leacip- pus, 53	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211	11 1. Phoe- stus, 60	
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See hb. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	13 1. Belocut Priscus, 51	229	29	19
	2943 2260 177			152	92	24	252	52	42 1. Jo- eph, 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254	54	44
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	262	9 1. Typhon, or after him Herant, 72	52
	2954 2272 189			164	104	36	264	11 1. Bal- lus, 52	54

	Julian. World. promise	Isaac.	Jacob.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194		169	109	6 1. Oras, 79, 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196		171	111	8 3 81	18	1. A. is. 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205		180	120	17 12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215			130	27 22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 368. years.	2984 2302 219			134	31 26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226			141	38 33 8	1. Pera- nus, 16	31	50
	2996 2314 231			146	43 38 13	6 1. Argus.	4 55	
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232			147	44 39 14	7	2	
	Julian. World. promise	Joseph.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Alader, 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plem- nus, 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamius, 30	80 55	2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	1. Pirafus, or Crisafus, 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancalens, 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	1. Sefostris the Great, 91	33	38	9	
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. Ortho- polis, 43	20		
	3098 2416 333		1. Sphers, or Iphercus, 20	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	1. Sefostris the second, 14	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Afo- tes, 120	19	10 133	32	51		

	Julian world. Exod.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyn.	Argives.	
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilas, or Mamelus, 30	12 135	34	53	
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	1. Phorbas, 35	
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. Orus, 2 or Mus- on, 38. 138.	37	2	Athe- nians.
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. Sparatus, 40	28 165	13 1. Mar- tilius, 30	29	
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Ce- crop, 50
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Tripas, 46	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. Thermitis, or Ascender, 20. 12. 196.	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Kabisar, or A- choris 9 188.	24	17	21
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. Mara- thos, 20	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. Chencres, 16. 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	37	18 1. Ascatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38
Moses his wandering into Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Julian world. Exod.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyn.	Argos.	Atheni
The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pha- raoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 40. years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 431	81	9	12 1. Acherres, 8 213.	19	42	46
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 433	83	11	3 215	15 1. Echi- rens 55	44	48
	3201 2519 436	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. Crotos, 21 1. Crotos, 21 1. Crotos, 21	2 1. Cya- nus 10
	3204 2522 439	89	17	13 1. Cheres, 15 221	7	4	4
	3211 2529 446	96	24	8 228	14	11	1 1. Caphi- rius, 12
	3219 2537 454	104	32	14 1. Armenus, or Danaus, 5. 236	22	19	9
	3222 2540 457	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sthenclius, 11	12

	Julian world. Exod.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyn.	Argos.	Atheni
	3223 2541 458	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 1. Cistha- nus, 50
	3224 2542 459	109	37	15 1. Rametjes 68. 241	27	3	2 Troy.
	3228 2546 463	113	19 1. Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6
	3229 2547 464	114	2	6 246	32	8	7 1. Darda- nus, 6
	3233 2551 468	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50	11 5
The last year of Moses.	3235 2553 470	120	8	12 252	38	1	12 7
	Julian world. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyn.	Argos.	Atheni
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 471	1 1. Josua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14
	3253 2571 488	18	26	30 270	16 1. Co- rax 30	21	31 25
	3254 2572 489	2 1. Otho- niel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32 26
	3273 2591 508	20 1. Belochus the second. 25	20	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pen- dion 40
	3283 2601 518	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epe- peneus 35	11 1. Lynceus. 41	11 55
	3292 2610 527	39	20	16 1. Memphis 40 309	10	10	20 64
	3293 2611 528	40	21	2 310	11	11	21 1. Eril- lousius, 46
	3294 2612 529	3 1. Ehdad 80	22	3 311	12	12	22 2
	3298 2616 533	5	21 1. Belopares 30	7	16	16	26 6
	3313 2631 548	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Eril- lousius, 50
	3318 2636 553	25	21	27 335	18 1. Lam- don, 40	36	6 26
	3324 2642 560	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abbar, 2.	12 32
	3328 2646 564	35	22 1. Lamprides. 32	37 345	11	5	16 36

<i>The 19. Dynasty : of the Larches, 194. years.</i> See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	1. Zeibus, or Se- thops, 51	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	5 1. Tra- 60
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Pre- tus, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	21	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Socrates, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17 1. Corrupt, the second, 30	7	25
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	71	14 1. Acrif- fins, 31	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sons of Hellen. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3374 2692 179		15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares, 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. Ramfex, 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrifins, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycena where of some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian. World. Exod.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce- nae	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42	37	1. Iliad, 55	4
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	40	4	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	46	41	5	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Panniar, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Cide- on, 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son Aegeus, in few years after. The omission of this inter- regnum, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Aegeus, by the numbering them apart by themselves, breeds an observable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as Minthe- us, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 Aege- us, 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Ina- chus, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	46	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis, 122, 40	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abi- melech	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon, 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Socrates, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tho- lar, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. Mitrenis, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. Iar- 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The- seus, 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phe- bus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1. Priamus, 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 162	23 1. Adra- stus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides, 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tenianis, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian World Exod.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce- nae	Athens	Troy.
	3502	9		10				
	2830	1. Jeph- ta. 6	2	171	6	56	23	13
	3508	10		16				
	2826	1. Ib- 3.3 an. 7	8	177	12	62	29	19
	3510			18				
	2828	3	10	179	14	64	11 1. Atrac Buc. 44	
	3512			20				
	2830	5	12	181	16	1. Atr- menon	18	23
	3515	11		23				
	2833	1. Elon 320 10	15	184	19	4	6	26
<i>The war of Troy began this year.</i>	3519			21				
	2837	5	19	2. Thucris, 7, 188	23	8	10	30
	3525	12		7				
	2843	1. Ab- 330 don. 8	25	194	29	14	16	36
<i>The 20. Dynasty, called the Diopolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178. years. See lib. 2. cap. 26. §. 4.</i>	3526			20				
	2844	2	26	1. Dynasty, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528			25				
	2846	4	28	1. Tref- gus, 20	35	17	19	39
<i>Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiades. See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1.</i>	3529			4				
	1847	5	29		2	18	20	40. Troy tak- ken.
	3534							
	Julian From World. Troy Exod. taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce- nae.	Athens	The Kingdom of the Latins.
	3530			30	5	3	1. Aegy- ptus, 6	
	2848	1	6					
	3535			29				
	3533			1. Ten 40	8	6	4	24
	2851	4	13	1. Ten 40				1. Aeneas, 3
	3538			2				
	2852	5	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demo- phobus, 33	2
	3539							
	3536			11	9	1. Ore- stes, 20	3	2
	2854	7	4	4				1. Aescanius, 38
	3541			26 1. Zencip- pus, 31	13	15		13
	3548							
	2866	19	16	16	23			
	3553			21	28	6	18	20
	2871	2	14 1. Eli, 40					18
	3558			35	42	20	32	13
	3567	38	15					
	2885			30 1. Ty- neus, 30	48	26	38	7
	3573							
	2891	44	21					38
	3574			2	49	27	39	8
	2892	45	22					1. Syl. Pyl- hovius, 29
	3579							

	Julian From World. Troy Exod. taken.	Israel.	Assy- ria	Egypt.	Sicyon	Myce- nae.	Athens	The Kingdom of the Latins.
<i>The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zencippus.</i>	3579	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphi- lus, 1.
	2897							6
	3580	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tyro- tes, 8.
	2898							7
	3588	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Mel- nibus, 37.
	2906							15
	3593	61	15 1. Samuel, 6-af- ter him Sam. 40	21	68		58	6
	2911							20
	3603	74	11	31. 1. Deteri m. 4. 3	70		68	16
	2921							4 1. Syllius A- menas, 31.
	3606	77	14	4	81		1 1. Pisan- nus, 2	19
	2924							4
	3609	80	17	7	84			22
	2927							7
	3625							
	2943	96	33	23	100			17 1. Co- drus, 21
	3625							23
	2943							
	3623							
	2951	104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634							
	2951	105	2	32	109	10		1. 1. Syl- Laius, 10.
	3634							
	2951	114	11	32 1. David, 38.	118	19	10	
	3646							
	2964	117	14	4	121	1	1. Me- don, 20	13
	3646							
	2964							
	3646	137	34	24	141	1. Aga- tus, 36	33	
	2964							
	3673	144	1. Solomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
	2991							
	3676	3	147	4	33	151	11	43
	2994							
	3681	6	152	2	33 1. Zeph- nani, 45	156	16	48
	2999							
	3681	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl- Alba
	3682							
	3682	17	163	10	12	26	27	9
	3701							
	3701	27	173	30	22	11	3. 1. Archip- pus, 19	19
	3701							

The defense of the Heraclea into Peloponnesus, and the beginning to the Kingdom of Sparta, Corinth and Athens, the Kings whereof I forbear to insert in this Table.

The Medontide succeeded into the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.

Uphres reigns in Egypt. See L. 3. c. 26. §. 5.

Solomon began to build the Temple 408. years com-
pleat after the deliverance out of Egypt.

	Julian World.	From Temple Troy Takgn.	Isracl.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athen.	Latine.	
The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 30 years.	3704 3022	29 175	32	24	13 1	3	21	
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180 years. See L. 2. c. 17. sect. 6.	3709 3027	34 180	37	29	18 6	8	26	
	Julian World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Isracl.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athen.	Latine.
	3713 3031	148 1. Rehoboam.	1. Jeroboam.	33	22 10	12	30	
	3718 3036	189 6	6	38	Chem- nis, 50 15	17	35	
	3721 3039	192 9	9	41	4 18	4 12	38	
	3723 3041	194 11	11	43	6 20	3	7 15	
	3720 3044	197 14	14	34 1. Pyrihades.	9 6	6	4	
	3730 3048	201 1. Abijam.	2 18	5	13 27	10	8	
	3723 3051	204 1. Aja.	3 41	21	8 30	16 13	11	
	3734 3052	205 2	2 1. Nadab.	2	9 31	17 14	12	
	3735 3053	206 3	3 1. Baasha.	10	18 32	15 15	13	
	3749 3067	220 17	15	24	32 46	22 1. Styl. Cap. 28	8	
	3750 3074	227 22	35 1. Ophra.	39	36 30	36	8	
	3758 3082	249 26	24 4 1. Elia.	3	41 55	38	10	
Of those Israelitish Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077	230 27	27 6. Tihai. 7. Omri.	4	42 56	39	11	
	3762 3080	233 30	4	7	45 1. Phor- bas, 31	14		
	3768 3086	239 36	10	13	1. Chro- ops, 50 65	7	20	
	3770 3088	241 38	12 8 1. Ahab.	15	3 67	9	22	
	3774 3092	245 1. Jehu.	4 1. Jehu.	5	19 71	13	26	

	Julian World.	Troy.	Juda.	Isracl.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athen.	Latine.
	3776 3094	247 3	7	16 1. Ophra- tunc.	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095	248 4	8	2	10 74	16		
Of Jehoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See L. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108	261 17 1. Jehoram.	21 5 1. Abaziz.	9 2	15 23	29 87	10 1. Styl. Tyber- man, 9	
	3791 3109	262 18	22 10 1. Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111	264 20	3	18	26 90	4		
	3793 3111	266 1. Jehoram a- gain. 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Jeholaphat dies, and Jehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116	269 25	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Styl. A. 1. p.	
	3802 3120	273 6	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3121	274 7	11 1. Abaziz.	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3125	280 8	7 1. Joas.	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137	290 11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143	294 15	21	48	65 148	26		
	3814 3142	265 16	22	49	121	2	27	
	3826 3144	397 18	24	123	123	4	29	
The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynasties following Iomit.	3831 3149	302 23	12 1. Jehu.	6	9 128	9	34	
	3831 3151	304 25	3	8	10 130	11	36	
	3839 3157	310 31	9	14	16 17	17		
Joas reigned with his Father. L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3161	316 37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22 23	23	7	
Joas reigns alone.	3847 3165	318 39	16 1. Joas.	21	24 25	25	9	
	3848 3166	319 40	2	23	25	26	10	

	<i>Julian World Temple</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Juda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Arbans</i>	<i>Latins</i>
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	6	28	8 1 Phere- las, 19	13
	3858 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8 1 Syl Aventi- nus, 37	
	3863 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam, 41	37	39	12	5
	3862 3186 193	339	21	7	1. Sarda- napolis 20	45	18	11
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47 1. Ari- phantes, 10	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Mi- cerinus 6	5	16
	<i>Julian World Temp.</i>	<i>Troy.</i>	<i>Juda.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affria</i>	<i>Egypt</i>	<i>Arbans</i>	<i>Latins</i>
L. 2. c. 22. §. 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum 11. years.	16		10	4	8
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	2. Bor- choris, 44	11	22
L. 2. c. 22. §. 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sar- danapa- lus slain	8	18	29
	3888 3206 213	359	1. Uccia, 10 Azaria, 52	27		9	19	30
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. Thepo- las, 17	32
L. 2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1. Belofus or Phil, 48	13	3	34
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Ptoles, 53
L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3900 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	23
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	1. Agam- nestar, 20	23
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 Syl. A- mulius, 43
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33		8	7
Zacharia began at the very end of the year.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 14 1. Minich, Menech,	34	2	9	10

	Julian World	Troy.		Juda.	Israel	Affria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
	3226 3244 251	397			39	¹⁶ Sham out more 17 Hiram 10	35	3	10	9 11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3245 3252 3250 3248 255	398			40	1	36	4	11	10 12
	3257 3255 263	401			43	4	39	¹ Salma- las the Ethiopi- an, 20	14	13 15
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3258 3256 263	408	Iphit.	Olym piads.	50	¹⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 2	46	4	¹⁵ Adaflo- hid, 25	20 22
	3259 3257 263	409	1	1	51	2	47	9	2	21 23
	3260 3258 263	410	2	1	52	¹⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 3	48	10	3	22 24
L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3261 3259 263	411	3	1	¹¹ 11 for them, 16	2	¹ 1 Peka- hid, 2	11	4	23 25
	3262 3260 263	412	4	2	53	¹² 1 Peka- hid, 3	49	12	5	24 26
	3263 3261 263	413	5	3	54	¹³ 1 Peka- hid, 4	50	13	6	25 27
	3264 3262 263	414	6	4	55	¹⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 5	51	14	7	26 28
	3265 3263 263	415	7	5	56	¹⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 6	52	15	8	27 29
	3266 3264 263	416	8	6	57	¹⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 7	53	16	9	28 30
	3267 3265 263	417	9	7	58	¹⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 8	54	17	10	29 31
	3268 3266 263	418	10	8	59	¹⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 9	55	18	11	30 32
	3269 3267 263	419	11	9	60	¹⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 10	56	19	12	31 33
	3270 3268 263	420	12	10	61	²⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 11	57	20	13	32 34
	3271 3269 263	421	13	11	62	²¹ 1 Peka- hid, 12	58	21	14	33 35
	3272 3270 263	422	14	12	63	²² 1 Peka- hid, 13	59	22	15	34 36
	3273 3271 263	423	15	13	64	²³ 1 Peka- hid, 14	60	23	16	35 37
	3274 3272 263	424	16	14	65	²⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 15	61	24	17	36 38
	3275 3273 263	425	17	15	66	²⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 16	62	25	18	37 39
	3276 3274 263	426	18	16	67	²⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 17	63	26	19	38 40
	3277 3275 263	427	19	17	68	²⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 18	64	27	20	39 41
	3278 3276 263	428	20	18	69	²⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 19	65	28	21	40 42
	3279 3277 263	429	21	19	70	²⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 20	66	29	22	41 43
	3280 3278 263	430	22	20	71	³⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 21	67	30	23	42 44
	3281 3279 263	431	23	21	72	³¹ 1 Peka- hid, 22	68	31	24	43 45
	3282 3280 263	432	24	22	73	³² 1 Peka- hid, 23	69	32	25	44 46
	3283 3281 263	433	25	23	74	³³ 1 Peka- hid, 24	70	33	26	45 47
	3284 3282 263	434	26	24	75	³⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 25	71	34	27	46 48
	3285 3283 263	435	27	25	76	³⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 26	72	35	28	47 49
	3286 3284 263	436	28	26	77	³⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 27	73	36	29	48 50
	3287 3285 263	437	29	27	78	³⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 28	74	37	30	49 51
	3288 3286 263	438	30	28	79	³⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 29	75	38	31	50 52
	3289 3287 263	439	31	29	80	³⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 30	76	39	32	51 53
	3290 3288 263	440	32	30	81	⁴⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 31	77	40	33	52 54
	3291 3289 263	441	33	31	82	⁴¹ 1 Peka- hid, 32	78	41	34	53 55
	3292 3290 263	442	34	32	83	⁴² 1 Peka- hid, 33	79	42	35	54 56
	3293 3291 263	443	35	33	84	⁴³ 1 Peka- hid, 34	80	43	36	55 57
	3294 3292 263	444	36	34	85	⁴⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 35	81	44	37	56 58
	3295 3293 263	445	37	35	86	⁴⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 36	82	45	38	57 59
	3296 3294 263	446	38	36	87	⁴⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 37	83	46	39	58 60
	3297 3295 263	447	39	37	88	⁴⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 38	84	47	40	59 61
	3298 3296 263	448	40	38	89	⁴⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 39	85	48	41	60 62
	3299 3297 263	449	41	39	90	⁴⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 40	86	49	42	61 63
	3300 3298 263	450	42	40	91	⁵⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 41	87	50	43	62 64
	3301 3299 263	451	43	41	92	⁵¹ 1 Peka- hid, 42	88	51	44	63 65
	3302 3300 263	452	44	42	93	⁵² 1 Peka- hid, 43	89	52	45	64 66
	3303 3301 263	453	45	43	94	⁵³ 1 Peka- hid, 44	90	53	46	65 67
	3304 3302 263	454	46	44	95	⁵⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 45	91	54	47	66 68
	3305 3303 263	455	47	45	96	⁵⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 46	92	55	48	67 69
	3306 3304 263	456	48	46	97	⁵⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 47	93	56	49	68 70
	3307 3305 263	457	49	47	98	⁵⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 48	94	57	50	69 71
	3308 3306 263	458	50	48	99	⁵⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 49	95	58	51	70 72
	3309 3307 263	459	51	49	100	⁵⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 50	96	59	52	71 73
	3310 3308 263	460	52	50	101	⁶⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 51	97	60	53	72 74
	3311 3309 263	461	53	51	102	⁶¹ 1 Peka- hid, 52	98	61	54	73 75
	3312 3310 263	462	54	52	103	⁶² 1 Peka- hid, 53	99	62	55	74 76
	3313 3311 263	463	55	53	104	⁶³ 1 Peka- hid, 54	100	63	56	75 77
	3314 3312 263	464	56	54	105	⁶⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 55	101	64	57	76 78
	3315 3313 263	465	57	55	106	⁶⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 56	102	65	58	77 79
	3316 3314 263	466	58	56	107	⁶⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 57	103	66	59	78 80
	3317 3315 263	467	59	57	108	⁶⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 58	104	67	60	79 81
	3318 3316 263	468	60	58	109	⁶⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 59	105	68	61	80 82
	3319 3317 263	469	61	59	110	⁶⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 60	106	69	62	81 83
	3320 3318 263	470	62	60	111	⁷⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 61	107	70	63	82 84
	3321 3319 263	471	63	61	112	⁷¹ 1 Peka- hid, 62	108	71	64	83 85
	3322 3320 263	472	64	62	113	⁷² 1 Peka- hid, 63	109	72	65	84 86
	3323 3321 263	473	65	63	114	⁷³ 1 Peka- hid, 64	110	73	66	85 87
	3324 3322 263	474	66	64	115	⁷⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 65	111	74	67	86 88
	3325 3323 263	475	67	65	116	⁷⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 66	112	75	68	87 89
	3326 3324 263	476	68	66	117	⁷⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 67	113	76	69	88 90
	3327 3325 263	477	69	67	118	⁷⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 68	114	77	70	89 91
	3328 3326 263	478	70	68	119	⁷⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 69	115	78	71	90 92
	3329 3327 263	479	71	69	120	⁷⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 70	116	79	72	91 93
	3330 3328 263	480	72	70	121	⁸⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 71	117	80	73	92 94
	3331 3329 263	481	73	71	122	⁸¹ 1 Peka- hid, 72	118	81	74	93 95
	3332 3330 263	482	74	72	123	⁸² 1 Peka- hid, 73	119	82	75	94 96
	3333 3331 263	483	75	73	124	⁸³ 1 Peka- hid, 74	120	83	76	95 97
	3334 3332 263	484	76	74	125	⁸⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 75	121	84	77	96 98
	3335 3333 263	485	77	75	126	⁸⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 76	122	85	78	97 99
	3336 3334 263	486	78	76	127	⁸⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 77	123	86	79	98 100
	3337 3335 263	487	79	77	128	⁸⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 78	124	87	80	99 101
	3338 3336 263	488	80	78	129	⁸⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 79	125	88	81	100 102
	3339 3337 263	489	81	79	130	⁸⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 80	126	89	82	101 103
	3340 3338 263	490	82	80	131	⁹⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 81	127	90	83	102 104
	3341 3339 263	491	83	81	132	⁹¹ 1 Peka- hid, 82	128	91	84	103 105
	3342 3340 263	492	84	82	133	⁹² 1 Peka- hid, 83	129	92	85	104 106
	3343 3341 263	493	85	83	134	⁹³ 1 Peka- hid, 84	130	93	86	105 107
	3344 3342 263	494	86	84	135	⁹⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 85	131	94	87	106 108
	3345 3343 263	495	87	85	136	⁹⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 86	132	95	88	107 109
	3346 3344 263	496	88	86	137	⁹⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 87	133	96	89	108 110
	3347 3345 263	497	89	87	138	⁹⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 88	134	97	90	109 111
	3348 3346 263	498	90	88	139	⁹⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 89	135	98	91	110 112
	3349 3347 263	499	91	89	140	⁹⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 90	136	99	92	111 113
	3350 3348 263	500	92	90	141	¹⁰⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 91	137	100	93	112 114
	3351 3349 263	501	93	91	142	¹⁰¹ 1 Peka- hid, 92	138	101	94	113 115
	3352 3350 263	502	94	92	143	¹⁰² 1 Peka- hid, 93	139	102	95	114 116
	3353 3351 263	503	95	93	144	¹⁰³ 1 Peka- hid, 94	140	103	96	115 117
	3354 3352 263	504	96	94	145	¹⁰⁴ 1 Peka- hid, 95	141	104	97	116 118
	3355 3353 263	505	97	95	146	¹⁰⁵ 1 Peka- hid, 96	142	105	98	117 119
	3356 3354 263	506	98	96	147	¹⁰⁶ 1 Peka- hid, 97	143	106	99	118 120
	3357 3355 263	507	99	97	148	¹⁰⁷ 1 Peka- hid, 98	144	107	100	119 121
	3358 3356 263	508	100	98	149	¹⁰⁸ 1 Peka- hid, 99	145	108	101	120 122
	3359 3357 263	509	101	99	150	¹⁰⁹ 1 Peka- hid, 100	146	109	102	121 123
	3360 3358 263	510	102	100	151	¹¹⁰ 1 Peka- hid, 101	147	110	103	122 124
	3361 3359 263	511								

<i>The Captivity of the ten Tribes.</i>	1974 292 299	13 8 5	37 10 10	10 1 1	6 1 1	9 1 1	8 1 1	45 1 1	13 1 1	29 1 1
	3976 3294 301	15 39 10	10 39 3	10 1 1	8 1 1	10 1 1	47 1 1	15 1 1	31 1 1	
L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298 305	19 43 14	11 12 3	11 1 1	12 1 1	11 1 1	1. Se- chon. 33	19 1 1	35 1 1	
Senacherib's Army destroyed, and he slain. L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 45 16	12 14 1	12 1 1	14 1 1	12 1 1	7 3 1	21 1 1	37 1 1	
	3983 3301 308	22 46 17	12 15 2	12 1 1	15 1 1	12 1 1	4 1 1	22 1 1	38 1 1	
	3986 3304 311	25 49 20	13 18 1	13 1 1	18 1 1	13 1 1	4 7 1	25 1 1	4 1 1	
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon.	3993 3311 318	32 56 27	14 25 4	14 1 1	25 1 1	14 1 1	11 14 1	32 1 1	8 1 1	
	3994 3312 319	33 57 28	15 26 1	15 1 1	26 1 1	15 1 1	33 9 1	33 1 1		
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardocempadus.	3997 3319 322	36 60 31	15 29 4	15 1 1	29 1 1	15 1 1	36 12 1	36 1 1		
	3998 3316 323	37 61 32	16 1 1	16 1 1	14 1 1	16 1 1	37 13 1	37 1 1		
	3999 3317 324	38 62 33	16 2 1	16 1 1	2 1 1	16 1 1	38 20 1	38 1 1		
	4000 3318 325	39 63 34	16 3 1	16 1 1	3 1 1	16 1 1	39 21 1	39 1 1		
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 76 47	19 4 1	19 1 1	16 1 1	19 1 1	14 15 1	17 1 1		
	4015 3333 340	54 78 49	20 2 1	20 1 1	18 1 1	20 1 1	16 17 1	19 1 1		
The beginning of the second Median War, which lasted about 18 years.	4020 3347 354	68 92 63	23 32 4	23 1 1	32 1 1	23 1 1	30 31 1	33 1 1		
L. 2. c. 27. §. 4.	4023 3351 358	72 96 67	24 4 1	24 1 1	36 1 1	24 1 1	34 35 1	37 1 1		
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4035 3353 360	74 98 69	25 2 1	25 1 1	38 1 1	25 1 1	36 37 1	49 1 1		
	4043 3361 368	82 106 77	27 2 1	27 1 1	46 1 1	27 1 1	45 9 1	9 1 1		
	4052 3370 377	91 115 86	29 3 1	29 1 1	55 1 1	29 1 1	10 18 1	18 1 1		
	4053 3371 378	92 116 87	29 4 1	29 1 1	15 1 1	29 1 1	11 2 1	19 1 1		

	Julian, Rome, World, Temple, Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
<i>The expedition of the Scythians.</i> L. 2. c. 28. §. 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 117 88	30 1 1	2 2 1	3 1 1	26 1 1	12 1 1	3 1 1	20 1 1
	4055 3373 380	94 118 89	30 2 1	16 1 1	2 1 1	27 1 1	13 1 1	4 1 1	21 1 1
L. 2. c. 28. §. 1.	4073 3391 398	112 136 107	34 3 1	19 1 1	20 1 1	1. Ne- co, 17	31 1 1	22 1 1	39 1 1
	4075 3393 400	114 138 109	35 2 1	21 1 1	22 1 1	3 1 1	31 1 1	24 1 1	41 1 1
	4076 3394 401	115 139 110	35 3 1	22 1 1	23 1 1	4 1 1	2 1 1	7 1 1	42 1 1
	4084 3402 409	123 147 118	37 3 1	30 1 1	31 1 1	12 1 1	10 1 1	9 1 1	43 1 1
L. 2. c. 28. §. 1. & 2.	4085 3402 410	124 148 119	37 4 1	31 1 1	32 1 1	13 1 1	11 1 1	10 1 1	2 1 1
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in astronomical observations cover- ing his time.	4086 3403 411	125 149 120	38 1 1	32 1 1	33 1 1	14 1 1	12 1 1	11 1 1	3 1 1
L. 2. c. 25. §. 1. & c. 28. §. 6.	4089 3407 414	128 152 123	38 1 1	33 1 1	34 1 1	15 1 1	13 1 1	14 1 1	6 1 1
	4090 3408 415	129 153 124	39 1 1	34 1 1	35 1 1	16 1 1	14 1 1	15 1 1	7 1 1
	4096 3414 421	135 159 130	40 3 1	35 1 1	36 1 1	17 1 1	15 1 1	16 1 1	8 1 1
Zedekiah his journey to Babylon.	4099 3417 424	138 162 133	41 2 1	36 1 1	37 1 1	18 1 1	16 1 1	17 1 1	9 1 1
L. 2. c. 28. §. 6.	4102 3420 427	141 165 136	42 1 1	37 1 1	38 1 1	19 1 1	17 1 1	18 1 1	10 1 1
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, with whose 18, for the more part, and partly with whose 19, this year concurs.	4106 3424 431	145 169 140	43 1 1	38 1 1	39 1 1	20 1 1	18 1 1	19 1 1	11 1 1
	4107 3425 432	146 170 141	43 2 1	39 1 1	40 1 1	21 1 1	19 1 1	20 1 1	12 1 1
Jerusalem destroyed.	4111 3429 436	150 174 145	44 2 1	40 1 1	41 1 1	22 1 1	20 1 1	21 1 1	13 1 1
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor.	4116 3434 441	155 179 150	45 3 1	41 1 1	42 1 1	23 1 1	21 1 1	22 1 1	14 1 1
L. 3. c. 1. §. 8. & 9.	4125 3443 452	164 183 159	47 4 1	42 1 1	43 1 1	24 1 1	22 1 1	23 1 1	15 1 1
Nabuchodonosor lives wild: and his Kingdom is governed by others for him, during seven years.	4127 3445 454	166 185 161	48 2 1	43 1 1	44 1 1	25 1 1	23 1 1	24 1 1	16 1 1
L. 3. c. 1. §. 15.	4132 3450 459	171 190 166	49 2 1	44 1 1	45 1 1	26 1 1	24 1 1	25 1 1	17 1 1

	Julian World	Rome. Nabon	Iphis.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131	170	194	49	25	1. Lubarsch Jardach 19-man	21	33	16	36	
L. 3. c. 1. § 6.	3449	165		2							
The 27. of Jeconia his captivity complete, and he enlarged.	4133	172	196	49	27	1. Lubarsch Jardach 19-man	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	37	22	42	
	3455			4							
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis began his reign: this being inclusively the 41. & therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his	4151	190	214	45	54	19	Amasis	15	5	56	
	3469	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5	
	3471			4							
	Julian World	Rome. Nabon	Iphis.	Olymp.	Persia	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Jews.
	4159	193	217	55	1. Cyrus in Persia	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven Sages of Greece.	4159	193	222	56	6	1. Bal- shafar	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	1. Bal- shafar	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Darius the Mede	23	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyprus his Empire.	4177	216	240	60	1. Cy- rus	2	26	41			
	3495	211		4							
His Edict of liberty to the Jews.	4181	220	244	61	5		30	42			
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2	1. Cam- byses	33	4	8		
	3502	218		3							
The 1. first years of Darius the Great and part of the third may be added to the 34. of his father's, if it be true that Cambyses was Egyptian precisely on the death of Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. § 2.	4186	225	249	63	3	1. Cam- byses	33	4	8		
	3504	220		1							
	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							
	Julian World	Rome. Nabon	Iphis.	Olymp.	Persia	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece	Jews.	From Cyprus.	
Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. § 4.	4191	230	254	64	The Ma- gi one year.		11		15		
	3509	225		64							
	4192	231	255	64	1. Darius Hippias		12		16		
	3510	226		3							

	Julian World	Rome. Nabon	Iphis.	Olymp.	Persia	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews from Cyprus.
	4197	230	260	65	6		17		21
	3515	231							
	4204	243	267	67			42		28
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 1. § 1.	3522	238		3					
	4205	245	268	68	14		25		29
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. § 2.	4206	245	269	68	15				30
	3524	240		1					
L. 5. c. 5. § 4.	4211	250	274	69					35
	3529	245		2					
	4212	251	275	69	21				36
	3530	246		3					
	4222	261	285	72	31				
	3540	256		1					
	4226	265	289	73	35				50
	3544	269		1					
	4228	267	291	73	4				50
	3546	260		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded for division of Lands: which bred great contention.	4229	268	292	73	2				52
	3547	263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. § 2.	4233	272	296	74	6				57
	3551	267		4					
L. 3. c. 6. § 3. & 6.	4234	273	297	75	7				58
	3552	268		1					
L. 5. c. 6. § 9, 10, & 11.	4235	274	298	75	8				59
	3553	269		2					
L. 2. c. 7. § 1 & 2.	4237	267	300	75	10				62
	3555	271		4					
	4244	283	307	77	17				68
	3562	278		3					
L. 2. c. 7. § 3.	4248	287	311	78	18				72
	3566	282		3					
	4249	288	312	78	19				73
	3567	283		4					
	4251	290	314	79	20				75
	3569	285		2					
L. 3. c. 7. § 5. & 7.	4255	294	318	80	21				
	3573	289		2					
	4264	303	327	82	16				10
	3583	298		3					

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian, Rome.	Ispit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	From Cyrus and Daniel.
	4165 304	328	81	17			Simon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	89
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	3583 299	3	83	20			A league for 36 years, between of Jews and Syrians	92
	3586 307	331	2					14
	4172 311	335	84	24				96
	3590 306	3	84	25			The conquest of Egypt by the Athenians, and the siege of the city of Rome.	97
	4273 312	336	4					19
	3591 307	341	86	30			The Athenians conquer the city of Rome, and the city of Carthage.	102
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4278 317	341	1					24
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3596 312	341	86	32				104
	4280 319	343	3					26
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	3598 314	343	3				The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107
	4183 322	346	87	25				29
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	3601 317	346	2				The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113
L. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4289 318	352	88	26				115
	3607 323	353	89	27				114
	4290 329	353	89	28				116
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	3608 324	353	1					30
	4292 331	355	80	3				116
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. & 6.	3610 316	355	3					38
	4301 310	364	92					125
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	3619 315	364	4					48
	4102 311	365	93	13				128
Cap. 8. §. 9.	3620 316	365	1					50
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. & 5.	4304 313	367	93	15				125
	3621 318	367	3					50
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306 315	369	93	17				130
	3621 310	369	1					52
	4307 310	370	93	18				131
	3623 311	370	2					53
	4308 317	371	93	19				132
	3626 312	371	3					54
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309 318	372	93	9				133
	3617 313	372	93	10				55
	4311 310	374	94	3				135
	3629 315	374	2					57
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313 312	376	94	3				137
	3631 317	376	4					59

	Julian, Rome, and World.	Ispit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	From Cyrus and Daniel.
L. 3. c. 11. §. 4.	4318 317	381	96	10	6		Agathias writes in Asia.	142
	3636 312	381	1					64
L. 3. c. 11. §. 7.	4320 319	383	96	12	8		The victory of Coon at the battle of the Nile.	144
	3638 314	383	2					64
	4321 300	384	96	13	9		The victory of the Carthaginians.	145
	3639 315	384	4					67
	4325 364	388	97	17			The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	149
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	3643 319	388	4					71
L. 3. c. 11. §. 9.	4326 365	389	98	18	2		The Peace of Antioch.	150
	3644 360	389	1					72
	4327 367	390	98	19	1			151
	3645 361	390	2					73
	4332 371	399	99	24	6		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	150
	3650 366	399	3					78
L. 3. c. 11. §. 11.	4330 375	399	100	28	10		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	100
	3654 370	399	3					82
	4340 379	403	101	32	14			164
	3658 371	403	2					86
L. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343 382	406	102	35	17		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	107
	3661 377	406	2					89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345 384	408	102	37	19		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	109
	3663 379	408	4					91
	4351 390	414	104	43	7		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	175
	3669 385	414	2					97
L. 3. c. 12. §. 8.	4352 391	415	104	10	1		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	176
	3670 386	415	3					98
	4354 393	417	105	11	3			100
	3672 388	417	1					103
L. 4. c. 1. §. 4.	4359 398	422	106	8	8		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	105
	3677 393	422	2					108
	4364 403	427	107	13	13		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	118
	3682 398	427	3					110
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	4368 407	431	108	17			The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	192
	3686 402	431	3					114
	4369 408	432	108	18			The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	193
L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. & 5.	3687 403	432	4					115
	4370 409	453	109	19			The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	194
	3688 404	453	1					116
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are taken by one.	4375 414	458	110	11	1		The Carthaginians conquer the city of Carthage.	199
	3693 409	458	2					121

	Julian, Rome, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Phitis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews, Danie.	Consuls.
	4453	492	516	129	18	25	1. Antiochus 15		8	L. Valerius.	
	3771	487					2		198	T. Octavius.	
L. S. c. 1. §. 6.	4454	493	517	130	19	26			9	C. Duilius.	
	3772	488					51		199	Cn. Cornelius.	
	4457	496	520	130	22	29	5		12	M. Atil. Reg.	
	3772	491	520	130	22	29	5		13	Cn. Cornelius.	
L. S. c. 1. §. 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus C. Marius	12	Cn. Cornelius.	
	3776	492					55	Regulus taken prisoner.	203	Q. Cadius.	
	4463	503	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicily, & joins it to the Achæans.	18	L. Cælius.	
	3781	497					60		208	C. Furius.	
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybæum.	4464	504	527	132	29	36	12	Regulus his death.	209	C. Atilius.	
The beginning of the Third Punic Kingdom.	3782	498					61		210	L. Manlius.	
	4465	504	528	132	30	27	13	Shipwreck & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	210	P. Claudius, Pulcher, and L. Junius.	
	3783	499					62		22	L. Cælius.	
	4467	506	530	133	32		15		212	M. Fokius.	
	3785	501					64		24	M. Fabius.	
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily.	4467	508	533	133	34	3	1. Seleucus Callinicus, 66		214	C. Atilius.	
L. S. c. 1. §. 11.	3787	505					20	Lucatius his great victory at Egæates.	217	A. Posthumus.	
	4472	511	535	134	2	6	66		217	Q. Lutatius.	
	3790	506					69		218	A. Manlius.	
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians.	4473	512	536	134	7		5	Aratus Wins Corinth.	218	A. Manlius.	
L. S. c. 2.	3791	507					70	Peace granted to Carthage.	218	A. Manlius.	
	4473	513	537	135	8		6		219	C. Claudius.	
	3792	508					71		220	M. Sempronius.	
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4470	515	539	135	5	10	8	The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	C. Craschus.	
	3794	510					73		221	Falco.	
	4482	521	545	137	1	16	14		222	Lepidus.	
	3800	516					79		227	M. Cato.	
	4483	523	546	137	2	17	15	A Roman Embassy slain by Queen Teuta.	10	M. Emilius.	
	3801	517					80		230	M. Junius.	
L. S. c. 2. §. 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17	Teuta, queen of Illyria subdued by the Romans.	10	L. Posthumus.	
	3803	519					82		234	C. Falcus.	
L. S. c. 5. §. 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	1. Seleucus Ceraunus, 86		16	L. Emilius.	
	3807	523					3		224	C. Atilius.	
Flaminius was also Consul this year.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	1. Antiochus the Great, 89	Marcus hit vi flory over the Gauls about Idibus.	19	C. Cornelius.	
See L. S. c. 2. §. 8.	3810	526					2		20	M. Marcellus.	
	4493	532	556	139	12		90		20	P. Cornelius.	
L. S. c. 5. §. 2.	3811	527					91		238	M. Minutius.	
	4494	533	557	140	4		3		20	L. Veturius.	
	3812	528					91		239	C. Lutatius.	

	Julian, Rome, and World.	Rome, Nabon.	Phitis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greek.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews, Danie.	Consuls.
Annibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	538	140	2	3	4		22	L. Emilius.	
The beginning of the second Punic war.	3813	529					92		240	M. Livius.	
	4496	534	539	140	3	4	5		23	P. Cor. Scipio.	
	3814	530					93		241	T. Sempronius.	
The occurrences of this year were referred by Polyb. to the 3 of the 14 Olymp. The battle of Thymus was fought in the Spring; the Olympian year began at the January solstice.	4497	530	560	140	4	5	6		24	C. Flaminius.	
Hannibal and Marcellus Hiero King of Syracuse, &c. Hieronymus succeeds.	3815	530					94		242	Cn. Servilius.	
	4498	537	561	141	5		7		25	C. Terent. Varro.	
	3816	532					95		26	L. Em. Paul.	
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		26	L. Posthumus.	
	3817	533					96		27	Q. Fulvius.	
The two Scipios slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Terentium.	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11		27	Ap. Claudius.	
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	3820	536					99		28	Cn. Fulvius.	
	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		29	P. Sulpicius.	
	3821	537					100		30	C. Claud. Nero.	
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		31	M. Livius.	
	3825	561					104		32	Q. Cælius.	
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		33	L. Veturius.	
	3826	542					105		34	C. Cælius.	
	4510	549	573	144	17		19		35	P. Sempronius.	
	3828	544					107		36	Servilius, and Servius.	
	4511	550	574	144	18	2	20		37	T. Claudius.	
	3829	545					108		38	M. Servilius.	
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		39	Lentulus.	
	3820	546					109		40	P. Cælius.	
The end of the second Punic war, & beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon.	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		41	T. Q. Flaminius.	
	3831	547					110		42	Sex. Atilius.	
	4516	555	579	145	21	5	23		43	Q. Minutius.	
L. S. c. 5. §. 14.	3834	550					113		44	L. Furius.	
	4517	556	580	145	22	6	24		45	M. Cato.	
	3835	551					114		46	L. Valerius.	
Hannibal expelled Carthage, L. S. c. 5. §. 4. & c. d. §. 5.	4518	557	581	146	23	7	25		47	L. Quintus.	
	3836	552					115		48	Cn. Domitius.	
Cap. 5. §. 5.	4519	558	582	146	24	8	26		49	Acil. Glabrio.	
	3837	552					116		50	Nasica.	
	4522	561	585	147	25	9	27		51	C. Lelius.	
C. 5. §. 7.	3840	556					117		52		
	4523	562	586	147	26	10	28		53		
	3841	557					118		54		
	4524	563	587	147	27	11	29		55		
	3842	558					119		56		

	Julian, Rome.	Iphis.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jews and Daniel.	Consuls.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 9.	4527 506 4845 561	590	148 2	34	18	30 124		26 272 273	Lepidus. Flaminius. S. Posthumius.	
L. 5. c. 6. §. 2.	4532 570 3849 565	594	149 2	38	22	4 128		30 276	Marcellus. Q. Fabius.	
L. 5. c. 6. §. 3.	4532 571 3850 566	595	149 3	39	23	5 129		31 277	Paulus. Cn. Babius.	
Cap. 6. §. 4.	4533 572 3851 567	596	149 4	40	24	6 130		32 278	Cethegus. M. Babius.	
	4534 573 3852 568	597	150 1	41		7 131		33 279	A. Posthumius. Piso.	
	4535 574 3853 569	598	150 2	42 1. Perseus, 11. or : 7. a. 2.	2	8 132		34 280	Piso. Marius.	
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7th of Philometor, 573 years and 206 days from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years the last of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4540 579 3858 574 4541 580 3859 575	603 604	151 151	6 7	7 8	7 138		39 285	Sp. Posthumius. Sextus.	
	4543 582 3861 577	606	152 2	9 The beginning of the war of the Jews.	10	4 140		c. 6. 56 288	M. Popilius. P. Licinius.	
	4545 584 3863 579 4546 585	608 609	152 153	11 12 Perfect conquest of the Jews.	10 14	6 7 142		179 290	C. Cassius. Marius. Servilius.	
A total Eclipse of the Moon foregoing the over-brow of Perseus, in the ye. of Seleucus Nicator.	3864 580 4547 586 3865 581 4549 588 3867 581	610 612	153 153	Macedon made a Roman Province.	14 16	8 144 10 146		C. 6. 5 10. & 12. 146	C. Licinius. P. Sestius. T. Torquatus. M. C. C. C.	

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